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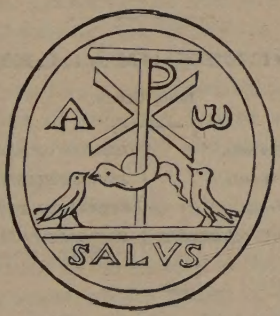
CHRISTIAN CHURCH

DURING THE FIRST TEN CENTURIES

FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE FULL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE AND THE PAPAL POWER

By PHILIP SMITH, B.A.

AUTHOR OF THE "STUDENT'S OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY" AND THE "STUDENT'S NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY"



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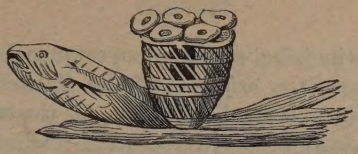
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Eucharistic Bread and Wine in a Basket, carried by a swimming Fish. From the Crypt of St. Cornelius.

PREFACE.

THE want of a compendious history of the Christian Church, both for the student and the general reader, has been evidenced by the enquiries made for the present work since its first announcement. In the department of Sacred History it forms a continuation of the 'Student's New Testament History;' but it is also designed to serve a wider purpose.

The student of civil history feels at every step the need of a more special knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs; and the common interest of all Christians in the rise and various developments of the Church, in all its branches and its aberrations too, is enhanced by a natural curiosity to trace the origin of opinions, usages, and controversies, the effects of which are deeply and even passionately felt in every succeeding age.

In the effort to gratify that interest and curiosity, the author has studied to preserve impartiality; but he has not attempted to write the history of the Christian Church in a tone of unconcern for either Christianity or the Church. The historian who would do justice to the men whose actions he records, whether in civil or ecclesiastical polity, must place himself in sympathy with each age that comes under review; and the historian of the Church must have such sympathy—though not in the spirit of a partisan—with the thoughts and feelings, both of the great teachers and leaders and of the whole body of Christians, and even of the several parties, in every age of the Church.

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On these principles, supreme importance belongs to the first beginnings (the *origines*) of the Church, and to the progress of its universal development through the time when it especially deserved the name; when it was THE CHURCH, and not yet a number of churches, divided by their respective nationalities, and severed by hostile feelings and irreconcilable opinions.

This comparative unity, even amidst the growing strife of sects, was preserved during the first three centuries by the unexpended spirit of primitive zeal and purity, and was enforced by the constraining power of persecution. These three centuries, therefore, form our *first age*, that of the *Primitive and Persecuted Church:* during which we trace the rise and progress of the Church, till the "little leaven" leavens the Roman Empire and works beyond its bounds; the settlement of its constitution; the development of its doctrines and usages; and the beginnings of most of the controversies which have agitated it ever since.

The unity of the Church was next maintained, though now in a sense more political than religious, by its establishment as a part of the constitution of the Empire: its institutions received a definite form on the model of the civil polity; and it struggled—on the whole successfully—to preserve a fixed standard of "Catholic" doctrine, in opposition to each heresy as it sprang up. The barbarian peoples that overwhelmed the Western Empire, and founded the nations of Europe, not only received Christianity, but acknowledged the unity of the Church so fully as sooner or later to renounce the heresy which they at first adopted; while the external bond of union was respected in the nominal supremacy of the Cæsar at Constantinople and the growing ascendancy of the Bishop of Rome. The general establishment of the papal influence in the West, and the corruption of the Eastern Church, provoking the fatal blow by which the Mohammedans severed from the Empire its fairest provinces in Asia and Africa, mark the end of our *second period*, of three centuries more, at the epoch of Pope Gregory the Great.

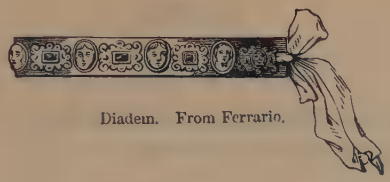
The great missionary enterprise of that pontiff in our own island sounds the key-note of the *third age*, during which the Christianizing of Europe was completed, with the exception of some few of the northern nations, the narrative of whose conversion is carried down to its end in the last chapter of the book. The general ecclesiastical unity is preserved by the growing ascendancy of the Pope amidst the conflicts of new-born states, and by the relations still maintained between the East and West; and the exact middle of this period is marked by the new and fascinating scheme of a universal Christian state for the West, which seemed to be embodied in the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, though at the cost of a final severance from the East. But that delusive ideal, too fair to be realized in this world of selfish passions, contained the germs both of political disruption and of a struggle for life and death between the civil and ecclesiastical heads, which could not reign together. The climax of that sentimental theory in the fellowship of OTHO III. and GERBERT at once revealed its destined failure; and the age which began with Constantine's departure from Rome, leaving Sylvester I. in possession of the Lateran, ends with the deaths of Otho III. and Sylvester II., just at the millennial epoch of Christianity.

The present work embraces this whole period of a thousand years, including all that especially relates to the universal Christian Church, in contrast with its national divisions; and it is thus complete in itself. The history of the Medieval Church forms a separate branch of the whole subject. Originally the book was intended to come down to the eve of the Reformation; but it was found impossible to include the History of the Church in the Middle Ages, except at the sacrifice of much that seemed essential in the earlier periods. If the effort made in the present volume should prove to be successful, it is proposed to carry on the subject, so as to give in another the HISTORY OF THE MEDIEVAL CHURCH, and the HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION.

The author is well aware that, in so vast a subject, he must often have shown his need of the favourable consideration of the reader as to the execution of the work. Though the subject has formed one of his special studies, he does not claim to have founded the present manual on original research. While making use of the well known chief works, which it is superfluous to enumerate—as those of Mosheim, Schröckh, Neander, Gieseler, Milman, and Hallam—he has to make special acknowledgment of his obligation to the Manuals of KURZ and NIEDNER, as guides to the outlines of the History; to DR. PHILIP SCHAFF'S exhaustive and admirable 'History of the Christian Church' during the first six centuries, the completion of which is greatly to be desired; and to CANON ROBERTSON'S 'History of the Christian Church,' from its beginning to the epoch of the Reformation, which now worthily holds the place of the best, as it is the latest, complete English Ecclesiastical History in a moderate compass. With regard to the last two works, we have in many cases preferred to use the author's own words rather than merely to vary the form while following the substance. In the account of rites and usages, ecclesiastical architecture, and kindred subjects, considerable use has been made of the 'Dictionary of Christian Antiquities,' edited by Dr. William Smith and Professor Cheetham.



Oratory at Galerus in Kerry. One of the earliest Ecclesiastical Buildings in Ireland.



Diadem. From Ferrario.

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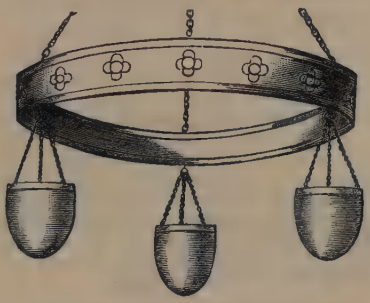


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* His regnal years are dated from 306, though he was not *Augustus* till 308.

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899.	LOUIS THE CHILD King of the Germans	557
900 (*circ.*).	GORM THE OLD, first King of all Denmark, destroys the Christian Churches	590

TENTH CENTURY.

904.	The "pornocracy" at Rome	573–4
905–20.	Dispute about the fourth marriage of Leo VI.	549
908.	Conquest of Moravia by the Bohemians and Magyars	594
	End of its independent Church	594
910.	The abbey of Clugny founded by Berno.	
911.	LOUIS THE CHILD *ob.* End of the Carolingians in Germany	557
	Baptism of ROLLO, and cession of Normandy	558
915.	BERENGAR crowned Emperor by Pope JOHN X.	574
918.	HENRY THE FOWLER, King of the Germans; foundation of the Saxon imperial line	573
924, 933.	The Huns defeated by King Henry	573
928.	JOHN X. murdered in prison	574
931.	JOHN XI. Pope; but HUGH THE GREAT temporal sovereign of Rome	574

A.D.		PAGE
934.	ALBERIC, Senator or Patrician of Rome	574
	HACO THE GOOD, first Christian king of Norway	591
	GORM THE OLD, defeated by HENRY THE FOWLER, agrees to tolerate Christianity and put down human sacrifices in *Denmark*	590
935.	Mission of Archbishop UNNI to *Sweden* (*ob.* 936)	590
936.	Persecution in *Bohemia* by BOLESLAV THE CRUEL	595
	OTHO I. THE GREAT, King of the Germans	574
942.	Foundation of the "Cluniac congregation" by Abbot Odo.	
948.	GYULAS, Prince of Hungary, baptized	598
950.	BOLESLAV conquered by OTHO I.	595
	Christianity tolerated in Bohemia	595
954.	ALBERIC succeeded by his son OCTAVIAN, who is	
955.	elected Pope JOHN XII.	574
955.	The Huns defeated at *Lechfeld* by Otho I.	573
	OLGA of Russia baptized at Constantinople	597
962.	OTHO I. invited to Italy against Berengar, and (Feb. 2) crowned IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS. New establishment of the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE *under that title*	575
	The *Donations* of Pepin and Charles confirmed	575
963.	JOHN XII. deposed by a Roman synod	577
964–5.	Factions and rebellions at Rome	578
965.	The Pope is made the Emperor's viceroy	578
	Imperial consent to Papal elections established	577
	HAROLD BLAATAND, first Christian King of Denmark, baptized	590
963.	NICEPHORUS II. PHOCAS, Eastern Emperor	578
	Embassy of LIUDPRAND to Constantinople	578
967.	MIECESLAV establishes Christianity in Poland	596
968.	OTHO I. founds the archbishopric of Magdeburg for the *Wends*	599
969.	JOHN TZIMISCES, Eastern Emperor. Victories over the Mohammedans	584
972.	Duke GEISA of Hungary becomes Christian	598
973.	OTHO II. Emperor	578
	The Roman Republicans under Crescentius	578
	BOLESLAV THE PIOUS establishes Christianity in *Bohemia*. Archbishopric of Prague founded	595
983.	Otho II. is defeated by the Saracens, and dies	578
	OTHO III. (*æt.* 5), under the guardianship of his mother THEOPHANO and Archbishop WILLIGIS of Mainz	579
	MISTEWOI destroys the Christian churches among the Wends	599
986.	HAROLD BLAATAND killed by his heathen son SWEYN	590
987.	HUGH CAPET, King of France	557
	End of the Carolingian Dynasty.	
988.	ST. VLADIMIR establishes Christianity in *Russia*	597
991.	*Synod of St. Basle*, near Rheims, resists Papal jurisdiction	580
	GERBERT made archbishop of Rheims, in place of ARNULF	581

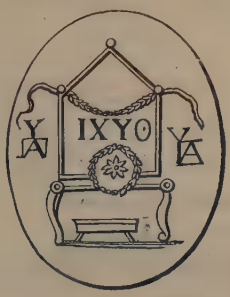
A.D.		PAGE
992.	BOLESLAV CHOBRY unites *Poland* to the Church of Rome	596
994–1026.	OLAF STOTKUNUNG, Christian King of Sweden	590
	SIGFRIED, bishop of Wexio	590
	OLAF TRYGGVESON, King of Norway, forces Christianity on his subjects	592
	GERBERT invited to the Court of Otho III.	579–81
995.	ARNULF, archbishop of Rheims, restored	581
996.	OTHO III. enters Italy; is crowned Emperor by GREGORY V. (Bruno), the first German Pope	579
997.	ADALBERT of Prague is martyred in Prussia	595, 602
	ST. STEPHEN establishes Christianity in Hungary	598
998.	GREGORY V. and ROBERT King of France	581–2
	GERBERT made archbishop of Ravenna,	582
999.	and Pope SYLVESTER II.	580–2
	Grand schemes of Otho and Sylvester	583
1000.	The *Millennium* of Christianity	583
	OTHO III. in Poland; he establishes the bishopric of Gnesen	595–6
	BOLESLAV and the Pomeranians; bishopric of Colberg	600
	St. Stephen of Hungary made King	598
	Death of OLAF TRYGGVESON	592
1002.	Death of the Emperor OTHO III.	582
1003.	Death of Pope SYLVESTER II.	583

SEQUEL OF THE CHRISTIANIZING OF EUROPE.*

1009.	BRUNO martyred in *Prussia*	602
1014.	CANUTE establishes Christianity in Scandinavia	590
1015.	ST. OLAF HAROLDSON, King of Norway, and Bishop GRIMKIL	592
	Destruction of the image of Thor at Dalen	593
1019.	YAROSLAV of Russia: union with the Greek Church	598
1026.	CANUTE'S pilgrimage to Rome	590
1030.	Death and (1031) Translation of ST. OLAF	593
1032.	GOTTSCHALK prince of the Wendish Obotriti	599
1034.	MIECESLAV II. of Poland. Relapse to heathenism	596
1035.	CANUTE *ob.* ST. MAGNUS THE GOOD establishes Christianity in *Norway*	593
1038–97.	The Abbey of Sazawa, in Bohemia, preserves the Slavonic Liturgy	595
1039.	Translation of ST. ADALBERT	595
1045.	GOTTSCHALK, King of the *Wends*, establishes Christianity	599
1077.	ST. LADISLAUS extinguishes heathenism in Hungary	599
1079.	Martyrdom of ST. STANISLAUS of Poland	591

* As the work ends at the epoch of A.D. 1000, the following entries are confined to the one subject which is completed in Chapter XXIV.

A.D. PAGE
1084. INGE, King of Sweden, puts down heathen worship 591
1120. BOLESLAV III. forces Christianity on the E. Pomeranians 600
The Monk BERNARD 600
1124–8. Bishop OTHO establishes Christianity in Pomerania .. 600–1
1154. VICELIN, bishop of Oldenburg, *ob.* 600
1155. ST. ERIC IX. establishes Christianity in Sweden 591
1157. The Wendish *Luticii* subdued: ALBERT THE BEAR founds the marquisate of Brandenburg 600
1157–8. Eric conquers Finland: the Finns resist Christianity: HENRY, bishop of Upsala, martyred 591
1156, f. Crusade of HENRY THE LION against the *Wends* 600
1158. German settlements among the *Letts* 602
1164. PRIVIZLAV, prince of the *Obotriti*, founder of the house of Mecklenburg, becomes a Christian 600
1168. *Rügen* nominally Christianized 601
1186. Bishop MEINHARD'S mission to the *Livonians* 602
1198. Expedition and death of Bishop BERTHOLD 602
1202. Crusade of Bishop ALBERT. "Brethren of the Sword" 602
1207. GODFREY and PHILIP martyred in *Prussia* 603
1214. CHRISTIAN, the "Apostle of Prussia" 603
1225. He founds the order of "Knights of Dobrin" 603
1230. Crusade of the "Teutonic Knights" in *Prussia* 603
1236. They join the Brethren of the Sword in *Livonia*, &c. 603
1245. Union of *Prussia*, *Livonia*, &c., by the legate WILLIAM, bishop of Modena 604
1252. RINGOLD, prince of *Lithuania*, baptized 604
1253. *Riga* made their metropolitan see 602, 604
1266. *Lithuania* relapses into heathenism 604
1279. *Lapland* conquered by Sweden, and Christianized 591
1283. Final conquest of Prussia by the Teutonic Knights 603
1293. *Finland* finally conquered by Sweden, and Christianized 591
1315. Toleration established in Lithuania 604
1380. *Lithuania*, the last heathen state in Europe, receives Christianity, on its union with Poland 604



Episcopal Chair. (Martigny.)



Symbol of the Apostles.

LIST OF POPES* AND EMPERORS.

I.—Before the Division of the Empire. Cent. I.–IV.†

From A.D.	Emperors.	From A.D.	Popes.	To A.D.
41	Claudius.	42	St. Peter (according to *Jerome*)	67
54	Nero.	67	Linus (*Irenæus, Eusebius*, &c.)	79
68	Galba.	[68	Clement (*Tertullian*, &c.)	79]
69	Otho: Vitellius.			
69	Vespasian.			
79	Titus.	79	Cletus or Anacletus ..	91
81	Domitian.	91	Clement (*later writers*)	100
96	Nerva.	100	Evaristus	109
98	Trajan.	109	Alexander I.	119
117	Hadrian.	119	Xystus or Sixtus I. ..	128
138	Antoninus Pius.	128	Telesphorus	139
		139	Hyginus	142
		142	Pius I.	157
161	Marcus Aurelius.	157	Anicetus	168
	Antoninus.	168	Soter	176
180	Commodus.	177	Eleutherius	190
193	Pertinax.	190	Victor I.	202
193	Didius Julianus.			
193	Severus.	202	Zephyrinus	218
211	Caracalla.			
217	Macrinus.			
218	Elagabalus.	218	Callistus or Calixtus I.	223
222	Alexander Severus.	223	Urban I.	230
235	Maximin.	230	Pontianus	235
238	Gordian I., II.	235	Anterius (or Anteros) ..	236
	Maximus, Balbinus.	236	Fabianus	250
238	Gordian III.			
244	Philip.			
249	Decius.	251	Cornelius [Novatian, 251]	252
251	Gallus.	252	Lucius I.	253
253	Æmilianus.	253	Stephen I.	257
	Valerian, Gallienus.	257	Sixtus or Xystus II. ..	258
268	Claudius II.	259	Dionysius	269
270	Aurelian.	269	Felix I...	274

* This title is used as convenient, though it was not appropriated to the Bishop of Rome till about A.D. 500 (see p. 396, *n.*) The names in brackets are those of Anti-Popes.

† For the first two centuries the names of the Popes are for the most part traditional and uncertain.

I.—Before the Division of the Empire.—*continued.*

From A.D.	Emperors.	From A.D.	Popes.	To A.D.
275	Tacitus.	275	Eutychian	283
276	Probus.			
282	Carus.			
283	Carinus. }	283	Caius	296
	Numerian. }			
284	Diocletian. }	296	Marcellinus	304
285	Maximian. }		(A vacancy of four years)	
305	Constantius I. }			
	Galerius. }			
306	Constantine I. }	308	Marcellus	310
307	Licinius. }	310	Eusebius (Apr. 18 to	310
308	Maximin. }		Sept. 26)	
324	Constantine (alone).	311	Melchiades	314
337	Constantine II. }	314	Sylvester I.	335
	Constantius II. }	336	Mark (Jan. 18 to Oct. 7)	336
	Constans. }	337	Julius I.	352
361	Julian.	352	Liberius	366
363	Jovian.		[Felix II., 355-358]	
364	Valentinian I. }		[Ursinus, 366-7]	
	Valens. }	366	Damasus	384
367	Gratian. }			
375	Valentinian II. }			
379	Theodosius I. }	384	Siricius	398

II.—After the Division of the Empire.

A.D.	East.	A.D.	West.	A.D.	Popes.	A.D.
395	Arcadius.	395	Honorius.	398	Anastasius I. ..	401
408	Theodosius II.	423	Theodosius II.	402	Innocent I.	417
		425	Valentinian III.	417	Zosimus	418
					[Eulalius 418-9]	
		455	Maximus.	418	Boniface I.	422
		455	Avitus.	422	Celestine I.	432
450	Marcian.	457	Majorian.	432	Sixtus III.	440
457	Leo I.	461	Severus (Ricimer).	440	Leo I. the Great ..	461
		467	Anthemius.	461	Hilary	468
474	Leo II.	472	Olybrius.	468	Simplicius	483
474	Zeno.	472	Glycerius. } Nepos. }	483	Felix II. [III.] ..	492
475	Basiliscus.	475	Augustulus.	492	Gelasius I.	496
477	Zeno restored.*	476	End of W. Empire.	496	Anastasius II. ..	498

* Though, for convenience sake, the division of East and West is preserved, it must be remembered that Zeno was acknowledged by the Roman Senate as Emperor, and that all the Emperors reigning at Constantinople claimed to be *Roman* (and not merely Eastern or Byzantine) Emperors, till Michael I. acknowledged the new Western Empire of Charles the Great (812).

II.—After the Division of the Empire.—*continued.*

A.D.	East.	A.D.	West.	A.D.	Popes.	A.D.
			Rome and Italy.			
491	Anastasius.	476	Odoacer, patrician and (480) King.	498	Symmachus .. .. [Laurence 498–505]	514
		480	Clovis, king of the Salian Franks.			
		493	Theodoric I. (*Kingdom of the Ostroyoths till*			
518	Justin I.	567	*Exarchate of Ravenna* till 752; and	514	Hormisdas	523
527	Justinian I.			523	John I.	526
565	Justin II.	568	Alboin, *Kingdom of the Lombards* till 774: besides the	526	Felix III. [IV.] ..	530
				530	Boniface II.	532
				530	[Dioscorus, Sept. 17–Oct. 14]	530
578	Tiberius II.		*Saracens* in the South.*	532	John II.	535
582	Mauricius.			536	Sylverius	537
				537	Vigilius	555
				555	Pelagius I.	560
				560	John III.	573
				574	Benedict I.	578
				578	Pelagius..	590
602	Phocas.	591–615	Agilulf, king of the Lombards.	590	Gregory I. the Great	604
		615	Theolinda, as guardian of her son Adelwald.	604	Sabinian..	606
				607	Boniface III. (Feb. to Nov. 12)	607
610	Heraclius.			608	Boniface IV... ..	615
				619	Boniface V.	625
				625	Honorius I.	638
641	Constantine III. Heracleonas.			638	Severinus	640
641	Constans II.			640	John IV.	642
				642	Theodore I.	649
				649	Martin I.	653
				654	Eugenius I.	657
668	Constantine IV. Pogonatus.			657	Vitalian	672
				672	Adeodatus	676
				676	Donus	678
				678	Agatho	681
				682	Leo II.	683
				683	Benedict II.	685
685	Justinian II.	687	Pipin, of Heristal, duke of the Franks, *Major domus* of all the three Merovingian kingdoms.	685	John V.	686
695	Leontius.			686	Conon .. .. .. [Paschal 687–692.] [Theodore Sept.–Dec. 687.]	687
		688	Cunibert, king of the Lombards.	687	Sergius I.	701
698	Tiberius Apsimar.	698	Anafestus, the first Doge of Venice.	701	John VI.	705
705	Justinian II. (restored).			705	Sisinnius (Jan.-Feb. 7.)	
711	Philippicus.					
713	Anastasius II.	712	Liutprand, king of the Lombards.	708	Constantine I. ..	715
716	Theodosius III.	715	Charles Martel, duke of the Franks, and Major Domus.	715	Gregory II.	731
717	Leo III. the Isaurian.			731	Gregory III.	741

* From this point to the establishment of the Carolingian dynasty, only the more important names are entered in this column.

II.—After the Division of the Empire.—*continued.*

A.D.	East.	A.D.	West.	A.D.	Popes.	A.D.
741	Constantine V. Copronymus.	741	Carloman and Pipin the Short succeed Charles Martel.	741	Zacharias	752
		747	Pipin alone.			
		749	Astulphus, king of the Lombards.			
		753	*End of the Exarchate.*			
		756-774	Desiderius, last king of the Lombards.	752	(Stephen, died without consecration.)	
		751	Childeric III. (*the last Merovingian*) deposed. PIPIN THE SHORT, king of the Franks (beginning of the *Carolingian line*).	752	Stephen II.	757
				757	Paul I. .. .. .. [Constantine II. 767–8] [Philip 768.]	767
		768	Charles & Carloman.	768	Stephen III.	772
775	Leo IV.	771	CHARLES THE GREAT (alone).	772	Adrian I.	795
780	Constantine VI. Irene.			795	Leo III.	816

III.—From the Foundation of the Holy Roman Empire in the West.*

A.D.	Eastern Empire.	A.D.	Roman Empire.	A.D.	Popes.	A.D.
802	Nicephorus.	800	CHARLES I. THE GREAT.	795	Leo III.	816
811	Stauracius.	814	LOUIS I. THE PIOUS (associated in the Empire, 813).	816	Stephen IV.	817
811	Michael I. Rhangabe.			817	Paschal I.	824
813	Leo V. the Armenian.	817	LOTHAIR I. associated in the Empire.	824	Eugenius II.	827
820	Michael II. Balbus.			827	Valentine .. .. (less than one month).	827
829	Theophilus.	840	LOTHAIR I. (alone).	827	Gregory IV. .. .. [John, Jan. 844]	844
842	Michael III.			844	Sergius II.	847
867	Basil I. the Macedonian.	850	LOUIS II. (associated).	847	Leo IV.	855
		855	LOUIS II. (alone).	855	Benedict III. .. .. [Anastasius, Aug.-Sept. 855].	858
				858	Nicolas I.	867
				867	Adrian II.	872
				872	John VIII.	882
		875	CHARLES II., the Bald.	882	Marinus I. .. .. (or Martin II.)	884

* The Emperors are distinguished by small capitals. The other names are those of *kings of the Germans and of the Romans*, who never received the imperial coronation at Rome, and are not, therefore, properly called Emperors. It has not been thought necessary to give the dates of *association in the kingdom*; the dates given are those of *succession* and of *imperial coronation*.

III.—From the Foundation of the Holy Roman Empire in the West.—*continued.*

A.D.	Eastern Empire.	A.D.	Roman Empire.	A.D.	Popes.	A.D.
		884	Charles III., the Fat.	884	Adrian III.	885
886	Leo VI. the Wise.			885	Stephen V.	891
		891	Guido.	891	Formosus	896
		894	Lambert.	896	Boniface VI. .. (May-June)	896
		896	Arnulf (king from 887.)	896	Stephen VI.	896
		899	Louis the Child A.D. 911 (*Last of the Carolingians in Germany*).	897	Romanus .. .. (July-Nov.)	897
				897	Theodore II. .. (Nov.–Dec.)	897
				898	John IX.	900
				900	Benedict IV. ..	903
911	Constantine VII. Porphyrogenitus.	901	Louis III. of Provence.	903	Leo V. .. .. .. (Aug.–Sept.)	903
911	Alexander.			903	Christopher	904
919	Romanus I. Lacepenus.			904	Sergius III.	911
				911	Anastasius III. ..	913
944	Constantine VIII.	912?	Conrad I. the Franconian.	913	Lando	914
944	Stephen. (Sons of Romanus) reigned only 5 weeks.			914	John X.	928
			The Saxon Line.			
		918	Henry I. the Fowler.	928	Leo VI.	929
				929	Stephen VII. ..	931
945	Constantine VII. Porphyrogenitus (alone).			931	John XI.	936
		936	Otho I. the Great	936	Leo VII.	939
				939	Stephen VIII. ..	942
				942	Marinus II. .. .. (or Martin III.)	946
				946	Agapetus II. ..	955
		962	Otho I. (cr. Emp.)	955	John XII.	963
959	Romanus II.			963	Leo VIII.	965
963	Nicephorus II. Phocas.	967	Otho II. (associated).		[Benedict V. May-June, 964.]	
				965	John XIII.	972
969	John I. Tzimiaces.			972	Benedict VI. ..	974
969	Basil II.	973	Otho II. (alone).		[Boniface VII., July–Aug., 974.]	
976	Basil II. (alone).	983	Otho III.	983	John XIV.	984
976	Constantine IX.				[Boniface VII. rest. 984–985.]	
				985	John XV.	996
		996	Otho III. (cr. Emp.) *ob.* 1002.	996	Gregory V.	999
					[John XVI. 997–8.]	
				999	Sylvester II. ..	1003



Bethlehem and Jerusalem as Symbols.



Crucifixion from MS. of the Monk Rabula, A.D. 586.
(See p. 448.)

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. Definition of "The Visible Church of Christ"—Distinction between it and the Invisible and Universal Church. § 2. The Church under the Old Covenant—The "Church in the Wilderness," under the Angel Jehovah, that is, Christ—The Kingdom of David a type of the Kingdom of Heaven—Its proclamation by John and introduction by Jesus Christ. § 3. Names of the Church in Scripture—The word ἐκκλησία, equivalent to the "congregation" of Israel. § 4. New Testament examples of the word in its Jewish sense. § 5. Use of the word for the Christian Church—Its Head and Members. § 6. Varied extent of the Visible Church—The "Church in a House." § 7. The Churches in the several Cities. § 8. Churches in the Provinces throughout the Roman Empire, and the whole world. § 9. The Church Universal, the embodiment of the Kingdom of Heaven. § 10. The Ideal Church and its historic manifestation. § 11. Limits of the Subject—Nature and Uses of Ecclesiastical History. § 12. Periods in the History of the Church.

§ 1. "The visible Church of Christ is a Congregation of Faithful Men, in which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly administered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same."[1] This definition, framed by the Reformers of the Church of England, is

[1] *Articles of Religion*, Art. XIX.

accepted by the general consent of other Christian communities. It is based on the great truth, that Christianity is a social religion; not, on the one hand, a mystery, of which the sole knowledge is committed to a priestly order; nor, on the other hand, a matter solely between the believer and his God.

The definition recognises a distinction between the whole body of believers, in every age and place, and the society of faithful men, who are known as such to one another. The former are called in Scripture "the whole family in heaven and earth named" by the name of Christ,[1] "the Church of the Lord, which he hath purchased with his own blood."[2] These, the *invisible* and *universal* Church, can be known only to Him who has thus redeemed them; but those of them who unite on earth in Christian worship and ordinances, Christian life and discipline, and Christian effort to spread the truth and do good to men, form the *visible* "Church of God," or "of Christ."

§ 2. The distinction between the society based upon true religion and all political and other worldly societies has existed from the earliest history of mankind. Its type is seen in the faith of Abel and the disobedience of Cain; and those who, in the time of Seth, "began to call themselves by the name of Jehovah," are not unfitly called the Antediluvian Church. The salvation of Noah's family by, as well as from, the flood, is likened by St. Peter to baptism, the rite which admits into the Christian Church.[3] The faith which severed Abraham from the idolatrous world made him the spiritual father of the whole family of the faithful, who form the Church in every age. His natural descendants, springing from the twelve sons of Israel, like the nations converted by the twelve apostles, were called out from Egyptian bondage, "and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea."[4] They ate the food from heaven, which was the type of Christ's body, broken for His Church; they drank the draughts that flowed from the rock, "and that rock was Christ," the foundation on which He builds His Church. Gathered apart from the whole world, in the solemn seclusion of Sinai, they were constituted the *Congregation* or *Church of God*, and received that law from the mount of terror, of which Christ gave forth a new spiritual version from the mount of blessing, as the law of admission into His Church, the kingdom of heaven.[5] The lawgiver, in both cases, was the same, the Angel Jehovah and the Son of God. He is expressly said to have been "with the CHURCH in the wilderness,"[6] and thus the name, as well

[1] Ephes. iii. 15. [2] Acts xx. 28. [3] 1 Peter iii. 21.
[4] 1 Cor. x. 2. [5] Exod. xx.; Matthew v.
[6] Acts vii. 38. The word ἐκκλησία is used here, as in the LXX. version of the Old Testament, as the translation of קָהָל, the *congregation* of the people of Israel. See Note, p. 11.

as the essence of the Christian Church, are both derived from the Old Covenant. Of that church Jehovah was the ever-present head and ruler; but the people, unable to maintain their spiritual condition, desired to be like the political societies round them, and to be governed and glorified by a king. God, in condescending to their wish, set up in the house of David a new type of His future universal spiritual kingdom; and the whole witness of prophecy pointed to the coming spiritual king, whose subjects were to form the "kingdom of heaven," "the kingdom of God and of His Christ." When the last prophet came, as the forerunner and herald of Christ, he proclaimed, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand," and preached repentance from sin and reformation of life, as the conditions of entering into it. Christ began His ministry with the same message; and His first formal discourse to His newly-chosen apostles and to the body of His disciples—the Sermon on the Mount—laid down the laws of His kingdom, and the character of those who have a part in it. From that time to this, the Christian Church has been, in purpose and effort, however imperfectly, the outward exhibition of Christ's kingdom in the world.

§ 3. These first principles and their consequences are seen more clearly in the light of the terms used in Scripture to describe the Church. We must of course look, not to the word used in our language, which is of doubtful origin as well as of a double meaning, but at the original language of the New Testament. Nor is it less important to bear in mind the principle, that, as the Christian religion is derived from the Jewish, so the language of the New Testament must be interpreted by the usage of the Old, rather than by that of classical Greek. Thus, for example, the Christian "Church" has far more kindred with the "congregation" of the Israelites, than with the "assembly" of the Greek republics; though the name of the first (ἐκκλησία) is taken from the last, which is also used in the Septuagint to describe the second.

That name has the common sense, in all three cases, of an assembly convened by authority for counsel and united action; and this generic meaning of "an assembly" at once marks the nature of the Church as a *social aggregate*. But while the prevailing idea, in its classical use, is that of the political functions of a free assembly, its Hebrew and Christian use point rather to a people called together to hear the law of God, to bind themselves in a solemn covenant with Him, to live worthy of this their calling, and to unite in doing His work and spreading His truth. Further, as the name applied to the actual assembly of the Israelites is used also to denote the whole body of the people, even when not called forth to an assembly, so the name of the Christian Church is

extended from an actual assembly to wider unions of Christians and to the whole body of believers on earth and in heaven.

§ 4. We have just seen one example of the use of the word in the New Testament in the Jewish sense, where Stephen calls the whole body of the newly-ransomed and organised Israelites "the Church in the wilderness;"[1] and this with special reference to the fact that the Angel who was with them there, and spake to them in Mount Sinai, was Christ.

A second example is the quotation from a Psalm—"I will declare thy name unto my *brethren*, in the midst of the *Church* will I sing praise unto thee,"[2] which clearly extends David's praise of God in the assembly of the people to the Messiah's glorification of His Father throughout His Church.

The third example is in our Lord's directions for dealing with an offending brother: when more private remonstrances have failed, he says, "tell it to the Church," that is to the *congregation*.[3] The allusion is clearly to the practice of administering discipline in the Jewish synagogues, and this is cited as an example to be followed in the Christian Church.[4]

In these three passages, then, we see the word used in the New Testament, with primary reference to the Jewish Church, in the three senses of the whole people, their great assembly in the solemn worship of the Tabernacle or Temple, and their separate meetings in their synagogues. But, in all three cases, there is a plain transition to the Christian use of the word. Thus do the martyr Stephen, the Apostle Paul, and Christ himself, point us to the congregation of Israel as the type of the Christian Church.

§ 5. As the former was called the "congregation of Jehovah," so is the latter distinguished as "the church (and churches) of God," its author and possessor, its life and ruler; "the church (and churches) of Christ," who asserts His authority over and care for it by calling it "*my* church,"[5] and whose relation to His people is described by such figures as that of the head to the members, forming one body in sympathy as well as life,[6] and His mystic marriage with the Church, His spotless bride.[7] The Church is His own possession, purchased with His own blood. Its members are living stones, built upon Him as the corner-stone, and upon His

[1] Acts vii. 38; ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.

[2] Hebrews ii. 12, ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας: Psalm xxii. 22, where the word קָהָל is translated in our Version by "congregation."

[3] Matt. xviii. 17: εἶπε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρακούσῃ, ἔστω σοι ὥσπερ ὁ ἐθνικὸς καὶ ὁ τελώνης.

[4] See 1 Corinth. vi.

[5] Matt. xvi. 18.

[6] Romans xii. 4, 5; 1 Cor. vi. 15, xii. *passim*; Ephes. iv. 25, v. 30.

[7] Matt. xxii. 2, xxv. 10; Ephes. v. 23–32; 2 Cor. xi. 2; Rev. xix. 7–9, xxi. 2, 9.

Apostles as foundations, and joined together into a living temple, a spiritual house. Like the ancient people who formed the congregation of Israel, they are "called" by Him, but with a more "heavenly calling," "called out of darkness into His marvellous light."[1] In reference to their new character, as redeemed from sin, they are called "saints;"[2] as believers, they are designated by the word adopted in our Article, the "faithful;" and, in their relation to each other, they are constantly styled by the familiar name of "brethren."[3] Such are the essential characters of the members of the Christian Church; and the full significance of these terms is declared in the Sermon on the Mount, and developed in the Apostolic Epistles.

§ 6. Where is this "congregation of faithful men" to be seen embodied in a "visible" existence? The principle of the answer is to be found in our Lord's words: "Where"—whether within the narrowest or widest bounds—"two or three"—however few or however many—"are *gathered in my Name*, there am I in the midst of them."[4] Such was literally the case when, on the second day of our Lord's public appearance, the *two*, who believed John the Baptist's testimony to him as the Lamb of God, followed him to where he dwelt, and abode with him that day.[5] In that lowly dwelling beside the bank of Jordan there was gathered on that evening *the first Church of Christ:* Himself, and Peter, and another —most probably John.

The Church, as it was left by our Saviour at His ascension, was gathered together in an upper chamber at Jerusalem.[6] And so we read, in several cases, of *the Church in a person's house*,[7] whether that phrase denotes the believing members of the family alone, or whether it includes others who were wont to assemble with them for "doctrine and fellowship, and breaking of bread, and prayers."

[1] 1 Peter ii. 9. It is impossible not to connect this character of believers as the "called," "called to be saints" (κλητοὶ ἅγιοι: Rom. i. 7; 1 Cor. i. 2), "partakers of the heavenly calling" (Hebrews iii. 1), with the root meaning of the word ἐκκλησία; though it would be wrong to make this the primary reason for the name.

[2] Rom. i. 7, xvi. 15; 1 Cor. i, 2, xiv. 33, "all the *churches of the saints*," &c. &c. In fact, this and 'brethren' are the usual titles by which Christians are called in the New Testament.

[3] All three terms are united in Coloss. i. 2: τοῖς ἐν Κολοσσαῖς ἁγίοις καὶ πιστοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.

[4] Matt. xviii. 20.

[5] John i. 35–39.

[6] Acts i. 13, 15; the word used is 'disciples.' Here, however, we already see a distinction between a narrower and wider sense of the Church; for the 120 among whom Peter stood up, could not include the 500 brethren to whom the risen Christ had appeared at once (1 Cor. xv. 6), and there were doubtless many other believers scattered throughout the Holy Land.

[7] Rom. xvi. 5; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; Coloss. iv. 15; Philemon, 2.

§ 7. The public life of those among whom the Gospel had its first great success was for the most part *civic*; and therefore we naturally find each body of Christian converts described as the *church in the city* of their abode; the Church in Jerusalem, in Antioch, in Babylon, the Church of God which is in Corinth, and so in many other cases.[1] That this designation included the whole body of Christians in each city is further clear from the phrase, "the Church of the people of" such and such a city.[2] This also appears from the case of the church at Jerusalem, where the number of converts was manifestly too large to meet for ordinary worship, though they might have been assembled on special occasions;[3] and yet we never read of more than one church in Jerusalem.

§ 8. As another natural result of the civic constitution, when Christian communities were multiplied in each portion of the Empire, they are spoken of as the *churches*, never as the *church*, *in* or *of* each district or province; such as, "the churches of Judea" and "through all Judea;"[4] the churches which Paul confirmed, as he went through Syria;[5] those in the south-east of Asia Minor, in each of which Paul and Barnabas ordained elders;[6] the churches of Galatia,[7] of Macedonia,[8] and those of the province of Asia,[9] more

[1] The Greek formula has the preposition *ἐν*, which may also be translated 'at'; for example, Acts viii. 1, *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις*. The full description, in 1 Cor. i. 2, is well worth noting, *τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἡγιασμένοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις, σὺν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν*· where we have a transition from the local church to the whole visible church on earth. Instead of the word 'church,' we find sometimes 'the saints' or 'the brethren' in such and such a city, as Ephes. i. 1, *τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* (cf. Philip. i. 1; Coloss. i. 2, iv. 15), and sometimes only the definite article, "*those* in Laodicea, and in Hierapolis" (Coloss. iv. 13, *τῶν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεραπόλει*), and more comprehensively "*all* that are in Rome," with their characteristic *description* added (*πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀγαπητοῖς Θεοῦ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις*, Rom. ii. 7). In one remarkable case the whole church is saluted as the *brethren* in the city, with the *church* in a private house (Coloss. iv. 15, *ἀσπάσασθε τοὺς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀδελφοὺς καὶ Νυμφᾶν καὶ τὴν κατ' οἶκον αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν*).

[2] The genitive of the ethnic name; as 1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1, *τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεσσαλονικέων* (sc. *ἁγίων* or *ἀδελφῶν*). Coloss. iv. 16, *τῇ Λαοδικέων ἐκκλησίᾳ*, the same community which the Apostle has described just before as "*the brethren* in Laodicea" (ver. 14).

[3] As at the so-called Council, Acts xv. By this time, however, the Christians of Jerusalem had been widely scattered by persecution (Acts viii. 1). Nor must it be forgotten that, of the 3000 converts on the Day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 41), and the 5000 added soon after (Acts iv. 4; perhaps this is the total number of believers), many were foreign Jews, who would return to their several provinces.

[4] Galat. i. 22; Acts ix. 31. [5] Acts xv. 41. [6] Acts xiv. 23.
[7] Galat. i. 1; 1 Cor. xvi. 1. [8] 2 Cor. viii. 1. [9] 1 Cor. xvi. 19.

particularly described as the seven churches in Asia;[1] besides numerous examples of the plural used alone to denote the churches of a district. Going beyond the boundaries of a province, and embracing the whole Roman Empire and the world, Paul speaks of the "churches of the Gentiles,"[2] and "all the churches of the saints."[3]

But even this distributive phrase is coupled with a full recognition of the united social whole, made up of the several churches in each province, as when Paul speaks of the practical love of the Thessalonian church towards "all the brethren in the whole of Macedonia," and enjoins that his Epistle be read to all the brethren,[4] and when he addresses his Second Epistle "To the church of God in Corinth with all the saints in the whole province of Achaïa."[5] Here we have, in essence if not in form, churches of a provincial extent, fully united in communion and in doing good, though no light is thrown as yet on their union for government and discipline.

§ 9. The New Testament uses the word Church, and the phrases connected with it, to indicate a wider extent than any local boundaries can define, wider even than any visible test can mark. One mode of conveying this idea is by the absence of any distinctive or qualifying phrase. "The CHURCH," absolutely, is often spoken of in terms which can only apply to *the whole body of believers*, in every time and place, regarded in their essential, but therefore invisible, unity. The Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians are full of examples of this use of the word. In other Epistles, Paul describes the universal church as the "Church of God,"[6] which he elsewhere calls "the Church of the Lord, which He hath purchased with His own blood."[7] It is this universal Church that is described, in the splendid imagery of the Apocalypse, as the Holy City of God, the New Jerusalem, the spiritual reality, of which the Jewish polity was but the outward sign. This relation is most vividly described in that comprehensive passage of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which contrasts the visible and tangible Mount Sinai with the spiritual Mount Sion, which places the Church on earth in its connection with God and angels and the spirits of the redeemed,

[1] Rev. i. 4, 11. [2] Rom. xvi. 4.

[3] 1 Cor. xiv. 34; see also the comprehensive phrase quoted above, *ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ* (1 Cor. i. 2).

[4] 1 Thess. iv. 10; v. 26, 27.

[5] 2 Cor ii. 1: *τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Κορίνθῳ σὺν τοῖς ἁγίοις πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ.*

[6] 1 Cor. x. 32, xi. 22, xv. 9; Gal. i. 13; 1 Tim. iii. 5.

[7] Acts xx. 28. The restoration of the genuine reading, *τοῦ Κυρίου*, for *Θεοῦ*, does not at all diminish the force of the passage; for the *Κύριος* of the New Testament is the Jehovah of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Lord and Head of both the Jewish and Christian churches.

with the symbols of the Old Covenant and the glories of the New, with the Mediator, Jesus, whose love has destroyed the terrors of the law given by Moses, and whose blood has appeased the cry for vengeance against all the sins committed on the earth since the blood of Abel.[1] The Old Covenant with the Patriarchs and the chosen people is at length made perfect in the New Covenant with the spiritual and universal Church of Christ. This is the kingdom of heaven, which was foreshadowed in the kingdom of David; and when the Jews were expecting a manifestation of that kingdom suited to their narrow and selfish hopes, Christ proclaimed that His kingdom was among and within men, and founded His Church as its exhibition upon earth. As it consists of weak and erring men, this exhibition is of course imperfect; but the efforts and sufferings, nay, the very errors and contentions, of the Church militant here are ever working towards the future manifestation of the Church triumphant, as the accomplished kingdom of Christ, when the proclamation shall go forth, "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ."[2]

§ 10. The Visible Church, then, is the objective exhibition of the ideal kingdom of heaven in a society distinct from and independent of all worldly social organizations. Its essential character is to be sought in the person and work of Christ, its divine Head and King, who has redeemed and renewed its members to be His own people, and who ever lives to govern them and guide them by His Spirit. The New Testament identifies the Church with the individuals who compose it, and those individuals with the Church. In its organic nature it is neither more nor less than the society of true Christians; but its actual exhibition falls far short of this ideal; and it is with that actual exhibition that History alone can deal. An ideal History of the Church of God would search out and follow all the elements of truth and goodness which have been flowing as a living current through the whole history of the world. Nay, it would even embrace that whole history, the course of which is governed by the providence of God to subserve the final triumph of His kingdom. The history of religion before Christ bears the same relation to His Church, that the promises and prophecies of the Old Covenant bear to His own life and work. But this vast subject requires subdivision, and by the History of the Church we understand that of the period since Christ's advent. Further, as the time of Christ and His Apostles is, for the most part, included in Scripture History, it is usual to begin the detailed History of the Church from the period where the New Testament History ends.

[1] Hebrews xii. 18–24.

[2] Rev. xi. 15. For the fuller exhibition of this part of the subject, see Archbishop Whately's *Two Essays on the Kingdom of Christ.*

§ 11. The enquiry, thus limited in extent, is modified in its character by the impossibility of distinguishing the true Church, by any certain and infallible test, from the various societies which have borne the name.

In Christ's own parable of His kingdom, "the field is the world," in which the good seed of His own sowing springs up side by side with the weeds sown by the enemy. Orthodox zeal has always attempted to distinguish and pull up these *lolia*;[1] but the historian is especially bound by the command, "Let both grow together till the harvest." All of these must be included in the historical treatment of the subject; and it is the essential character of history to exhibit facts, rather than to discuss principles. The essential purpose of a history is to set forth a body of objective facts which present themselves to us outwardly and in action, with intelligent beings for the agents, forming a connected series, and capable of being established on the ground of testimony. Ecclesiastical History is a subject distinct from the science of Theology and of Christian Evidence, and also from the merits or faults of different systems of Ecclesiastical Polity. But it involves the purely historical exhibition of these, as well as of the doctrines held or rejected at different times; and, whether for good or evil, its largest part is occupied with the controversies and divisions respecting such questions of doctrine and of discipline. Next to the chief purpose of confirming our faith in God's care of His own truth and people and in the fulfilment of His promise to be with His Church till its end shall be attained in the coming of His kingdom, the second great use of the subject is to teach us, by a comprehensive survey of the facts, to do justice to all parties of sincere Christians, in a spirit of humility and candour.

§ 12. It is a long-established and convenient practice to arrange the stages in the history and condition of the Christian Church according to the centuries from the Christian era. The division is evidently artificial, and a proper arrangement would be based upon those epochs of great change, dividing periods of more quiet progress, which a great writer[2] has designated as historical *moments of revolution* and *moments of development*. The relations of the Church, moreover, to the political societies under and amidst which it has existed, demand a close and constant reference to the epochs of secular history. It does, however, so happen that these epochs, both civil and ecclesiastical, fall in many cases at or very near to the dividing points of centuries.

The whole history of the Christian Church, down to our own

[1] This is one derivation of the name Lollards applied to our own early Reformers.

[2] Schleiermacher.

times, may be conveniently distributed into the following nine periods:—[1]

I. FIRST PERIOD.—*The Apostolic Church*; corresponding to the *First Century* and the Age of the so-called Cæsars, A.D. 10–100.[2]

II. SECOND PERIOD.—*The Church persecuted as a Sect;* down to Constantine, the First Christian Emperor; corresponding nearly to the *Second and Third Centuries*, A.D. 100–313.

III. THIRD PERIOD.—*The Church in Union with the Græco-Roman Empire, and amidst the storms of the Great Migration;* to Pope Gregory I.; corresponding to the *Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Centuries*, A.D. 311–590.

IV. FOURTH PERIOD.—*The Church planted among the Germanic Nations;* to Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand); corresponding nearly to the *Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Centuries*, A.D. 590–1073.

V. FIFTH PERIOD.—*The Church under the Papal Hierarchy and the Scholastic Theology;* to Pope Boniface VIII.; corresponding nearly to the *Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, A.D. 1073–1294.

VI. SIXTH PERIOD.—The *Decay of Medieval Catholicism*, and the *preparatory movements of Protestantism:* to Pope Leo X., the Emperor Charles V., king Henry VIII., and Luther; corresponding nearly to the *Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, A.D. 1294–1517.

VII. SEVENTH PERIOD.—The *Evangelical Reformation*, and the *Roman Catholic Reaction*, in the *Sixteenth Century*, A.D. 1517–1600.

VIII. EIGHTH PERIOD.—The *Age of Polemic Orthodoxy and Exclusive Confessionalism;* corresponding to the *Seventeenth Century and the First Half of the Eighteenth*, A.D. 1600–1750.

IX. NINTH PERIOD.—*Spread of Infidelity*, the *Revival of Evangelical Christianity in Europe and America*, and the *Revived Efforts of the Papacy*, to the adoption of the dogma of Papal Infallibility by the Council of Rome; A.D. 1750 to the present time.

The last three of these nine periods lie beyond the scope of the present work.

[1] Schaff, *History of Ancient Christianity*, vol. i. p. 14, slightly altered.

[2] We use A.D. 1 here for convenience instead of the B.C. 4 required by strict chronology.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE WORDS ECCLESIA (Ἐκκλησία) AND CHURCH.*

To the remarks made for the purpose of bringing out the essential idea of the Church, something remains to be added on the various uses of the word ἐκκλησία.

1. There is but one passage in the New Testament in which the word is used in its classical sense, and even there its specific meaning is doubtful. In the narrative of the "no small riot about *the way*" (one of the usual terms descriptive of Christianity in the New Testament) which was raised by Demetrius and his fellow-craftsmen during Paul's stay at Ephesus (Acts xix. 23–41), the mob (ἡ σύγχυσις, ver. 29) that rushed by a common impulse into the theatre is called a confused or disorderly *ecclesia* (ἦν γὰρ ἡ ἐκκλησία συγκεχυμένη, ver. 32); for it seems to have been neither duly summoned, nor held in the proper place of meeting, nor, perhaps, on one of the proper days. In contrast with it the officer (ὁ γραμματεύς) challenges a reference to the *legal assembly* (ἐν τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ver. 39); and then he dissolves the meeting (τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ver. 41). Some suppose that this was a real *ecclesia*, though irregularly convened; but the one point worth notice is, that this solitary N. T. example of the classical use of the word ἐκκλησία has no bearing on its application to the Church.

2. This, the only passage in which our Version does not render ἐκκλησία by 'church,' stands in close connection with a solitary example, in which 'church' represents a Greek word different from ἐκκλησία, and a very curious example it is. The officer says to Demetrius and his fellows (in the A. V.):—"For ye have brought hither these men, which are neither *robbers of churches*, nor yet blasphemers of your goddess." Surely, says the 'simple common-sense reader of our admirable translation,' here is at all events a reference to sacred buildings; and the natural inference from the word in the plural would be that heathen temples were called 'churches' (ἐκκλησίαι), and that the word was transferred from this use to Christian places of worship, just as the heathen name of *temple* (*templum* and the Greek ἱερόν) was applied to the 'house of Jehovah' at Jerusalem. But the word is ἱεροσύλους, 'plunderers of sacred things,' the Latin *sacrilegus*, whence our 'sacrilege' and 'sacrilegious.' Though it would, of course, include 'robbers of temples,' it has no necessary reference to buildings; and it would apply just as much to one who stole a fragment of the votive offering at Artemisium as to one who broke into the temple of Artemis to carry off any of the silver shrines dedicated to the goddess.

3. The apparent use of 'church' for a sacred building, *in this passage*, is deceptive; and there is no clear example of that sense of the word in the New Testament. But there is something that comes very near it in the use of the word for the meetings of a church, in Paul's 1st Epistle to the Corinthians (ch. xiv.).* In verses 4 and 5, the 'church' clearly means the *believers* in their assembly; and the transition to its meeting *in a place* is made at v. 19, and more plainly at v. 23, "If therefore the whole church be come together *in one place*," apparently a regular and not a private place of meeting, as a stranger is supposed to enter it; and several references follow to speaking or keeping silence *in the church* (vv. 28, 33, 34, 35). In the same Epistle (xi. 22), there is a striking passage which contrasts the '*church* of God' with the *houses* of the Christians, following upon the mention of their habitual "coming together *in the church*" (ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, v. 18).† It may be that the wealthy and powerful church of Corinth, under the impartial protection of such a proconsul as Gallio, held its meetings more openly and regularly than

* Compare the analysis of the meanings of *Ecclesia* in the Appendix to Clinton's *Fasti Romani*, vol. ii., pp. 523–5.

* The word is ἐκκλησία throughout.

† The phrase "when ye come together *into one place*" (v. 20), which seems still more plainly suggestive of an habitual place of meeting, is not quite so decisive in the original, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, though these words may bear the sense given in our Version.

was customary elsewhere. At Ephesus, too, when the Christian members of the synagogue seceded to the school of Tyrannus, Paul's ministry there for two years must have given the place, for the time, the character of a Christian church.

4. As a general rule, however, the Christians of the apostolic age, from the very fact that they were a persecuted sect, could as yet have had no buildings set apart for worship. They met in private houses, generally in the seclusion of upper rooms;* and such places of meeting were furnished by eminent converts, like Lydia, Jason, Justus, Priscilla, Philemon, and Nymphas, at Philippi, Thessalonica, Corinth, Ephesus, Colossæ, and Laodicea. As their numbers grew, and as persecution became fiercer, the Christians met in desert places, at the tombs of martyrs, and in the catacombs. We shall meet, in due time, with the deeply interesting memorials of "the Church in the Catacombs" at Rome. Even if any special circumstances had given them the opportunity of converting heathen sanctuaries to the purpose of Christian worship, their deep abhorrence of all the symbols of pagan idolatry would have forbidden their use of such buildings.

Special buildings for Christian worship are not mentioned till about the end of the second century; and they are then called both by the name of the *churches* that met in them (ἐκκλησίαι), and after the example of the Tabernacle and Temple, *Houses of the Lord or of God* (κυριακαί, οἶκοι Θεοῦ). The earliest allusions to them are made by Tertullian, who speaks of "going to church" (in *ecclesiam, in domum Dei* venire).† On the principle, common to all ages and languages, of naming a place of regular meeting from the body that meets there, the word *ecclesia* became the common name for Christian places of worship, both in Greek and Latin. Clement of Alexandria, the contemporary of Tertullian, explicitly distinguishes the two senses of the word ἐκκλησία, a 'place' (τόπος), and a 'congregation of the elect' (ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν). The word κυριακή, however, was still preserved in the East, and, in Latin, churches were also called 'conventicles' (*conventicula* i. e. 'assemblies'), a term which corresponds exactly to the Jewish 'synagogue' and the modern 'meeting-house.' When Constantine and his successors granted the Christians the use of the *basilicæ* (the form of which was admirably suited to the more ceremonial worship which was then already practised), the old name was naturally kept, and was also applied to the new churches built after their model; and many of the great churches at Rome are still called basilicas.

5. The Græco-Latin name *ecclesia*, alike for the church and for its places of meeting, was naturally transferred to the languages of the western nations, both those which adopted the Latin language (as in the French *église*), and those which received their Christianity from Rome, like the old British church. The word is preserved, not only in the Welsh *eglwys*, but in the old English form *Ægæles* or *Ægles*, in many names of places, as *Ægleswrda* (Aylesford in Kent), and *Ægleswurh* (Aylesbury in Bucks.). The English people received it, with Christianity, through the mission of Augustine; but, instead of the word keeping its place, like other religious terms of Greek and Latin origin (*abbat, bishop*, &c.), it was replaced, both among us and the other Teutonic nations, by the word which appears in the various forms of *cyrice, cyrce, cyrc*, (also with *i* for *y*, as well as other forms, in Anglo-Saxon), *kirk* (Scotch), *church* (English), *Kirche* (High German), &c. The origin of this word is still a point of doubtful controversy. Some hold that the Goths received the name κυριακή from their Greek teachers, and that it spread from them to the other Teutonic nations. Others claim for it a native Teutonic etymology, from the root common to all the Indo-European languages, signifying an enclosure. In either case, it it would seem that, instead of a *church* (the building) being named from the congregation, as was the case with *ecclesia*, the inverse process has taken place in the Teutonic languages.

* Acts i. 13, xx. 8; comp. iv. 21, xii. 12: in the last case, in a time of violent persecution, the doors were locked. Another example of their meetings is in the resort of Paul and his companions to the προσευχή, outside the walls of Philippi by the river side, which was already used by Lydia and the other Jewish proselytes. There is nothing to shew that this was a *building*, and the words οὗ ἐνομίζετο προσευχὴ εἶναι seem rather to imply a mere spot, shaded perhaps by trees, of customary resort for prayer, (Acts xvi. 13, 16.)

† *De Idol.* 7; *de Corona*, 3; *de Pudic.* 4.



Christ sitting, with the Doctors standing before him. (From a Diptych of the Fifth Century.)

BOOK I.

THE PRIMITIVE AND PERSECUTED CHURCH.

FROM THE COMING OF CHRIST TO CONSTANTINE'S EDICT OF UNIVERSAL TOLERATION; CORRESPONDING TO THE FIRST, SECOND, AND THIRD CENTURIES. A.D. 1–313.

CHAPTER I.

THE MINISTRY OF JESUS CHRIST IN ITS RELATION TO THE ORIGIN OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. A.D. 1–30.

§ 1. CHRIST the Foundation of His Church — Special offices of the three chief Apostles, PETER, PAUL, and JOHN. § 2. Preparation for the Church in the Jewish and heathen world. § 3. Introduction to the Church, and proclamation of its principles by JOHN THE BAPTIST — The *Ordinance of Baptism.* § 4. Christ's Ministry in training His Disciples for His Kingdom. § 5. Gradual growth of the Church — Its first great gathering in Galilee — Character of Christ as its Head. § 6. Appointment of the *Apostles* — Their commission and office. § 7. The *Sermon on the Mount*, as the *Law of the Christian Church.* § 8. Appointment and Commission of the Seventy *Evangelists* — Support of the Christian Ministry. § 9. Unbelief and defection of Christ's Disciples — Confession of Peter — The Church built on Christ the Rock. § 10. Christ's entry into Jerusalem as the Head of the Jewish Church — Rejection by and of the Jews. § 11. The Passover and the

Lord's Supper. § 12. The Passion of Christ, in its relation to His Church — Typical characters of Judas, Peter, and John — John's testimony as an eye-witness. § 13. The Resurrection of Christ, the New Creation of the Church — Celebration of the Lord's Day, and meetings of the Disciples — Christ's Commission to the Apostles. § 14. And the body of the Disciples. § 15. The Quadragesimal interval, and Christ's Final Interview with the Disciples, and promise of the Spirit — His Ascension and the promise of His Second Coming.

§ 1. THE scriptural narrative of the age of Christ and His Apostles has been followed in the 'Student's New Testament History,' and need not be repeated here. But in order not to omit the very source and foundation of Ecclesiastical History, it is essential to select from the whole mass of that narrative the facts which exhibit the foundation and diffusion, the doctrines and practices, of the primitive Church, as it was first built up on Christ its rock and cornerstone,[1] and on the twelve Apostles of the Lamb as its foundations.[2] Its very existence was made possible by the redeeming work of Christ; its principles were laid down in His teaching; its first members were chosen by Him and trained by constant converse with Him for the work of its diffusion, to which He finally sent them forth with a solemn commission, authenticated by miraculous powers, and with the promise of His presence with them to the end of the world. When He, the Head, ascended to Heaven, the Church was left as the Body, with members quickened by His Spirit, to do His work and maintain and spread His truth, upon the earth. The three great stages in that work are represented by the three chief Apostles:—PETER, who, in the office symbolized by the "keys,"[3] opened the kingdom of heaven to Jews and proselytes; PAUL, the Apostle of the Gentiles; and JOHN, whose work united that of the other two, and who lived, according to His Lord's prophecy,[4] to see the first coming of Christ accomplished in the end of the Jewish dispensation and the spread of the Gospel through the Roman empire, and to record, in his Apocalyptic vision, a prophetic anticipation of the future history of the Church.

§ 2. The point in the history of the world marked by the coming of Jesus Christ is called by the Apostle Paul "the fulness of the time."[5] All the dealings of God with the Jewish people, and all the "feeling after Him" of the heathen world, as well as all the vain efforts of its rulers to establish lasting empires, had concurred

[1] Matt. xvi. 18, xxi. 42; Mark xii. 10; Luke xx. 17; Acts iv. 11; Eph. ii. 20; 1 Peter ii. 7.
[2] Rev. xxi. 14; comp. Gal. ii. 9.
[3] Matt. xvi. 19.
[4] John xxi. 22, 23.
[5] Galat. iv. 4. The most eminent Church historians have introduced their subject by an exhibition of the state of the Jewish and Gentile world at the time of Christ's coming, for which space can hardly be afforded here. See especially the works of Neander, Gieseler, and Schaff.

to prepare for the divine kingdom, by the expectation of which both Jews and Gentiles were at that epoch deeply moved. The diffusion of the Greek language through the conquests of Alexander, and the subjection of the civilized world to the sway of Rome, had levelled a broad highway[1]—intellectual, political, and physical—for the spread of a social system based on truth, moral suasion, and spiritual power, and asking no worldly help save that impartial sufferance which it was the policy of Rome to extend to all religions.

§ 3. Such was "the fulness of the time," when "God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law" and "in bondage to the elements of the world, that we might receive the adoption of sons."[2] No words could express more fully the foundation, the character, and the privileges of that new society, which was designed to embody the "kingdom of heaven" proclaimed by Christ and His forerunner.

John, the Elijah of the New Covenant, insisted on the first condition of fitness for that Kingdom by repentance and reformation of life, as the symbol of which his disciples received *Baptism*, the washing of the body. But he bore emphatic testimony, that "to one greater than he," who was coming after him, he must leave the work of purifying the inward nature from sin by the baptism of fire, burning out the dross from the gold, and by the baptism of the Holy Spirit, creating a new spiritual life. Therefore he pointed his disciples to "the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world;" and he thus laid down reconciliation with God through sacrifice for sin, as the way of entrance into the new Kingdom, just as into the old congregation of Israel.

§ 4. The ministry of Christ among His disciples prepared them to understand this truth, which they found "a hard saying" to the very last, till they saw it fulfilled in His death and resurrection. The number chosen to share His constant society, thus forming already the nucleus of the Church, was so small, that they could have the most intimate converse with him, while their close and daily observation would fit them to attest the facts of his life, his deeds and teaching, his death and resurrection.[3] The lowly station of these fishermen, publicans, and others, who were despised still more for their origin from the half-heathen land of Galilee, marked them as the ministers of a kingdom widely different from the pharisaical pride and worldly hopes of the Jews. The retired life which they

[1] Isaiah, xl. 4. [2] Gal. iv. 3-5.

[3] St. Peter emphatically describes this preparation of the Apostles:—"Him God raised up the third day, and shewed him openly; not to all the people, but unto *witnesses chosen before of God*, even to us, who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead." Acts x. 40, 41. See Bishop Horsley's *Sermons on the Resurrection of Christ.*

led with Jesus, and the slow and gradual steps by which He entered on His public ministry, proved that "the Kingdom of God cometh not with observation," and He ever taught them "that, the Kingdom of God is *within* you." But He plainly announced himself, first to the Jews assembled for the Passover at Jerusalem,[1] as the Lord who had authority in the House of God, as prophesied by Malachi, and afterwards in his own city of Nazareth, as the Messiah, the anointed King of Israel, on whom the spirit of Jehovah rested, and who had come to proclaim "the year of Jehovah," the Jubilee of the world, in the words of the prophet Isaiah.[2] But the Jews waited to see if he would lead them to victory against the Romans; and his own countrymen rejected him with rage when he revealed his mission to all the world.

§ 5. Meanwhile the Church, which began with the two disciples of John who followed Christ, was slowly enlarged by the followers whom He gathered, partly in his visits to Jerusalem—but of these few were real converts;[3] partly from the outcast Samaritans, of whom the woman of Sychar was the type;[4] but chiefly during His Galilean ministry.

It was in the second year of that ministry, when He was endangered by the enmity of the Jews, who would not receive, and of Herod, who could not understand, the spiritual nature of His Kingdom, that Jesus withdrew to a retired spot on the Lake of Galilee; but even there He was followed by a multitude from all parts of the Holy Land, and even from beyond its borders, from Idumea on the south, to Tyre and Sidon on the north. In the acts of mercy and healing, which He performed on that retired scene for those who were in part aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, Matthew sees the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy concerning the Messiah filled with the Spirit of God to judge Gentiles as well as Jews; so meek, that he would not strive or cry for his rights; so merciful, that he would not break the bruised reed as useless, nor quench the struggling light figured by the smoking lamp-wick; and yet so powerful by this very might of gentleness, that his just judgments should go forth to universal victory, "and in his name shall the nations trust."[5] Here is the express character of the head of the new kingdom of heaven; and in that assembly on the shores of the Lake of Galilee we see all the elements of His visible church gathered in separation from the world.

§ 6. For that Church he now provided the teachers who were to guide them, and the doctrines which were to mould their life and character. From among those whom he called to himself, as

[1] John ii. [2] Luke iv. 16-31; Isaiah lxi. 1, 2.
[3] John ii. 23-25. [4] John iv.
[5] Matt. xii. 15-21; Mark iii. 7-12; comp. Isaiah xl. 10, xlii. 1-3.

his more select disciples,[1] "he chose twelve, whom also he named APOSTLES,"[2] "and he ordained them, that they should *be with Him*, and that He might *send them forth*" (according to the significance of the Greek name of their office) "to *preach*, and to have *power to heal sicknesses*, and to cast out devils."[3] From this and other passages we gather the essential marks of the apostolic office:—personal intercourse with Christ; appointment by Himself; the power to work miracles in proof of their divine mission; the gift of the Holy Spirit, breathed upon them by their risen Lord, and afterwards conferred openly on the Day of Pentecost, enabling them to speak in foreign tongues; and the power to confer that gift on others. The union of these signs distinguished the Apostles from every other class of ministers; and their number, that of the twelve tribes of Israel, symbolized their primary mission to the Jews. The office of the Apostles was temporary; they were first in time, as well as authority and power, among the ministers whom Christ appointed to build up His Church—"for the edifying of the body of Christ."[4]

§ 7. To them, primarily, but with them to the whole assembled multitude, he addressed that discourse from the Mount of Blessings, which renewed and explained, in more spiritual freedom, the law which he, as the Angel Jehovah, had given to the elders and the whole congregation or church of Israel from Mount Sinai. It lays down the character of those who may enter into the kingdom of heaven, beginning with that poverty of spirit, meekness, and gentleness, which at once excluded the marked characters of worldly kingdoms and societies; and its climax is the pattern of likeness to their common Lord, and the law of mercy as they had received mercy, and of brotherly love, which binds together the members of the Church, and governs their conduct to the world:—"Be ye perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect"—"Be ye merciful, as your Father also is merciful"—"As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise."[5]

§ 8. It was not till six months before the end of his ministry, that Christ appointed and sent forth a second order of ministers, who are simply described by their number, the *Seventy*, but are commonly, and doubtless rightly called *Evangelists*, from their office of proclaiming the kingdom of God,[6] as now at hand, in the villages which He designed to visit on His journey to the Feast of

[1] Mark iii. 13. [2] Luke vi. 13.
[3] Mark iii. 13-15. On the essential characters of the apostolic office, see further in the *Student's New Testament History*, chap. ix. § 4.
[4] 1 Cor. xii. 28; Ephes. iv. 11, 12. [5] Matt. v.–vii.
[6] Called "the Gospel of the kingdom of God," in Matt. iv. 24, ix. 35, xxiv. 14; Mark i. 14.

Tabernacles.[1] The number of the Seventy, and the scene of their mission, alike indicated that the time was at hand for preaching the Gospel to the heathen; whereas the Apostles were forbidden to preach, at present, to the Samaritans or the Gentiles.[2] Neither had the Seventy the special training of the Twelve; but their instructions for their work were the same, and, in their essence, they are those which should always guide the ministers of Christ. The authority of their mission in Christ's name was, like that of the Apostles, fully identified with His own.[3] And it is to be observed that our Lord lays down for them the principle, on which St. Paul afterwards insisted, that the preacher of the Gospel ought to be supported by the free aid and hospitality of those to whom he ministers, "for the labourer is worth his wages."[4] The Seventy had the power of working miracles; but Christ taught them to rejoice less at the subjection of the devils to them through His name, than in the record of their own names in heaven. In like manner He contrasted the privileges of each member of His Church with the last and greatest of the prophets, "He that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than John the Baptist."

§ 9. Throughout the ministry of Christ, His own Church was troubled by the same doubts which in other Jews became open unbelief; they found it hard to learn the lesson of the spirituality of his kingdom, when they were expecting a King to sit as a conqueror on the throne of David. In one great defection even the Twelve were tempted to follow, when the Lord's appeal, "Will ye also go away?" called forth the confession in which Peter recognised Him as the Christ, the Son of the living God, because He had the words of eternal life.[5] It was in answer to this confession that He declared the distinction between his visible and spiritual church, by denouncing one of the twelve, whom He himself had chosen, as a devil. And it is a most instructive fact, that Judas Iscariot was suffered to remain in fellowship with the other Apostles, and to hold high trust among them, up to the night in which he betrayed his Lord with a kiss.

[1] Luke x. 1-16; compared with 1 Cor. xii. 28, and Ephes. iv. 11, 12, where *Evangelists* are named, after Apostles and Prophets, among the orders of the ministry instituted by Christ, and 1 Tim. iv. 5. The title given to "Philip the *Evangelist*" (Acts xxi. 8) deserves the more notice in this connection, as it was Philip who afterwards converted the Samaritans. The name *Evangelist* (εὐαγγελίστης) signifies "a messenger of good tidings," that is, of the *Gospel* ("good," or "God's spell," a word of the same significance as εὐαγγελία), and εὐαγγελίζειν ("evangelize") is "to announce good tidings," or "preach the Gospel." The application of the name to the *writers of the four Gospels* was made later.

[2] Matt. x. 5. [3] Verse 16. [4] Verse 7. [5] John vi. 69.

The confession of Peter was renewed on an occasion memorable for Christ's full revelation both of the spiritual foundation of His Church, and of the great doctrine of their redemption by His blood. In that momentous conversation at Cæsarea Philippi, the faith which Peter confessed, in the name of all the Apostles, was rewarded with the emphatic statement of the truth, symbolized by Peter's own name, that Christ himself was the eternal Rock, on which He had built His Church, and that all the powers of destruction should assail that Church in vain.[1] Peter himself expounds this truth (already suggested prophetically by David,[2] and dwelt on also by Paul[3]) in the beautiful figure of the Church as the spiritual house, built up of believers as living stones, on Christ the living foundation-stone, chosen of God and precious, but rejected by the disobedient builders, who stumble at the truth, like those who pretend from this very text to found their own false church on Peter himself. And in that house he declares that, not a consecrated order, but all believers are the living priesthood who offer up only spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God by Jesus Christ.[4]

§ 10. This lesson was designed to prepare the disciples for what they might have deemed the end of Christ's kingdom, with His life, when the Jews consummated their rejection of that true foundation of the church and kingdom they had hoped for. But first, our Lord assumed His dignity as head of the Jewish Church by His triumphal entry into Jerusalem. In His discourses and parables during that final week, He fully exposed their fatal error concerning His kingdom,[5] and taught more plainly than ever the true character of His church, as based on repentance and faith, not on the privileges of the chosen people, nor on a self-righteous claim to goodness. Throughout His course He had offended the Pharisees by receiving publicans and sinners, and He had plainly told them, "The publicans and harlots go into the kingdom of God before you." And now the parables of the *Two Sons and the Vineyard*, of the *Wicked Husbandmen*, and of the *Wedding Garment* illustrated the same truth; and the rejection of the Jews (as such) from the Church was pronounced by the sentence, "The Kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof." On leaving Jerusalem, He brought His teaching to a climax in the great prophecy of His coming to put an

[1] Matt. xvi. 18. For a critical discussion of this passage, and a refutation of the great Romish perversion, which makes Peter the rock and the Roman Catholic Church the superstructure, see the *Student's New Testament History*, chap. ix. § 14.

[2] Psalm cxviii. [3] Ephes. ii. 20 [4] 1 Peter ii. 4-9.

[5] *N. T. History*, chap. xi. §§ 3-6.

and to the apostate Jewish church, and to establish His own kingdom.[1]

§ 11. The last act of Christ's ministry was to keep with His disciples the Passover, the rite by which the Jewish church had been formally initiated, and to found upon it the ordinance which has ever since been the outward sign of fellowship in the Church, "the communion of the the body and blood of Christ." The Paschal Lamb, as a prophetic type, and the Lord's Supper, as the commemoration of an accomplished act, alike teach the twofold truth, that all true members of the Church are redeemed from the bondage of sin, and saved from the doom of death, only by the sacrifice of Christ, and that their nature is united with His, and their spiritual life and strength drawn from Him, as the body is nourished by bread and invigorated by wine. "This is my body broken for you"—"This is my blood of the New Covenant shed for the many for the remission"—"Eat and drink ye all of it"—"Do this in remembrance of me"—"Whenever ye do it ye show forth the Lord's death till He come"—are the sentences which ever keep before us the foundation, the continuance, and the future consummation of the fellowship of the Christian Church.

§ 12. In the trial and passion of our Lord, He was finally challenged by the solemn adjuration of the High Priest, by the searching inquiries of Pilate, and by the taunts of the Jews, to avow and assume His kingdom. Before the Sanhedrin He claimed His universal dominion as the Christ, the Son of the living God, and as the Son of Man, the future judge of all mankind. "Before Pontius Pilate He witnessed the good confession"—"My kingdom is not of this world." To the taunting challenge of the Jews, to show His power in the last extremity, by coming down from His cross to assume His kingdom, He replied only by proving that cross to be His throne of mercy, in the forgiveness of the penitent thief and his call to Paradise as the first member of the Church glorified in heaven.

Pilate unconsciously marked the relation of Christ's death to the life of His Church by affixing to His very cross the title "This is the King of the Jews." For He is the head as well as Saviour of the Church in His suffering humanity. Its highest office was performed by Him as at once its only true Priest and its only atoning sacrifice, when, of His own free will, He offered Himself upon the cross. His human nature, "made perfect through suffering," joined Him in full sympathy with the weak and suffering brethren, who form the body of which He is the divine Head, but "touched

[1] For an exposition of this prophecy, viewed as the first stage in the establishment of Christ's kingdom, as well as of its higher meaning, see the *Student's New Testament History*, chap. xix. § 20.

with the feeling of our infirmities."[1] His dying cry, "It is finished," marked the end of the old dispensation, as well as the fulfilment of the sacrifice which redeemed His Church, and the rending of the Temple veil was a sign that the Church, both on earth and in heaven, was open for all to enter by "the new and living way which He hath consecrated for us through the veil, that is to say, his flesh," if only we "draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water" (Heb. x. 19–22).

Three incidents of the Saviour's passion, which have a close connection with His Church, are the treachery of Judas, the fall of Peter, and the faithfulness of John. The three Apostles are types of the selfish hypocrite, the unstable but penitent disciple, and the follower stedfast through love; all within the circle of the visible Church. To John's courageous attendance on his Lord to the judgment hall, to the cross, and to the sepulchre, the Church owes the historical basis of her faith: "He that saw it bare record, and his record is true."[2] The flight of the rest of the disciples seemed for the moment like the dispersion of the Church which Christ had gathered; and its last visible representatives were the devoted women[3] who were

"Last at the cross and earliest at the tomb,"

and the secret disciple, Joseph of Arimathea, who furnishes another type of its true though unknown members.

§ 13. The tidings of the Lord's resurrection rallied the scattered disciples; and their meetings during the ensuing forty days are of great importance in the History of the Church. First, however, stands the vast significance of the event itself. As the death of Christ made atonement for sin and symbolized the death of His Church to the world, so did His resurrection mark the beginning of a new spiritual life, or, in the words of Paul, "a new creation in Christ Jesus." This new creation was the higher renewal of that first one which sin had marred; and therefore we find the disciples, from that very day, celebrating the *first day of the week* as the Christian Sabbath, the Lord's Day, on which they met for worship

[1] Hebrews iv. 15, where the whole context sets forth the relation of Christ's human nature to His Church as His brethren.

[2] John xix. 35, xxi. 24; 1 John i.

[3] The prominent part borne by women in the ministry of Jesus and in the early Church is an emphatic testimony of their full share in church-membership, in contradiction of that Oriental idea of their natural inferiority, which was expressed by the disciples when "they marvelled that" their Master "*talked with a* (not *the*) *woman*." (John iv. 27.)

and fellowship.[1] These assemblies began on that very evening, when the risen Lord entered the chamber where the eleven Apostles[2] had met with doors shut for fear of the Jews, saluted them with the blessing of "Peace," showed them His wounded body, and ate bread with them; and then breathing His Spirit upon them, He repeated their commission, to preach the gospel *to every creature*, and to baptize all believers, conferred on them the power to work miracles, and gave them the authority of remitting and retaining sins. Such was the first meeting of the apostolic church on the first Lord's day. "And *after eight days again his disciples were within*," the doors being shut as before, when Jesus stood again in their midst, with the salutation of "Peace," and satisfied the doubts of Thomas with the tangible proof of His resurrection. His third appearance to His Apostles (but to only seven of them this time), beside the Lake of Galilee, was marked by the second miracle of the great draught of fishes, which He had himself explained as a sign of the gathering of believers into His Church by His ministers, once fishermen, but now called to be "fishers of men." The emphatic record that "the net did not break," as when He had taught them the lesson before, signified that the time had come for their entrance on the evangelic work with the assurance of success.[3] It was on this occasion that he marked out John as the disciple who should live to see His coming in the full establishment of His Church.

§ 14. That this church was not restricted to the Apostles,[4] was signified by the appearance of Jesus to the great body of His disciples, "five hundred brethren at once," on a mountain in Galilee.[5]

[1] The meetings of the disciples on each eighth day have the more force as an argument from the very fact of their being only incidentally recorded. The correspondence of the *interval* with the week, and the distinction of the *day* from the old Sabbath, are facts which admit of no other explanation; and all doubt is removed by Paul's allusions to the meetings of the disciples on the first day of the week, and by the testimony of heathen as well as Christian writers to the practice from the earliest age of the Church. John, in mentioning the day as a season of spiritual ecstasy, in which Christ appeared to him and showed him the worship of the heavenly temple, expressly calls it by the name which it has always borne in the Church, "the Lord's Day" (*ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα*: *Dies Dominica*: Rev. i. 10).

[2] Mark xvi. 14-18; Luke xxiv. 36-49; John xx. 19-23; 1 Cor. xv. 5; where "the twelve" is used as the usual name of the Apostles, though Mark says, more exactly, "the eleven."

[3] John xxi. 1-14; comp. Luke i. 6.

[4] It appears also that on the first, at least, of the appearances specified as made to the Apostles, others of the disciples were present with them (see Luke xxiv. 35, 36).

[5] 1 Cor. xv. 16; comp. Matt. xxviii. 16, 17. On the harmony of these two testimonies, see the *Student's New Testament History*, chap. xii. § 13.

In this we recognize the great interview of Jesus with His disciples, of which He had spoken before His death, and to which they were summoned with the announcement of His resurrection.[1] Its scene was Galilee, where Jesus had begun His public teaching, and where His life had been chiefly spent. As He had opened His ministry on a mountain, by the discourse which set forth the conditions of discipleship, so He closed it on a mountain, by the commission and the promise, which He based on His own unbounded authority as Head over all things to His Church :—"All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and *make disciples of all nations*, *baptizing* them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, *teaching* them to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you : and lo, I am with you always unto the end of the world." Thus the commission, given before to the *Apostles*, was now repeated to the *disciples* in general, that is, to the church, and not only to its ministers. That this is true also of the promise of miraculous powers, and the gift of the Holy Spirit, appears from the record of Mark and John. One special appearance of our Lord, to James (the Less),[2] is important from the mention of that Apostle as being, like Peter and John, one of the "pillars of the church,"[3] and from that Apostle's close connection with the Church of Jerusalem, of which he is commonly reputed the first bishop.

§ 15. The whole interval of forty days between our Lord's resurrection and ascension is marked as a time of special preparation of His disciples, and especially the Apostles, for their part in His Church. While He prepared them to lay its foundation of truth in the great fact of His resurrection, "presenting himself to them alive after his passion by many proofs," He spent the time with them in "speaking of the things pertaining to the Kingdom of God."[4]

The *quadragesimal* period itself had a mystic meaning. As the founder of God's Kingdom on earth had his own faith and patience tried during a solitude of forty days between His baptism and His showing to Israel (like Moses, the founder, and Elijah, the reformer, of the Jewish church), so, as the risen Head of the Church, he spent his last forty days on earth in confirming the faith of His disciples, and working in them a conviction of the truth of His resurrection and the spiritual nature of His Kingdom.[5]

[1] Matt. xxvi. 32, xxviii. 7. [2] 1 Cor. xv. 7. [3] Galat. ii. 9.

[4] Acts i. 3 : *οἷς καὶ παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις, δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα ὀπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς, καὶ λέγων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

[5] Hence the Church celebrates the Quadragesimal Fast of the Springtide (Lent, A. S., *lencten*, from the lengthening days), and the period of forty days from Easter to Ascension Day.

On the fortieth day He met the disciples, assembled, as it seems, by His express appointment at Jerusalem, when they ate their simple meal together;[1] and He told them to wait at Jerusalem till they should receive the gift of the Paraclete, whom He had promised that the Father would send forth to replace His presence with them, to testify of Him in their hearts, and to bring all his teaching to their remembrance.[2] On the night of His passion, while preparing them for His departure, and warning them that they, like their Master, would be cast out of the Jewish church and be persecuted to death,[3] He had told them the strange truth, "It is for your advantage that I go away: for, if I go not away, the Paraclete will not come unto you; but if I depart I will send him unto you; and when he is come, he will convince the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment." This was the power with which the Church was to be endowed for its work in the world. And, now, on the day of His departure from the earth, He told them that the time was come to fulfil the promise, which had been made even from the appearance of His forerunner, "For John truly baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence."[4]

How much they still needed the new flood of light and life which was then to come upon them, was proved by their last persistent enquiry, whether He spoke of the time, as now come, to restore the kingdom to Israel. The answer, in the last words that Christ spoke on earth, disclosed the true sense in which that time had really come: the spiritual Kingdom of Christ and of the true Israel was now, indeed, to be established by the power of the Holy Ghost given to His Church for the restoration of the world—the Jew, the heretic, and the heathen alike—to faith:—"But *ye shall receive power*, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and in the uttermost parts of the earth."[5]

Either before or during this conversation, He had led them out as far as Bethany,[6] so that the Mount of Olives hid His ascension from the sight of the city; and, even as He uttered the last words, He rose up above the earth, and a cloud received Him out of the sight of His disciples. As they gazed upward, watching the course

[1] Acts i. 4: *συναλιζόμενος αὐτοῖς*; comp. ver. 6. *οἱ μὲν οὖν συνελθόντες.*

[2] Luke xxiv. 49; Acts i. 4; comp., for the promise itself, John xiv. 16, 26, xv. 26. The word Paraclete is purposely kept untranslated. The "Comforter" of our Version is quite inadequate, if not wrong. "Advocate," or "Exhorter," gives a much nearer approach to the meaning. On the whole subject, including the office of the Paraclete in the Church, see Archdeacon Hare's *Mission of the Comforter*.

[3] John xvi. 2.

[4] Acts i. 5.

[5] Acts i. 8.

[6] Luke xxiv. 50.

of His chariot of clouds, two angels came to assure them that Jesus would come again in like manner, as He Himself had told them, in the clouds of heaven, to assume His final kingdom;[1] and they returned to Jerusalem, to await the promise which was to make them the instruments of preparing that coming through the gathering of all the nations into His Church.

[1] Acts i. 11; comp. Matt. xxiv. 30, and many other passages of the New Testament, down to Rev. i. 7.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

ON THE ALLEGED CONTEMPORARY NOTICES OF JESUS CHRIST ELSEWHERE THAN IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. NOTICES IN GREEK AND ROMAN WRITERS.—We must be careful to observe the sense of the word *contemporary* in such an enquiry. The despotism of Tiberius and his successors was adverse to history; the chief historians, who were *contemporary with the age of the Cæsars* in general, wrote near and after the end of the first century, partly under Vespasian and Titus, but chiefly when free speech was restored under the constitutional rule of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines. Thus Tacitus penned his *locus classicus* about Jesus Christ nearly a century after the event. As that passage shows, it was not till the spread of Christianity in the Empire made its followers an object of inquisition and persecution, that historians thought them worth their notice, and even then but slightly so. If it seems strange to us that neither of the two great brothers, the philosopher Seneca and the historical poet Lucan, vouchsafed even a passing allusion to Christianity, we have only to remember how the third brother, Gallio, resented the very bringing before his tribunal, as proconsul of Achaia, of Jewish "questions of words and *names*," that is, of the name of Christ (Acts xix. 15).

1. The earliest writer whose silence would have caused real surprise is the Romanized Jew, JOSEPHUS, who was born at Jerusalem, a very few years after our Lord's ascension (A.D. 37), and was himself an actor in, as well as the historian of, that terrible war which (unknown to him) resulted in Christ's predicted "coming in His kingdom," when the Jewish Church fell with the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus (A.D. 70).

It would have been strange if, in his larger work, which follows the whole history of the Jewish commonwealth, no allusion had been made to Jesus, especially as Josephus mentions the preaching of John the Baptist; and there is such an allusion, and a very striking one, in the existing text of the 'Jewish Antiquities' (xviii. 3, § 3). The genuineness of the passage has been questioned, partly on the weak negative ground, that Eusebius is the first Christian writer who appeals to so remarkable a testimony; and partly on the internal evidence, which shows the hand of a Christian, whereas Josephus was an unbelieving Jew to the last. (Origen, *c. Cels.*, i. p. 35.) But he was too candid to have abstained, on this ground, from a purely historical mention of Christ; and the very interpolations, which appear to have been made in the text by the misguided zeal of Christian copyists, rather tend to confirm the genuineness of the essential parts, which are quite in a different vein. In the first words, for example, a Christian would hardly have introduced Jesus as a σοφὸς ἀνὴρ. Observe also the τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, and the whole of that sentence. We know that Josephus was read and copied by Christians, rather than by Jews; we know the early tendency of copyists to interpolate even the MSS. of the Scriptures; and we must never forget, in all questions of this sort, the fatal facility which MS., as distinguished from

print, presents, especially to the solitary scribe, to add his own thoughts and comments as he goes on pen in hand.

The arguments on both sides are summed up by Gieseler (i. p. 64, note), who cites the passage, distinguishing by brackets what he regards as the interpolations. *Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς, σοφὸς ἀνήρ, [εἴγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή· ἦν γὰρ] παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, [διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν σὺν ἡδονῇ τἀληθῆ δεχομένων], καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο. [Ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν.] Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου, οὐκ ἐξεπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες. [Ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια εἰρηκότων.] Εἰσέτι τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῦλον.*

A translation of the passage, as thus restored, will make the whole case clearer: —"About this time there arose one JESUS, a clever (or wise) man, a doer of wonderful deeds (literally, contrary to expectation), and he led after him many of the Jews [and many also of the Gentile world].* And when Pilate, on the information of the chief men among us, had punished Him with crucifixion, his adherents did not cease (from their faith in Jesus). And still to the present time there is not lacking a multitude of those who from this man are named *Christians*." These words, as they stand, are just such an account of Jesus as Josephus might have been expected to give.

2. The testimony of Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 44), though written at the beginning of the second century, refers to the events of Nero's reign, and glances back to that of Tiberius, being doubtless based on contemporary authorities. In his account of the sufferings of the Christians under Nero, he says:—"Auctor nominis ejus CHRISTUS, Tiberio imperitante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus est; repressaque in præsens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam, originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque." The spirit of the passage forbids all suspicion of Christian interpolation, which is also out of the question on critical grounds.

* Perhaps an interpolation.

II. None of the extra-scriptural records, which are alleged to be *contemporary with Christ himself*, will stand the test of criticism, and we have not space for their full discussion.

1. The *Apocryphal Gospels*, which profess to relate the Life of Jesus, especially his birth, youth, and last days, more fully than they are found in the four Evangelists, are embellished with marvels conceived in quite a different spirit, and often most childish. These may be clearly traced to the controversies between sects, which fabricated sayings and deeds of Christ in support of their opinions. They originated with heretics; but the orthodox were sometimes tempted to counter-frauds. These works are of two classes:—

(i.) Those of a comparatively early date, which related to the same cycle of events as the canonical Gospels; for example, the 'Gospel of the Hebrews' the 'Gospel of the Egyptians,' and others. They are chiefly marked by a local colouring, reflecting the national and party views of sections of the converts to Christianity.

(ii.) Those of a later date give additional and generally marvellous accounts of the parents of Jesus, his boyhood and youthful life, and the closing scenes of his course.

The best English work on the Apocryphal Gospels is that of Jones, 'On the Canon of the New Testament,' which contains the text of the most important. They are also edited by Thilo, 'Codex Apocryphus N. T.,' vol. i., Lips. 1832, and in a German translation, with an Introduction and Notes by Dr. K. F. Borberg, 'Die apokryph. Evangelien u. Apostelgeschichten,' Stuttgart, 1841.

2. *The Letters of Christ and King Abgarus.*—The first great church historian, EUSEBIUS, the friend of Constantine the Great, cites a correspondence held with Christ by Abgarus or Agbarus Uchomo, the native king (*toparch*) of the Syrian principality of Edessa, which he professes to have found in the archives of the city of Edessa. (Euseb. *H. E.* i. 13. The Armenian historian, Moses of Chorene, about A.D. 440, likewise gives the document in Greek with an Armenian translation.) Abgarus writes to Christ, praying for the cure of a grievous disorder, but in language quite unlike that of an oriental prince; and Christ replies in a style which has nothing in common with the Gospels but disjointed quotations from them. If such a correspondence had really taken place, it would not have remained un-

known for three centuries. Nor have we any independent proof that Christianity reached Abgarus and his people in the age of Christ and his Apostles; for the tradition, that he was converted by Thaddeus, one of the 70 disciples, is of no authority. The first positive indications of Christianity in Edessa belong to the reign of *Abgar Bar Manu*, between the years 160 and 170; and in 202 the Christians there had a church, built (it seems) after the model of the temple at Jerusalem. It is probable that the correspondence was fabricated (in order to give consequence to the Christian princes of the country) most likely in the third century.

3. On the pretended *Epistle of P. Lentulus to the Roman Senate*, in which a Roman officer in Judea is made to describe the person of Christ, see J. B. Carpzov, *De Oris et corporis Jesu Christi forma Pseudolentuli, &c.*, Helmstad. 1777; J. Ph. Gabler, *in αὐθεντίαν Epistolae P. Lentuli ad Sen. Rom. de Jesu Chr. scriptæ*, Jenæ, 1819 (cited by Gieseler, i. p. 67), and 'American Biblical Repository' for 1832.

4. *Pretended Likenesses of Christ.*—The abhorrence of even the smallest beginnings of image-worship prevailed, in the primitive Church, over the natural tendency of Christian art to give a visible expression to the features of the Saviour, whether as an ideal or a real portrait; and here also the first attempt to embody his features is ascribed to heretics, and to the comprehensive idolatry of a heathen emperor. About the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd centuries, the Carpocratians claimed to possess a likeness of Christ (Irenæus, *Hær.* i. 25), and one was set up in the chapel of deceased heroes (*lararium*), in which Alexander Severus (emperor A.D. 222–235) began each day with devotion. Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* c. 29.

In the earliest attempts to portray the features of the Saviour, the persecuted Church embodied the pattern of a sufferer, and, from a literal interpretation of Isaiah liii. 2, 3, he was believed to have been of unsightly form. By the end of the fourth century the pictures and other images of Christ had become far more common, and they represented Him by those types of human beauty and divine majesty which have been handed down to our own times. That type was embodied in many varieties; but it was confessed that none of these represented an authentic likeness of the Saviour. (Augustin *de Trinitate*, viii. 4, 5.)

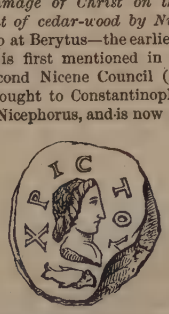
When that character was claimed for the portraits, legends were invented to account for them. (1) The story of the correspondence with King Abgarus was embellished with one of these pictorial illustrations, "A likeness of divine origin, not made by human hands" (Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 27) which Christ sent to Abgarus, with the answer to his letter, is often mentioned in the great controversy concerning images. The picture was carried from Edessa to Constantinople, and the honour of its possession is now claimed both by Rome and Genoa (Bayer, *Hist. Osrhoena et Edess.* p. 112; Gieseler, *l. c.*).

(2) There was a portrait reputed to be a miraculous image of the agonizing Saviour impressed upon the napkin with which an attendant wiped the death-sweat from his face upon the cross. This was called the *Veronica*, i. e. *vera icon*; but, by a curious transition, the sacred napkin became a female saint, and, with its impressed likeness, was famous as the *sudarium Sanctæ Veronicæ*.

(3) Besides these miraculous likenesses, portraits of Christ were said to have been painted or carved by His disciples.

a. A portrait by St. Luke, whom tradition made a painter as well as a physician, is first mentioned in the 6th century; and a picture of Christ, as a boy of thirteen years old, by St. Luke, is shown in the *Sancta Sanctorum* of St. John Lateran at Rome. The *age* of the Saviour, in this picture, suggests that the legend arose from that wonderful portraiture of the boyhood of Christ, at twelve years old, which St. Luke gives in *words*, ii. 41–52.

b. An image of Christ on the Cross, carved out of cedar-wood by Nicodemus, and set up at Berytus—the earliest known *crucifix*—is first mentioned in the Acts of the Second Nicene Council (A.D. 787). It was brought to Constantinople by the Emperor Nicephorus, and is now at Lucca.



Portrait of Christ, from a gem of the 2nd or 3rd century.



Ruins of the Palace of the Cæsars (St. Peter's in the background).

CHAPTER II.

THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

FROM THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM AND THE DEATH OF ST. JOHN; CORRESPONDING WITH THE LAST TWO-THIRDS OF THE FIRST CENTURY, TO THE DEATH OF DOMITIAN. A.D. 30–96.

§ 1. The great Jewish Feasts, types of epochs in the history of the Christian Church—The *Acts of the Apostles.* § 2. State and numbers of the primitive Church. § 3. The Day of Pentecost, the Gift of the Holy Ghost and of Tongues, and gathering of Jewish converts — Preaching, Worship, and Fellowship of the Church — Appointment of Deacons — Cases of false profession — Miracles of the Apostles — First Jewish persecution. § 4. The Church scattered from Jerusalem — Conversion of the Samaritans — Simon Magus — Conversion of Proselytes — the Ethiopian Eunuch. § 5. Conversion of SAUL — Rest of the Jewish Churches in the time of Caligula. § 6. Conversion of Cornelius and the Gentile proselytes. § 7. Beginning of the Gentile Church at Antioch — The name of CHRISTIANS — Christian use of the name of Jesus — Their own names for themselves — Relations between the churches of Antioch

and Jerusalem. § 8. Accession of CLAUDIUS and of HEROD AGRIPPA I. — First royal persecution, and death of James, the son of Zebedee — Escape of Peter — James the Less, "Bishop of Jerusalem." § 9. Commission of Barnabas and Saul — Their Apostleship and Ordination — Their First Missionary Journey — Turning from the Jews to the Gentiles — The First Gentile Churches. § 10. The Judaizers at Antioch — Peculiar position of Paul — Decision of the Apostles and Church at Jerusalem, commonly called the "First Council" — The "Apostolic Precepts" — Contest of Peter and Paul. § 11. Paul's Second Missionary Journey — Christianity in Europe — Churches in Macedonia and Greece —The Church at Rome; not founded by Peter. § 12. Paul's Third Missionary Journey—Distress of the Jews, and liberality of the Gentiles — Rise of Heresies and Schisms — Contest with Judaizers—The Church of Ephesus — Paul's Work in Asia — His Epistles. § 13. Paul's First Imprisonment and Work at Rome — Tradition of his preaching in the West — Persecution in Judea, and martyrdom of James the Just. § 14. The *Pastoral Epistles* of Paul — Commission of Timothy and Titus — Things left to be set in order in the Apostolic Churches — Constitution of these Churches. § 15. Internal state of the Churches—Corruptions and Heresies — Judaism and Philosophy — Elements of *Gnosticism* — Moral License. § 16. Specific heresies — Hymenæus, Alexander, and Philetus — The Resurrection — Germs of all future heresies — The Antichrists and spirit of Antichrist. § 17. Use of the word *Heresy*, and dealing with it by the Apostles — Heresies about Christ — Heresies of open immorality — Heresies to last to the end. § 18. Persecutions of Christianity by the Roman Government — Their causes — Heathen view of Christianity — The *First General Persecution* by NERO — Account of Tacitus — Martyrdom of Paul and Peter. § 19. The Destruction of Jerusalem — Its significance as an Epoch for the Christian Church — Withdrawal of the Christians to Pella. § 20. JOHN continues the Apostolic Age to the end of the First Century — His Apocalypse a prophetic vision of the Church's History — His banishment to Patmos — The *Second General Persecution* by DOMITIAN — Toleration restored by Nerva — St. John at Ephesus — His Epistles — His title of THEOLOGUS — His Gospel, the crowning contemporary witness to Christianity.

§ 1. IN the sacred year of the Jews, the three great feasts were based on the three great epochs of the year which were most interesting to an agricultural people. In this respect, as well as in the events which they commemorated in the beginning of Israel's history, they had their antitypes in the history of the earliest Christian church. At the *Passover*, which celebrated the deliverance of Israel, both from the destroying angel and from their bondage to the Egyptians, and the beginning of harvest in their new land, Christ was offered up as the first-fruits of the spiritual harvest of the world, and His people, redeemed both from the curse and

slavery of sin, were called to follow their risen Lord out of the world into the new social life of the Christian church.

The *Feast of Weeks* or *Pentecost*, when God came down in fire upon Sinai to give a law to the redeemed people, and caused His glory to shine in the face of Moses, the expounder of that law, marked the completion of harvest in the Holy Land. And this was the season when Christ's promise to His disciples was fulfilled in the descent of the cloven tongues of fire, the emblem of power poured out upon them to enable them to teach to all tongues and nations the new law of Christ; while the first act of the spiritual harvest was completed by the conversion of thousands of the Jews.

The *Feast of Tabernacles*, in the first month of the civil year, commemorating their sojourn as strangers and pilgrims in the Wilderness, and the gathering in of all the fruits of the year, is the fit emblem of the fulfilment of the cycle of God's work, and His people's labours, by the conversion of all nations.[1]

The little Church left on the earth by Christ had seen the work done in the first of these great seasons, and was now awaiting the second, the history of which, and of the first stages in the third, is recorded in Luke's "Second Discourse" to Theophilus, which is imperfectly described by its common title of the "Acts of the Apostles." The true subject of the book is the fulfilment of the promise of the Father by the descent of the Holy Spirit, and the results of that outpouring in the diffusion of the gospel among Jews and Gentiles. It deals only with the beginning of this great theme; and, having shown us the full establishment of Christ's Church, first in the Holy Land, then in those Eastern and Grecian provinces of the Roman Empire which the Jews regarded as representing the whole heathen world, and finally at Rome, the sacred narrative breaks off with an apparent suddenness, leaving all the future progress of the gospel to be recorded by the Church itself.[2] And this point is further marked by a striking change in the character of the records. There is a great gulf between the end of the Sacred History and the first authentic chapters of uninspired Ecclesiastical History.

§ 2. The waiting Church, small as it was, already exhibited a local

[1] There are many passages in which this last stage is symbolized by the *vintage*, the last and richest of the natural harvests. There is good reason to believe that the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch took place at the season of the Feast of Tabernacles. It was also probably the time of Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, as it certainly was of his return thither with the report of his second and great missionary journey.

[2] For the details, which are here condensed, on the principle stated in p. 14, the reader is referred throughout to the *Student's N. T. History*.

separation of the parts which formed its one body. The eleven Apostles, with the mother and the now believing brethren of Jesus, and the devoted women who had followed Him to the last, kept together in an upper room, waiting in united prayer for the promised gift. From this place of meeting they went forth to spend their days in the Temple, where the people might see them "continually praising and blessing God," doubtless for their Lord's resurrection and ascension.[1] The disciples who resided at Jerusalem, or whose occupations permitted their staying in the city, doubtless met the Apostles at the stated times of worship and breaking bread, and they were called together to join in the first step needed for the administration of the Church, the choice of an apostle to succeed the apostate Judas.

The number of those thus assembled was about 120,[2] just ten times the number of the Apostles, and the first-fruits of the multitude symbolized in Apocalyptic vision by the 12,000 sealed of each tribe of the spiritual Israel. That these did not include the disciples scattered through Samaria and Galilee, Peræa, and the outlying regions, is plain from that other account, which shows us "500 brethren at once" meeting their risen Saviour in Galilee.[3] But their Lord's command was added to the attraction of the Feast at which the law called them together to Jerusalem; and so, ten days after the Lord's ascension, "when the day of Pentecost was fully come, *they were all with one accord in one place.*"

§ 3. That Pentecost has been called "the birthday of the Christian Church;" but it was rather the first public manifestation of that Church in the power given to it by its living Head. While the Apostles were still within the house where they were wont to meet, the baptism of fire and of the Holy Ghost came upon them in the signs of a rushing, mighty wind,[4] and of cloven tongues, as of fire, which sat upon each of them; and then, going forth to the multitude of Jews and proselytes, assembled from every nation to keep the feast, they declared the Gospel to all in their own tongues.

The *gift of tongues*, which was now used as a medium of instant communication, was also a sign and attestation of their commission from God, and as such it was accepted by those of the people who believed;[5] and this continued to be its chief use in the apostolic

[1] Luke xxiv. 55.

[2] Acts i. 15. We should mark here, at once, the phrase, "the number of the *names*," a term significant both of the Christian profession, as *naming* the name of Christ" (2 Tim. ii. 19), and of their calling by Him who knows His people by their *name* (comp. Rev. iii. 4).

[3] 1 Cor. xv. 6.

[4] Comp. John iii. 7.

[5] Acts ii. 7–12.

Church.[1] The mockery of the unbelievers called forth that *first act of Christian preaching*, in which Peter, as the Apostle entrusted with the keys of the kingdom of God, showed forth the mission and resurrection of Christ with such effect as to win 3000 souls, the Pentecostal harvest of the Jews from every province, who were received by *Baptism* into the Church. Their simple bonds of fellowship and forms of worship are described as the *Apostles' Doctrine* and *Fellowship*, *Breaking of Bread*, and *Prayer*—the outward elements of the Church's life in every age; while frequent miracles attested the divine commission of the Apostles.[2] It seems, however, that the *fellowship* here named is not so much that general sense of the word, which is implied throughout, as that *communication* of aid to the poor brethren, to which more special reference is made in the statement that "all that believed had all things common, and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, *as every man had need*." The last words qualify the conception of an absolute and universal community of goods, —a notion disproved alike by the stress laid on the liberality of Barnabas, and by the whole story of Ananias and Sapphira, who falsely affected the honour of an act which was purely voluntary.[3] The result was to exclude want from the Church, though it was composed chiefly of the poor: and special provision was made for widows.[4] But the faults of human nature, whether shown in partiality on the one side, or querulous discontent on the other, demanded a special provision for the orderly distribution of the common fund. The manner in which the office of *Deacons* was first instituted shows the elasticity with which the administration of the Church was adapted to circumstances as they arose, as in all bodies which have a healthy life.[5]

Nor is it less instructive to mark, beside this case of human infirmity, that there were examples of false profession in the Apostolic Church, as in that of Christ Himself, and that the falsehood of Ananias and Sapphira sprang from the same root of covetousness as did the treason of Judas.[6] Their punishment both proved that the miraculous power of the Apostles, *in the name of Christ*, which had already made the lame walk,[7] reached, like that of their Master, to the issues of life and death, and deterred mere professors by a salutary fear; but such a proof of their divine power was magnified by the people, and multiplied the number of true converts.[8] The wonder of the people, and the faith of the believers, were strengthened by

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 22: "tongues are *for a sign*." [2] Acts ii. 43.
[3] Acts iv. 34–37, v. 1–11: see especially v. 4.
[4] Acts vi. 1. [5] Acts vi.
[6] See 1 Tim. vi. 10. [7] Acts iii. [8] Acts v. 13, 14.

the frequent miracles wrought upon the sick and the demoniacs, who were brought from all the towns and villages about Jerusalem. Twice did the Sanhedrin use their authority in the vain effort of persecution to stop the progress of the Church;[1] first by strong threats, when Peter and John had healed the lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple; and afterwards by citing all the Apostles before them, when the prudent counsel of Gamaliel caused their dismissal with a scourging and fresh threats. This beginning of persecution was followed by the stoning of the first Christian martyr, Stephen, not by a regular sentence, which the Sanhedrin had no power to pronounce, but in a fit of rage which carried away his very judges. His death was the signal for the great Jewish persecution of the Christians in Jerusalem and through Judea, in which Saul of Tarsus bore the leading part, and which was the very means of frustrating the hope "that it spread no further."

§ 4. The scattering from Jerusalem of all the Christians, except the Apostles, began the *second stage* in the extension of the Church, so as to include the outcast Samaritans and the foreign proselytes to the law of Moses, and soon after the Gentile "proselytes of the gate," and then the heathen Gentiles. The first instrument in this work was the deacon, who is afterwards called the evangelist, PHILIP, whose preaching and miracles at Samaria won many converts. It was here that Christianity first came into collision with those pretended spiritual powers and magical arts, which have always been among its most insidious foes. But the power of God was too manifest even for the sorcerer SIMON, who himself professed the faith and received baptism. The report of these events at Jerusalem led to the first step which the Apostles took in their work beyond the city. The crowning and attesting of the labours of the evangelist by the gift of the Holy Spirit to the new converts was a special part of the apostolic office; and Peter and John, sent forth by the Church at Jerusalem, called down the gift on the Samaritan believers by prayer and the imposition of their hands. The attempt of the sorcerer to induce them to grant him a share of this wonderful power, and the sentence of rejection passed on him by Peter, demand special notice in the history of the Church, as some of the heretical sects included under the general name of Gnostics are said to have sprung from the teaching of Simon Magus.[2] The Apostles returned to Jerusalem, preaching in the Samaritan villages; while Philip, divinely directed to the desert on the Philistine border, near Gaza, through which was

[1] Acts iv. 17.

[2] See the note on Simon Magus, appended to chap. xiii. of the *N. T. History*.

the great highway to Egypt, converted and baptized the Ethiopian eunuch, the first-fruits of the native African Church. Philip preached the gospel at Azotus and in the other cities of the Philistine coast, and then took up his abode at Cæsarea, probably as the founder of a church.[1]

There is reason to suppose that the Ethiopian was on his return from the Feast of Tabernacles when he was met by Philip; and the probable date of these events is in A.D. 37, the year in which Tiberius died, and in which Pilate was recalled from Judea and banished, and Caiaphas was deposed from the high-priesthood.

§ 5. It was about this time, also, that the conversion of SAUL OF TARSUS at once prepared the great instrument for the extension of the Church among the Gentiles, and put an end to the persecution that had ensued upon the death of Stephen. The life and labours of Paul have been fully treated as a part of the New Testament history; and it is only needful here to notice the epochs which they mark in the foundation of the Church. His preaching in Arabia directly after his conversion sowed the seeds of Christianity beyond the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire. His first visit to Jerusalem, to take counsel with Peter,[2] when he received, in a vision in the Temple, his plain commission to the Gentiles,[3] coincided with the beginning of that brief period of tranquillity, during which "the churches throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria had rest and were edified; and, walking in the fear of the Lord and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost were multiplied."[4] This interval of rest may be ascribed, not only to the cessation of Saul's persecution, but to the relations of Judea to the empire under Caligula.[5] The mad emperor aspired to be the one god of all his dominions; and his attempt to set up his own statue in the Temple drove the Jews to the verge of a rebellion, which was only averted by his death. The agitation of the whole people at this attack on their religion would naturally divert their attention from the Christians.

§ 6. This time of rest invited Peter to an apostolic visitation of the churches already founded,[6] in which he followed the steps of Philip through the great maritime plain, doubtless conferring spiritual gifts, as he had done at Samaria. While staying for a time at Joppa, he received that vision which, in opposition to his Jewish prejudices, prepared him to open—if we may so speak—

[1] Acts viii. He is found residing here afterwards, Acts xxi. 8.
[2] A.D. 39, Gal. i. 18. [3] Acts xxii. 17–21. [4] Acts ix. 31.
[5] Caius Cæsar, nicknamed Caligula, reigned A.D. 37–41. For his transactions with the Jews see the *N. T. Hist.*, chap. v. § 6.
[6] Acts ix. 32, διερχόμενον διὰ πάντων (sc. ἐκκλησιῶν).

the second gate of the kingdom of heaven to Gentiles by birth, who were mere "proselytes of the gate," that is, believers in the true God, but not marked by the seal of the covenant made with the seed of Abraham. This great transaction derived the more significance from its taking place at Cæsarea, the seat of the Roman government in Judea, and in the person of an officer of Cæsar's army. The full reception of the Gentile proselytes into the Church was confirmed by the gift of the Holy Ghost, not, as at Samaria, by the prayer and act of the Apostle, but by a direct outpouring of the Spirit from heaven, just as it had descended on the Apostles themselves at Pentecost, conferring the same power of speaking with tongues.[1] This sign removed from the mind of Peter and his astonished companions all remaining doubt of God's purpose to extend His Church beyond the bounds of the Jewish congregation. It furnished him with a decisive answer to those Jewish converts at Jerusalem,[2] whose desire to maintain the ceremonial law became henceforth the chief internal trouble of the Church, when they accused him of holding fellowship with the uncircumcised. They were silenced by his plain narrative, though (as seems implied,[3] and as was soon proved) they were not really satisfied; and they joined their brethren in the thanksgiving, "Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life."

§ 7. This new revelation, for such it was to them, was already receiving its full significance in the *third stage* of the opening of the Church to the heathen Gentiles without any intermediate proselytism to the Jewish law. The chief scene of this event was ANTIOCH, the former capital of the Greek Syrian Empire, and the most idolatrous and profligate of Oriental cities. Its agents were those Hellenistic[4] Jews, who, as Oriental Greeks by country and language, but usually more devout Jews than those of Judea, were fit instruments to spread the Gospel, or to resist its progress, in the eastern provinces. Among the brethren, who had been driven from Jerusalem by the Stephanic persecution, were some Hellenists, natives of Cyprus and Cyrene, who, on reaching Antioch, "spake to the Greeks, preaching the Lord Jesus,"[5] and gaining many converts. The news reached Jerusalem at the very time when the conversion of Cornelius had prepared the Church for its reception. They found a fit messenger to Antioch in BARNABAS, who was at once a Levite and an Hellenist of Cyprus. Having

[1] Acts x. 47, xi. 15, 17. [2] Acts xi. 2, "those of the circumcision."
[3] Acts xi. 18.
[4] Respecting the Hellenists and their important part in the early Christian Church, see the *N. T. Hist.*, chap. xiii. §§ 8, 9.
[5] Acts xi. 20.

assured himself that the work was of God, and confirmed the Greek brethren in their faith, he went to Tarsus to seek Saul, whom he had before introduced to the Apostles at Jerusalem, that they might labour together at Antioch.

That city thus became both the birthplace of the Gentile Church and the place where the CHRISTIANS were first known to the world by the sacred name of their Lord, as not only the followers of their master, JESUS, but believers in God's anointed, the CHRIST. Christ himself had come, not in his own but in his Father's name; and he had bidden his disciples to baptize in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.[1] But he had told them that they should be hated by all men for *His name's sake*; and they made *the name of Jesus*[2] the symbol of their faith and power. In that name, as Jesus himself had said,[3] they taught and preached and baptized and wrought miracles, which were effective "through faith in His name." By "that worthy name" the disciples were called;[4] but they honoured it too much to adopt it as their own, and they shunned any appellation that would mark them as a sect. They appeared before their Jewish brethren as reformed Jews, the disciples of Him who "came not to destroy, but to fulfil the law." It was "*the* name," "*the* way," "*the* faith," that they professed, and they were content to call themselves "disciples" of Jesus, "saints," as those made holy by His Spirit, and "brethren" to one another. Their Jewish adversaries spoke of this "name," but only with contempt, as the name of Jesus *of Nazareth*, and of His followers as *Nazarenes* or *Galileans*.[5] They would certainly not recognize them, even by the use of a party name, as the followers of *Christ*, the *Messiah*. But the Greeks and Romans were accustomed to name every philosophic and religious sect, and political parties also, by the name of their leaders; and, just as they spoke of *Pythagoreans* and *Pompeians*, so they invented the name of *Christians*.[6] There is no proof that the name was applied in scorn; and its invention shows that the Christians had become of sufficient importance to have a place among the recognised schools of religious and philosophic opinion.

[1] They, however, showed how they understood this by baptizing "in the name of the Lord Jesus," and baptism followed on the profession of faith in Him (Acts viii. 16, 37, xix. 4; 1 Cor. i. 13).

[2] It is to be observed that *this*, and not "the name of *Christ*," is the usual formula. See Acts viii. 8, 12, 37, ix. 27, xv. 26, xvi. 18; 1 Cor. i. 13, v. 4, vi. 11; Eph. v. 20.

[3] Matt. vii. 22; Acts iii. 16, iv. 7.

[4] James ii. 7.

[5] Acts v. 28; xxvi. 9. This name already occurs in at least an approach to a party sense in Acts ii. 7.

[6] Acts xi. 26. The *Latin* termination should be noticed, and also the fact that, besides this passage, the name *Christian* is only used twice in the N. T., once by a heathen, and once as the name under which the believers were persecuted (Acts xxvi. 28; 1 Pet. iv. 16).

If any church were to be recognised as the mother church of Gentile Christianity, it would be rather the Church of Antioch than the Church of Rome. But no claims or contests for such precedence are heard of among the apostolic churches. The first relations of the new Gentile to the older Jewish church were of a very different character. On the prophecy, by Agabus and others, of the dearth which was coming in the reign of Claudius, the disciples at Antioch at once resolved to send relief to the poor brethren in Judea. This is a sign that possessors of comparative wealth were numbered among the Christians of Antioch; but all, both rich and poor, gave according to their ability. They sent the fruits of their liberality to Jerusalem by the hands of Barnabas and Saul; and thus the Gentile church was brought into fellowship with the Jewish by a Levite, who had been the close associate of the Apostles, as well as by the Apostle of the Gentiles.[1]

§ 8. It is not quite certain whether this visit took place during the first persecution in which the Christians were assailed by the "kings of the earth," supporting the "counsel of the rulers" of the Jews.[2] On the accession of Claudius to the purple, his faithful friend, HEROD AGRIPPA I., was rewarded with the kingdom of Judea, in which the dominions of his grandfather, Herod the Great, were re-united (A.D. 41). Himself a strict observer of the law, he used every effort to conciliate the Jews, and he had the power of life and death, which they had been unable to use legally against the Christians. It was probably in the last year of his reign (A.D. 44) that Herod beheaded the Apostle James, the son of Zebedee, and cast Peter into prison, with the intention of making his execution, like his Master's, a spectacle for the Jews assembled for the Passover. The Apostle's departure from Jerusalem for a time, after his miraculous deliverance from prison, gives occasion for an allusion to the presidency of the other JAMES over the church at Jerusalem. James, the brother of the Lord, surnamed James the Less (or Little) and also JAMES THE JUST, is named by some writers as the first bishop of Jerusalem, after the Apostles, as if he were not himself an Apostle;[3] but there seems no sufficient ground for distinguishing him from the Apostle, James the son of Alphæus.

§ 9. This visit was doubtless the season of Paul's second ecstatic

[1] Acts xi. 27–30. On this second visit of Paul to Jerusalem, see the *N. T. Hist.*, chap. xv. §§ 5, 6.

[2] Psalm ii. 2. The words of David were thus applied by the persecuted Christians themselves (Acts iv. 25–28).

[3] Hegesipp. *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23; *Constitut. Apostol.* ii. 55, vi. 12. For the passage of Hegesippus, and for the sequel of the life of James, and his martyrdom, see the *N. T. Hist.*, chap. xx. § 9; and for the argument respecting his identity, *ibid.* chap. ix. Note A.

vision (probably in the Temple)[1] as a new preparation for the work among the Gentiles, to which he was called soon after his return to Antioch. A special revelation of the Spirit commanded the Church to set apart Barnabas and Saul for that work.[2] This divine commission gave a public confirmation of Saul's apostleship, and conferred that office upon Barnabas;[3] and this addition to the mystic number of the twelve Apostles was one sign of the extension of the Gospel from Israel to all the nations. They were ordained to the work by the *laying on of hands*, a ceremony which now first occurs as performed by others than Apostles.[4]

Though clearly sent forth on a special mission to the Gentiles, they acted on the principle that the Christian Church should, if possible, be founded on the Jewish. It was only when the Jews "contradicted and blasphemed," and so cut themselves off from the covenant of eternal life, that Paul made the proclamation: "*Lo! we turn to the Gentiles;* for so hath the Lord commanded us."[5] This decisive step was taken at the city of Antioch in Pisidia.

This *First Missionary Journey* embraced the island of Cyprus, where the proconsul, Sergius Paulus, became the first Gentile convert of rank, and the wild regions of Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Lycaonia, in Asia Minor, where Jewish synagogues were numerous, and the pride of Greek civilisation weakest. The first Gentile churches were founded among a simple and almost barbarous people; and the persecution, which turned the Apostles back and almost made Paul a sharer in the fate of Stephen, was incited by the Jews.[6] Churches were gathered at Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, as well as at the ports of Perga and Attalia, and we now first read explicitly of the appointment of permanent ministers, called *presbyters* or *elders*, who were ordained by the Apostles for each church.[7]

[1] 2 Cor. xii.

[2] It is worthy of notice that, at first, the *order* in which the two are mentioned is *Barnabas and Saul*, as if the precedence were given to Barnabas (Acts xi. 30, xii. 25, xiii. 2, 7); but when Saul becomes Paul, we at once read of Paul and his company (Acts xiii. 13), and we have usually *Paul and Barnabas*, but in one case, *Barnabas and Paul* (xiv. 14).

[3] Both are expressly called Apostles in Acts xiv. 14.

[4] Acts xiii. 1–3. A distinction seems to be thus established between "the laying on of the Apostles' hands," by which the Holy Ghost was given (Acts viii. 18, xix. 6; 2 Tim. 6), and the laying on of hands as a sign of ordination to evangelic work and office, which might be by the Apostles (as in the ordination of the deacons, Acts vi. 6), or by "the presbytery" (1 Tim. iv. 14), or by a minister of the church (as Timothy, 1 Tim. v. 22), or by an individual disciple (Acts ix. 12, 17). In the case before us, it is the act of *the Church*, but it would probably be performed by the "presbytery" (as in 1 Tim. iv. 14).

[5] Acts xiii. 44–48.

[6] Acts xiv. 19.

[7] Acts xiv. 23. We see from Acts xi. 30 that such officers already existed in the churches of Judea; and the elders at Jerusalem are men-

§ 10. Paul and Barnabas had for some time resumed their regular labours at Antioch, when that church was disturbed by the attempt of some Jewish Christians to subject the Gentile converts to the ceremonial law, and especially to circumcision.[1] These Judaizers held that no Gentiles should be received into the Christian Church, except by passing through the outer court as "proselytes of righteousness." This effort to maintain the ceremonial law of Moses was the source of the chief heresies that sprang up in the primitive Church, and its first authors may justly be called heretics. They are not named "brethren," but "certain men," who went from Judea to Antioch, who "went out" from the Church as not truly belonging to it.[2] Paul distinctly calls them "*false brethren, unawares brought in*, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage."[3] They were encountered with a vigorous resistance by Paul and Barnabas; and, after debate, the Church of Antioch decided to refer the question to the Apostles and elders at Jerusalem. They sent up Paul and Barnabas, with others of the Church,[5] among whom Paul took Titus as an example of a Greek convert who had not been circumcised.[6]

This first example of united counsel in the Church on questions of doctrine and discipline becomes doubly interesting in the light of Paul's own account of his part in it. The Judaizers were (at least

tioned, as if they were officers next after the Apostles, in Acts xv. 2, "the Apostles and elders." The word translated *ordained* is a remarkable one: χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐκκλησίαν πρεσβυτέρους. As this is the term used for *voting by a show of hands* in the Athenian *Ecclesia*, some take it to imply the election of ministers by the people in the Christian *Ecclesia*, and this view seems supported by 2 Cor. viii. 19 (the brother), χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησίων. But this is a good example of the great fact, that New Testament Greek is not always to be interpreted by classical usage, witness Acts x. 41 (of the Apostles), μάρτυσι τοῖς προκεχειροτονημένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, where, as in Acts xxii. 14 (ὁ Θεὸς . . . . προεχείρισατό σε, &c.), the idea seems to be that of designating a person by laying hands on him. The passage before us is simply silent as to the mode by which the elders were chosen.

[1] Acts xv.

[2] Acts xv. i. Καί τινες κατελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, and ver. 24, τινὲς ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξελθόντες, words which form a striking parallel with St. John's double application of the phrase ἐξ ἡμῶν to the many antichrists of the apostolic age, "they *went out from us, but they were not of us*:" ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξῆλθαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦσαν ἐξ ἡμῶν (1 John ii. 19).

[3] Gal. ii. 4. It makes no real difference whether the specific reference is to the Judaizers at Antioch or Jerusalem or both.

[4] Acts xv. 2; Gal. ii. 5.

[5] Acts xv. 2. Great as was the apostolic authority of Paul and Barnabas, the church of Antioch was also represented by other members, as was the church of Jerusalem on the answering mission (ver. 25).

[6] Gal. ii. 3.

chiefly) Pharisees;[1] and he was always anxious to carry Pharisaic principles to their full issue in Christianity.[2] The question touched the very essence of his apostolic mission to the Gentiles. Must he make them Jews as well as Christians, and bind on the necks of those, who were free to begin the new life in Christ, a yoke which, as Peter himself testified, the Jews had never been able to bear?[3] Was it possible that his apostolic course in the past and in the future was all in vain? He felt the need of full conference with "those who were apostles before him," not that he had any doubts himself, but "to communicate to them the Gospel which he had preached among the Gentiles." For this purpose he was directed to Jerusalem by an express revelation, besides his mission from the Church of Antioch;[4] and in separate conferences with "those of reputation," the "pillars" of the Church, James, Cephas (Peter), and John, the common grace of God shown in each of their works was made so clear, that they gave Paul and Barnabas the right hand of apostolic fellowship, for the twofold mission, that of these to the heathen, and their own to the circumcision.[5]

But the Apostles did not decide the question solely by their own authority, and in these private conferences the envoys from Antioch were received by *the Church*, as well as by the Apostles and elders; and to them Paul and Barnabas reported the convincing facts of their work among the Gentiles, just as Peter had related the conversion of Cornelius.[6] Upon this some of the converted Pharisees contended that the Gentile converts must be circumcised, and must keep the whole law of Moses.[7] A special meeting was then convened of the Apostles and elders, with the whole Church, to consider the question.[8]

Such was the freedom of speech in this assembly, that the objectors urged their arguments even before hearing Paul and Barnabas,[9] till Peter (who now appears for the last time in the sacred history) stood up and reminded them that the question was really settled by what God had done through him in the case of Cornelius. Silence was then obtained for the statement by Paul and Barnabas of the signs and miracles by which God had confirmed their mission to the Gentiles; and James closed the debate, in a manner which agrees with his traditional position in

[1] Acts xv. 5.
[2] Acts xxiii. 6.
[3] Acts xv. 10; comp. Gal. v. 1.
[4] Gal. ii. 2.
[5] Gal. ii. 6–9.
[6] Acts xv. 4.
[7] *Ibid.* 6.
[8] *Ibid.* 6. ἰδεῖν περὶ τοῦ λόγου τούτου. Here "the apostles and elders" only are mentioned as coming together; but at the same meeting we have "the whole multitude" (πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, v. 12), which is manifestly equivalent to "the whole church" and "the brethren," who join with the Apostles and elders in the decision and in the action taken thereupon (vv. 22, 25), "being assembled together with one accord" (v. 25).
[9] Acts xv. 7.

the Church of Jerusalem, with a decision [1] which was adopted by the Apostles and elders, with the whole Church.[2] Under their united name also it was embodied in a letter to the brethren of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia, which Judas and Silas were appointed to carry and confirm by word of mouth, as messengers from the Church at Jerusalem, with Paul and Barnabas on their return to Antioch. The points thus expressed are called "the decrees" (*dogmas*, or points of doctrine) decided on by the Apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem; and they were delivered as such by Paul and Barnabas and Silas to the Gentile churches, to be observed.[3] Besides the authority derived from the decided expression of the views of the Apostles in the Church, they seem to have been confirmed by some special manifestation of the Holy Spirit.[4]

Their substance was, that no ceremonial burthen should be laid upon the Gentile converts, except "these necessary things," that they should abstain from food that had been offered in sacrifice to idols, from eating blood and the flesh of strangled animals, and from fornication. These restrictions were deemed *necessary* with reference to the relations of the new converts to their Gentile brethren. It was easy for them to argue that, as an idol was no god, his sacrifices had no sanctity, and remained common food, which might be eaten with Christian liberty. But this was manifest sophistry, and to some at least the act of joining in the feast would be a recognition of the idol.[5] The pollutions of the bloody heathen sacrifices required the strict observance of the precept of abstinence from blood, which had already been given to Noah when animal food was first allowed; and such a concession to the Jews, who abounded in every Greek city, involved so decided a physical benefit, that its perpetual observance, if not "necessary," is at least "expedient." The essentially moral nature of the last restraint makes it seem, at first sight, rather strangely coupled with the others. But the licentious rites of the heathen worship, especially in those oriental forms in which these Asiatic Greeks had borne their

[1] Acts xv. 19. *ἐγὼ κρίνω*, like the "censeo" by which a Roman senator gave his vote. [2] Acts xv. 22.

[3] Acts xvi. 4: *παρεδίδοσαν αὐτοῖς φυλάσσειν τὰ δόγματα τὰ κεκριμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων, κ.τ.λ.*

[4] Acts xv. 28: "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us" (*ἔδοξεν γὰρ*, the same word used in ver. 22, and equivalent to the *δόγματα* of vi. 4).

[5] Paul's full argument on this subject (1 Cor. viii. and x. 14–23, where the whole intervening context also relates to the same *principle* of the doubtful use of Christian liberty) seems to derive the greater force from a manifest vein of *irony* in his allusions to the "stronger" brethren, and their "strong conscience," and their contemptuous pity for the "weaker brethren" and their "weak conscience."

full share,[1] had thoroughly confused the law of natural morality, and it was "necessary" to make this also one of the precepts against continuance in their former idolatry. This, in short, is the spirit of these "Apostolic Precepts" (as they are called by way of parallel to the "Noachic Precepts")[2]:—the Gentiles were not to be subject to restraints purely Jewish, but they must abstain from whatever might still link them with and tempt them back into heathenism. When this principle is clearly seen, the question as to the permanent obligation of the first two of these precepts becomes comparatively insignificant.

It is clearly wrong to call this meeting of the Church at Jerusalem the *First General Council*.[3] Its form had no character of an œcumenical council;[4] and, happily, no question had yet arisen between the churches to call for such a council. It was no meeting of delegates from all the churches, for we read of none but those sent from Antioch, and they went rather to consult the Apostles and the mother Church at Jerusalem, than to represent the views of their own church. Above all, the divine authority, on which the decision was based, makes it quite unlike those synodical sentences, which decide, but cannot extinguish, a grave difference by the mere voice of a majority; and this so-called first council of the Church was the last which had a right to say, "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us."

The decision in favour of Gentile liberty soon received a practical confirmation, which is doubly important in Church History from its illustration of the free-working of human nature among the Apostles themselves.[5] Peter, on a visit to Antioch, ate with the Gentiles; but, on the arrival of some brethren from Jerusalem,[6] he and his Jewish companions, including even Barnabas, withdrew, through fear of these Jews, from such free intercourse with the Gentiles. Paul's reproof of this conduct is based on Peter's full approval of the liberty given to the Gentiles.

§ 11. The *Second Missionary Journey of Paul* carried Christianity further among the less civilized parts of Asia Minor. Churches were planted among the genuine Asiatics of Phrygia and the Gauls of Galatia.[7] But the time was not yet come for its reception in the province of Asia. The divine revelation which called the Apostle

[1] 1 Cor. vi. 11: "and such were some of you."

[2] Gen. ix. 4–6. *Student's O. T. Hist.*, chap. iv. § 8.

[3] The date was either A.D. 48 or 50.

[4] This term will be explained in its place.

[5] Gal. ii. 11–14.

[6] The phrase ἐλθεῖν τινὰς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου is an incidental testimony to the position held by James at Jerusalem. It seems from this that doubts still remained among the Jewish Christians, whether they might themselves use the liberty which they had fully conceded to the Gentiles.

[7] Acts xvi.

and his band across the Hellespont marks the first recorded step in the Christianizing of Europe, when Paul planted the churches of Philippi, Thessalonica, and Berœa, in Macedonia, preached the Gospel at Athens, and, staying eighteen months at Corinth, established a powerful church in that capital, as well as others in the province of Achaia.

An incident of Paul's residence at Corinth shows that, before this apostolic visit to eastern Europe,[1] Christianity had obtained a footing in the West, and at the city of Rome itself. On his arrival at Corinth, he found there Aquila and Priscilla, who had lately come from Italy, driven out by the edict of Claudius banishing all Jews from Rome.[2] It was in the character of a Jewish sect that Christianity first became odious to the Romans; but any new "foreign superstition" was sure to rouse the fanatical hatred of Claudius; and the name of *Christ* is mentioned by the biographer of the Cæsars in connection with this edict.[3] The plantation of Christianity at Rome may be traced from the very beginning of the Apostolic Church, for among the foreign Jews at Jerusalem, who witnessed the wonders of Pentecost and heard the preaching of Peter, were *residents at Rome*,[4] where a large Jewish settlement had been established by Pompey in the trans-Tiberine quarter, enlarged by the attractions of the commerce of the capital, and favoured by Augustus and Tiberius, so that they possessed a school of their own.[5] That these Jews were a chief element in the Church at Rome is proved by Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*, written from Corinth six years later, when the Church had gained such distinction, that "their faith was spoken of through the whole world."[6] This early appearance of this Roman Church, as a sort of spontaneous development of the Christian faith, the planting of which is

[1] As we have constantly to speak of the Eastern and Western divisions of the Roman world, it may be mentioned, once for all, that the recognised boundary was formed by the Adriatic in Europe and the Greater Syrtis in Africa; and this division had a general correspondence with the prevalence of the Greek and Latin tongues.

[2] Acts xviii. 2. The probable date of this edict was at the beginning of A.D. 52. See the *N. T. Hist.*, chap. xvi. § 12, note (105). That Aquila and Priscilla were already Christians seems clearly implied by the mere absence of any statement that they were converted by Paul.

[3] Suet. *Claud.* 25: "Judæos, *impulsore Chresto* assiduo tumultuantes, Roma expulit." The tumults referred to were probably those at Jerusalem at the Feast of Tabernacles; but the passage affords evidence of the attention which Christianity had by this time attracted at Rome.

[4] Acts ii. 10, καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι.

[5] See also the allusions of Horace, Martial, and Juvenal.

[6] Rom. i. 8. The word καταγγέλλεται suggests the constant intercourse that was going on between the Christians of the capital and of the provinces.

claimed by no apostolic or other name,[1] forms a complete exposure of the fiction that it was founded by Peter, and of the usurpation of authority thence derived.[2]

Besides its Jewish basis, there was a strong Gentile element in the Church of Rome, but one which seems to have been rather Greek than Roman. An indication of the proportions, both of Jews to Gentiles, and of Greeks to Romans, in this church, is furnished in the long list of names in Paul's salutation.[3] Most of these names belong to the middle and lower grades of society, and many of them are found in the *columbaria* of the freedmen and slaves of the early Roman emperors. It was among such members "of Cæsar's household,"[4] among the petty officers of the army, and among the less wealthy merchants and tradesmen, that the Gospel first gained converts. There are allusions to Hellenistic Jews, with whom Paul was personally intimate; and among these were some of his own kindred, who had been Christians before him and eminent in the Church at Jerusalem.[5] Many converts, made by Paul himself and the other ministers of the Gospel throughout the empire, were doubtless continually moving to Rome, and adding to the vigour of the Church. The state of the primitive Roman Church is peculiarly interesting with reference to the approaching persecution by NERO, whose accession coincides, or nearly so, with Paul's return to Antioch from his Great Missionary Journey.[6]

§ 12. The new Gentile churches, founded in flourishing provinces, exhibited Christianity, from the first, as we have already seen at Antioch, in its character of practical beneficence. "To remember the poor" was the only special injunction which the Apostles at Jerusalem had laid on Paul and Barnabas;[7] and how truly Paul was "forward to do so," is proved by his repeated exhortations to the Gentile churches to make a practical return for the spiritual gifts received by them from the Jews,[8] who were now in sore need

[1] Contrast with this the plainness with which Paul says of the Church of Corinth, "I have planted, Apollos hath watered" (to the express exclusion of the claims set up for Peter even there and thus early: 1 Cor. i. 12, iii. 4–6), and how earnestly and tenderly he insists on his paternal relation to the churches he had founded, but solely as the minister of Christ (1 Cor. iv. 15; Gal. iv. 19; comp. Philem. 10), and how emphatically he disclaims interference with other men's foundations (Rom. xv. 20).

[2] For a discussion of this question see the *N. T. Hist.*, chap. xix. § 19.

[3] Rom. xvi. 6–15. But the frequent use of Greek and Roman names by Jews may perhaps reduce the proportion of Gentiles in the church. The passage in Rom. i. 13–16 seems rather to refer to the Apostle's desire to make new converts among the heathen at Rome, than to the Gentile members of the church.

[4] Philipp. iv. 22.

[5] Rom. xvi. 7.

[6] Claudius was murdered by Agrippina, to secure the succession of her son Nero, on the 12th of October, A.D. 54.

[7] Gal. ii. 10.

[8] Rom. xv. 25–28; 1 Cor. xvi. 1–3; 2 Cor. viii. ix.

of help. Ground down by the rapacity of the procurator Felix, Judea was groaning beneath the miseries that soon provoked her last rebellion. To collect the alms of the faithful in Macedonia and Achaia for the poor saints at Jerusalem was one chief object of the *Third Journey*, on which Paul set out after a short stay at Antioch. Another object was to confirm the churches against dangers that were already springing up within; for the Judaizers were busy in the corruption of Christian simplicity and liberty, and were even questioning Paul's apostolic mission, while the Greeks were mingling their own philosophy with the gospel of Christ, and breaking up into sects, which adopted the names of Paul and Apollos, of Peter and of Christ Himself, like those of Plato, Zeno, and Epicurus. Thus, by the middle of the first century, we find the Church already troubled by the twofold "root of bitterness," from which sprang all the early Judaistic and philosophic heresies. But it was also to these corruptions and schisms, as well as to the disorders which wealth and licence brought into the Church of Corinth, that the Church owes the great body of doctrine and of instruction in Christian practice and discipline, contained in Paul's Epistles.

Paul's contest with the Judaizing teachers in the churches of Galatia led to the great doctrinal exposition contained in the *Epistle to the Galatians*, which he wrote from Ephesus, after passing through Phrygia and Galatia. The establishment of the Church of EPHESUS, where Paul laboured for three years, is another great landmark in the progress of Christianity. To the great centres of Jerusalem, Antioch, Thessalonica, Corinth, and Rome, was now added the capital of the flourishing province of ASIA. Indeed, with reference to the spread of the Church Catholic, Ephesus occupied the most central position of all, as the meeting-place of Jew and Greek, and Roman and Oriental. It was here that Paul, rejected by the Jews, again turned to the Gentiles; here he proved the power of the Spirit against Jewish exorcists and every class of pretenders to magical arts, and shook the foundations of the great Eastern worship of Artemis. His preaching of the Gospel embraced the whole province of Asia, whether by his occasional journeys into the country, or by the resort of the people to hear him as he taught in the school of Tyrannus.[1] Thus Ephesus became a kind of mother church to others in the neighbouring cities of Asia and Phrygia, which are in part mentioned by Paul himself, and in part form the famous group of the Seven Churches of Asia, to which the Apostle John afterwards ministered and wrote his apocalyptic vision.[2] It

[1] Acts xix. 9, 10.

[2] In connection with PAUL, *Ephesus* only is mentioned in the Acts (also in the *Epistle to the Ephesians* and in 1 Tim. i. 3); but he himself names

was from Ephesus also that Paul wrote the two *Epistles to the Corinthians*, which threw a flood of light on the questions of doctrine and practice and discipline, that already agitated the Church. Proceeding westward, he wrote from Corinth his great doctrinal exposition of the relations of Judaism to Christianity, and of the principles of *law* and *grace*, in the *Epistle to the Romans*. That epistle marks the close of Paul's great work throughout the Eastern division of the empire "from Jerusalem to Illyricum," and his desire to break new ground in the West.[1]

§ 13. It remains doubtful whether that intention was fulfilled any further than by the work which Paul did at Rome during the two years of his first imprisonment. The termination of the 'Acts of the Apostles' marks the critical epoch in the history of the Church, formed by the rejection by the Jews at Rome of the Apostle whom their brethren at Jerusalem had sent thither as a prisoner. Thus handed over perforce to the Gentiles of the capital, he made converts even in the Prætorian camp and in Cæsar's household, with a success testified by the Epistles written during his two imprison-

Colossæ (in the *Epistle to the Colossians*) with *Laodicea* and *Hierapolis*, bssides alluding to other cities (Col. xiv. 13, 15, 16). This group of cities, though in Phrygia, belonged politically to Asia. Paul seems to imply that he had not visited them in person (Col. ii. 1). To these must be added *Alexandria Troas* in the district of Mysia (Acts xx. 5–7). Whether there was a church at *Miletus* is not clear from the mention of the place in Acts xx. 15, 17. The Seven Churches named by JOHN are those of *Ephesus*, *Smyrna*, *Laodicea*, *Pergamus*, *Thyatira* (the native place of Paul's convert Lydia), *Sardis*, and *Philadelphia*.

Besides the mother church of Ephesus, the only church common to the two lists is that of Laodicea.

[1] Rom. xv. 19, 24, 28.

[2] The tradition that, after his first imprisonment at Rome, Paul went to Spain, and even as far as Britain, seems nothing more than a fancy suggested by the mere *intention* expressed in Rom. xv. 24–28. (See. *N. T. Hist.*, chap. xix. § 9.) To the passage of Clemens Romanus, there quoted and discussed, may be added the statement of Theodoret (*Comm. in Psalm.* cxvi.), that Paul, having arrived in Italy, proceeded to Spain, and "carried salvation to the islands lying opposite in the sea" (καὶ ταῖς ἐν τῷ πελάγει διακειμέναις νήσοις τὴν ὠφέλειαν προσήνεγκε). But this only proves that the same tradition prevailed in the fifth century, which we find magnified in the sixth into the poetic exaggeration of Venantius Honorius Fortunatus (v. 493),—

> "Transit et Occanum [Paulus], ...
> Quasque *Britannus* habet terras, atque *ultima Thyle*."

The vagueness of the tradition is further proved by the other form of it, which ascribes the first Christian preaching in Britain, not to Paul himself, but to Aristobulus, one of the Seventy, ordained and sent by Paul, as well as by that which carries Peter also to Britain (*Menolog. Græc.*, March 16th and June 29th), and another which says that the Apostle Simon Zelotes preached in Britain and suffered martyrdom there by crucifixion (*Ibid.*, May 10th).

ments.[1] Though he was "an ambassador in bonds," yet "the word of God was not bound."[2]

The first imprisonment of Paul at Rome was no sign of an imperial persecution of the Christians; it was really his escape from the persecution of the Jews by an appeal to the justice of Cæsar, which did not fail him, even though that Cæsar was Nero.[3] Meanwhile, the persecuting spirit of the Jews grew with their growing dangers and disorders; and, in the second year of Paul's imprisonment, the High Priest Ananias took advantage of a vacancy in the procuratorship to perpetrate the judicial murder of James the Just and other leaders of the Church of Jerusalem.[4] To prepare the persecuted Christians of Judea for the coming end of the old dispensation, was the main purpose of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*.

§ 14. The interval between Paul's first and second imprisonment at Rome, obscure as are its details, affords some light of the highest importance for church history. The state in which the Apostle found the churches of Asia[5] and of Crete occasioned those commissions to Timothy and Titus, which seem to mark a sort of new office (whether temporary or permanent) in the Church. The 'Pastoral Epistles' addressed to them form our chief guide to the constitution of the apostolic churches; nor are they less valuable for the light they throw on the moral and spiritual state of those churches about thirty years after the ascension of Christ, and on the heresies which already troubled them.

Titus and Timothy had been companions of Paul from the time of his first and second missionary journeys; and both had laboured in the evangelic work, to which we know that Timothy was ordained by the laying on of the hands of the presbyters at Lystra and of Paul himself.[6] Both had been sent before on special missions to

[1] These were the Epistles to the *Colossians*, to *Philemon*, to the *Ephesians*, to the *Philippians*, to the *Hebrews*, and (during the second imprisonment) the *Second Epistle to Timothy*.

[2] Ephes. vi. 20; Phil. i. 13–18; 2 Tim. ii. 9.

[3] For the probable connection of affairs at Rome with the case of the Apostle, see the *N. T. Hist.*, chap. xviii. § 19, pp. 503, 504.

[4] On the death of James the Just, and on the relation of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* to that persecution and the approaching destruction of Jerusalem, see the *N. T. Hist.*, chap. xviii. § 20, and chap. xx. § 9.

[5] That his visitation and the commission of Timothy extended to these churches in general, and not to Ephesus only, is plain from the whole tenor of the two Epistles to Timothy, from the general directions respecting church officers and discipline, and especially from the phrase "all which are in Asia" (2 Tim. i. 15). The commission of Titus expressly includes the churches in the several cities of Crete (Tit. i. 5).

[6] Acts xvi. 1–3, compared with 1 Tim. iv. 14, 2 Tim. i. 6, iv. 5. In the last passage Timothy is exhorted to "do the work of an *Evangelist*," but it does not follow that he bore that official title.

various churches, and the name of Timothy had been joined with that of Paul in most of his epistles.[1] They belonged, in short, like Silas, Luke, Mark, Sosthenes, and others, to a class of ministers, distinguished by their close and constant association in the work of the Apostles from those who were attached to particular churches as bishops or presbyters or deacons.[2] Their special commissions bear witness to the fact that, in the first foundation of the apostolic churches, many things were left "incomplete," to be afterwards "set in order" by others under the authority of the Apostles;[3] and the directions given for this purpose in the Pastoral Epistles must be taken to apply in principle to the wants of the Church in every age. The information which these Epistles give respecting the order and constitution of the apostolic churches will be noticed in its place.[4]

§ 15. The actual state in which they exhibit those churches is that of a general decline in purity and faithfulness, coupled with the beginnings of distinct and dangerous heresies. The false teachers, of whose approaching rise within the Church Paul had earnestly warned the elders of Ephesus, in his parting interview,[5] had undermined the attachment of his converts to him so effectually, that at last "all they were in Asia were turned away from him."[6] The Asiatic churches were troubled by the new forms of error which he had then predicted, and which we find more fully developed when John wrote to the Seven Churches. These heresies arose partly from Judaism and partly from a mixture of Oriental mysticism and asceticism with Alexandrian philosophy—among Jews as well as Greeks—such as is seen in the Cabbala and in Philo. The "philosophy and vain deceit, according to the traditions of men, according to the elements of this world, and not according to Christ," by

[1] 2 Cor. i. 1; Phil. i. 1; Col. i. 1; Philem. 1; 1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1.

[2] It is scarcely necessary to say that the subscriptions are no part of the Pastoral Epistles, nor is there any adequate authority for the statements that Timothy and Titus were "ordained the first bishops" respectively "of the churches of the Ephesians and of the Cretians," which, like the other apostolic churches, had from the first the officers called bishops and elders, whom both Timothy and Titus are directed to ordain where they were still wanting.

[3] See Titus i. 5, ἵνα τὰ λείποντα ἐπιδιορθώσῃ, and compare 1 Cor. xi. 34, τὰ δὲ λοιπά, ὡς ἂν ἔλθω, διατάξομαι. In the opening of the First Epistle to Timothy, his commission seems to have special reference to the heresies which had grown up in Asia; but the Epistle embraces the whole subject of church order, while that to Titus, beginning with matters of order, goes on afterwards to questions of heresy. [4] See Chap. VII.

[5] Acts xx. 30. Observe here both this description of their teaching λαλοῦντες διεστραμμένα (*distorted* views of the truth), and also the fact that they would teach thus "to draw away disciples after them," that is, to become the founders of heretical sects. [6] 2 Tim. i. 15.

which some had begun to "spoil" the church of Colossæ, were of the same kind as the "profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of knowledge falsely so called," from which Timothy is urged to turn away.[1] The very word used in this passage points to the title proudly adopted by the various sects which called themselves GNOSTICS, the men of *knowledge*, just as in later times *science* has been opposed to revelation; and these sects were often joined in an alliance with the Judaizers, seemingly unnatural, but perfectly in accordance with human nature. "The outward forms of superstition were ready for the vulgar multitude; the interpretation was confined to the aristocracy of knowledge, the self-styled Gnostics."[2] The sad truth is that, as soon as Christianity was generally diffused, it began to absorb corruptions from all the lands in which it was planted, and to reflect the complexion of all their systems of religion and philosophy. Judaism had undergone the like corruptions, especially among the Sadducees and the Hellenists. Side by side with the Pharisaic spirit of self-righteousness, there had grown up a Jewish libertinism, which, while adopting error and licence from every form of heathenism, satisfied the conscience with the outward forms of the law. These corrupted Jews were the leaders of heresy in the apostolic church, men "claiming to be *teachers of the law*, but understanding neither what they talk nor what they are confident of"; men whose "vain janglings" (*ματαιολογία*) consisted in "foolish questions, fables, endless genealogies, contentions, and strivings about the law."[3] These fables are expressly called *Jewish*, and the "many insubordinate vain talkers and deceivers" are described as being "specially those of the circumcision."[4]

§ 16. Some of these false teachers, who were also personal opponents of Paul, are mentioned by name. *Hymenæus* and *Alexander* are denounced as apostates and blasphemers in the First Epistle to Timothy;[5] while, in the second, the opposition of Alexander has become more virulent, and Hymenæus is associated with a new teacher, *Philetus*, in the specific false doctrine "that the resurrection is passed already."[6] This seems to have been a further refinement on that simple denial of the resurrection of the body, which some had taught in the church of Corinth.[7] The pretenders to a higher spiritual philosophy held that the resurrection was already accomplished, no doubt in the sense of the Gnostic teaching, that

[1] Coloss. ii. 8, foll.; 1 Tim. vi. 20. The *γνῶσις* of the latter passage answers to the *φιλοσοφία* of the former.
[2] Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. ii. p. 548.
[3] 1 Tim. i. 4, 6, 7; Titus iii. 9.
[4] Titus i. 10, 14.
[5] 1 Tim. i. 20.
[6] 2 Tim. iv. 14, 15
[7] 1 Cor. xv.

it was none other than a rising of the soul from the death of ignorance to the light of knowledge.[1] But these specific statements are of far less importance than those general descriptions which show that the rising heresies of the apostolic time contained the germs of all the errors that were to infect the Church in every age. For this is the teaching alike of Paul and Peter, of John and Jude.[2] While prophesying of those "perilous times" of departure from the truth, of the moral enormities, of the great apostasy[3] and the coming of Antichrist, which should mark the last days, they speak of the false prophets and the "many antichrists" of their own age as a proof that the last time had begun. It is often overlooked, that the false prophet of the old covenant, who affected to utter the will of God in opposition to true teachers, has an exact counterpart in the Antichrist, who assumes the name of Christ in opposition to His ministers; and this is the very essence of heresy.[4]

§ 17. It is to be observed that both Paul and Peter distinctly use the words *heresy* for errors that are to be resisted, condemned, and dealt with by severe discipline; not (according to the shallow argument from the etymology of the word) as opinions to be tolerated on the ground of free inquiry and individual conviction.[5] The word, which the Greeks used for their own philosophic sects, was naturally applied in a bad sense (like the Latin *factio* and our word *party*) by opposite sects to each other; and this bad sense was now fixed upon it. Paul himself was described by the hired orator of the Jews as "a ringleader of the *heresy* of the Nazarenes;"[6] and he answered by the confession, "After the way which they call *heresy*, so worship I the God of our fathers."[7] But this wrong

[1] See *N. T. Hist.*, chap. xix. Note A, *On Hymenæus and his Heresy*.

[2] 1 Tim. iv. 1, f.; 2 Tim. iii. 1, f.; 2 Peter iii. 3; 1 John ii. 18; Jude, 18.

[3] Our Version does not show the perfect coincidence of Paul's prophecy to the Thessalonians of the great *falling away* (ἡ ἀποστασία, 2 Thess. ii. 3), with that to Timothy, "some shall *depart from the faith*" (ἀποστησονταί τινες τῆς πίστεως).

[4] In the word *Antichrist* the ἀντί signifies not only *opposition*, but *likeness* or *correspondence* (whether real or pretended), as in τύπος and ἀντίτυπον. Jesus himself foretold the "false prophets," as also "false Christs," ψευδόχριστοι: see Matt. xxiv. 5, 24). This is evidently the predicted Antichrist, whom John identifies with the "liars, deceivers, and false prophets," and the "antichrists" of his age, who had gone out of the Church (1 John ii. 18, 19, 22, iv. 3; 2 John, 7—the only passages in which the *word* antichrist occurs). Paul describes the "Man of sin" of the great apostasy as usurping the worship due to, and the very name of, God himself.

[5] The notion referred to is another instance of the absurdity of explaining words by their mere etymology, especially in N. T. Greek. Αἵρεσις means literally *choice*, but what kind of choice, relative to what things, in what spirit, with what consequences, and how regarded by the judgment of others—all these are questions quite beyond the province of etymology.

[6] Acts xxiv. 5: πρωτοστάτην τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων αἱρέσεως. [7] *Ibid.* ver. 14.

application of the word to Christianity itself did not deter him from branding with it whatever doctrines and practices within the nominal church were opposed to *sound* (or wholesome) *teaching*[1] "according to the glorious Gospel of the blessed God" entrusted to him. When divisions (*schisms*) arose in the church of Corinth, he wrote that *heresies* must needs arise within, to test those who would stand fast.[2] He classes *heresies* with idolatry and with the most flagrant crimes against morality, the works of the flesh which are hostile to the works of the spirit.[3] By his own apostolic authority he rejects from the Church and "delivers to Satan" the blasphemers who (such is the powerful figure by which he describes unsound belief and practice) had "put away a good conscience and made shipwreck concerning the faith;"[4] and, in bidding Titus to "reject the man who was a *heretic*[5] after one and a second admonition," he adds a definition of the very spirit of heresy as a *sin* of *perversity*.[6] Peter likens the "false teachers" to the "false prophets among the people" of old, as those who will bring into the Church *destructive heresies*, at the same time bringing swift destruction on themselves.[7] So clearly did the Apostles treat heresy as pernicious and sinful.

The passage last quoted seems to mark the highest pitch of daring reached by the heretics of the apostolic age, "even denying the Lord that bought them"; and John marks the denial that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh as the very "spirit of Antichrist" predicted by Christ, and as "already in the world" in the "false

[1] 1 Tim. i. 10: εἴ τι ἕτερον τῇ ὑγιαινούσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ ἀντίκειται. These are the concluding words of the commission to Timothy to oppose heresy in the Asiatic churches, not described indeed by that express name, but by a variation equally interesting, ἵνα παραγγείλῃς τισὶν μὴ ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν—a term which comes very near to the *heterodoxy* of ecclesiastical language. A complete view of the apostolic teaching on the subject would embrace, besides the passages in which the *word* "heresy" occurs, all those which speak of "false prophets" and "false teachers" and other equivalent terms.

[2] 1 Cor. xi. 18, 19.

[3] Gal. v. 20.

[4] *Ibid.* ver. 19. The phrase is the same by which the Corinthian church are directed to cast out a brother guilty of heinous sin.

[5] Titus iii. 10: αἱρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον.

[6] *Ibid.* ver. 11. εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐξέστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος (comp. the λαλοῦντες διεστραμμένα of Acts xx. 30, and the ἀποστρεφομένων τὴν ἀλήθειαν of Titus i. 14), καὶ ἁμαρτάνει ὢν αὐτοκατάκριτος. Perhaps the last word signifies "taking on himself to condemn others" rather than "self-condemned."

[7] 2 Peter ii. 1: οἵτινες παρεισάξουσιν αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας . . . . ἐπάγοντες ἑαυτοῖς ταχινὴν ἀπώλειαν. Our translators seem to have been led by the clear meaning of the word ἀπώλειαν to give the Hebraistic genitive ἀπωλείας the objective sense, "damnable heresies." This may be the meaning, but that given in the text seems preferable. Paul describes the "Man of sin" of the great apostasy as ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας (2 Thess. ii. 3).

prophets" and "many antichrists" of his age.[1] With those who held this error be refused even the intercourse of social life.[2] But the "false teachings," "the spirit of error, which made them believe a lie," so vehemently denounced by the Apostles, involved false rules of practical life, such as the self-willed asceticism which Paul condemns,[3] and a subversion of moral restraints, borrowed, in the name of Christian liberty, from the profligate Greeks and Hellenists, especially in Asia. The denunciations of this evil throughout Paul's Epistles are summed up in his description of the unbelievers, whose "very mind and conscience is defiled," who profess that they know God, but in works deny Him, being abominable and disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate.[4] These moral corruptions are marked, alike by Paul and Peter, John and Jude, as indeed they had been by Christ himself, as the type and foretaste of the unbridled profligacy of the last days, the "perilous times" of the great "apostasy" and "mystery of iniquity."[5] And, as the heresies of the apostolic age are thus distinctly described as the beginnings and types of all that were ever to spring up, so was it as clearly taught that their end was not to be expected till the final coming of Christ to destroy all offences out of his kingdom.[6] He Himself taught this, with the practical lesson against those attempts of mistaken zeal to weed out the "tares," which, in every age of the Church, have had for their chief result the "pulling up of the wheat." Thus is persecution rebuked, while opposition to heresy, by discipline as well as argument, is enforced by the teaching and example of the Apostles.

§ 18. That persecution was permitted as a check upon corruption in the Church, is taught by Christ himself and the Apostles;[7] and the time marked by the corruptions now described is also that of

[1] 1 John iv. 1–3; 2 John 7–10.

[2] It may be doubted whether this passage was really illustrated by, or only suggested, the traditions respecting the Apostle's conduct towards an heretical leader, either *Cerinthus*, according to Eusebius and Irenæus, or *Ebion*, according to Epiphanius. The story is that John refused to be in the baths of Ephesus with the heretic, lest the roof should fall and crush them.

[3] 1 Tim. iv. 1.

[4] Titus i. 16. The last epithet is ἀδόκιμοι (*i. e.* those who do not stand the test), the exact opposite to the δόκιμοι, whose stedfastness is approved amidst prevailing heresies (1 Cor. xi. 19).

[5] 2 Thess. ii.; 2 Tim. iii. 1; 1 John ii. 18; Jude, 18; Rev. ii. 20, f. Besides this allusion to "Jezebel," the "doctrine of the Nicolaitans" (Rev. ii. 6, 15) is supposed to denote one of the immoral heresies.

[6] 1 Thess. ii. 8; Matt. xiii. 28–30, 38–43. There is a strange self-condemning irony in the choice of this figure by medieval zealots, to describe the objects of their persecution, and especially the English Lollards.

[7] See several passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews and the First Epistle of Peter, and the Epistles in Rev. ii., iii., all addressed to persecuted churches.

the *First Great Persecution* by the civil power of Rome. Special attention is due to the causes which led Nero to depart from that steady Roman policy of religious toleration, which had been exemplified by Gallio at Corinth, and to which Paul had not appealed in vain at Cæsar's own tribunal. That toleration was only granted on the condition of respect for the national religion of Rome, with which the sole deity of Jehovah and the abhorrence of idolatry were inconsistent. The peculiar rites of the Jews, and their observance of the Sabbath, brought this irreconcilable character of their religion into prominence. Their turbulence, both in Judea and the great cities where they were numerous, and their frequent outbreaks, often provoked by their Greek enemies, caused them to be regarded as a constant source of disquiet to the government. The Christians suffered their full share of this odium as a Jewish sect, all the more from the dislike with which the Jews were seen to regard them; and they were viewed with peculiar hatred as the adherents of a ringleader of Jewish sedition and a crucified malefactor.[1] Their uncompromising rejection of the national gods was hateful to the idolatrous common people and a kind of treason in the eyes of statesmen; while the philosophic unbelievers in the heathen gods disliked still more a spiritual religion, which taught the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and a state of future retribution. These feelings may be summed up in the words of Christ and his Apostle: "Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake:"—"We are made as the filth of the earth, and are the offscouring of all things unto this day."[2]

We have seen that each fresh Jewish outbreak, in Judea, at Alexandria, or elsewhere, was wont to be the signal for new measures against the Jews at Rome. Now it happened that Gessius Florus, the new procurator of Judea, began that climax of oppression, which provoked the great Jewish rebellion, at the very time when Rome was burnt down under Nero.[3] The popular voice ascribed the fire to the emperor's insane caprice; and, when the bribery of large donatives and the parade of propitiatory religious services had failed to allay the suspicion, Nero sought a scape-goat in the most despised sect of the hated Jews. "In order," says Tacitus, "to put down the rumour, he set up as objects of accusa-

[1] This feeling is seen in the notices of Tacitus and Suetonius.

[2] 1 Cor. iv. 13. These words of Paul are literally echoed by Tacitus in his account of the origin of Christianity, and its growth at Rome, "quo cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque" (*Ann.* xv. 44). For an expression of his dislike and contempt of the Jews, whom he calls "*teterrimam gentem*," see his *Hist.* v. 8.

[3] Gessius Florus became Procurator of Judea about Midsummer, 64, and the great fire of Rome was on July 19th–24th of that year.

tion and punishment those whom, already hated for their wickedness, the people called CHRISTIANS. This name was derived from one CHRISTUS, who was executed in the reign of Tiberius by Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judea; and this accursed superstition, repressed for the moment, broke out again, not only through Judea, the source of the mischief, but also through the city, whither all things outrageous and shameful flow together and find many adherents. Accordingly those were first arrested who confessed,[1] afterwards a vast number upon their information, who were convicted, not really on the charge of causing the fire, but rather for their hatred to the human race.[2] Mockeries were added to their death: such as that they were wrapped in the skins of wild beasts and torn to pieces by dogs, or crucified, or set on fire and burnt, when the daylight failed, as torches to light up the night.[3] Nero had lent his own gardens for the spectacle, and he gave a chariot-race, in which he was seen mounted on his car or mingling with the people in the dress of a charioteer. As the result of all, a feeling of compassion arose for the sufferers, though guilty and deserving of condign punishment, yet as being destroyed, not for the common good, but to satiate the cruelty of one man."[4]

Ecclesiastical historians mark this as the first of the *Ten General Persecutions* of the Christians by Roman Emperors.[5] The example set by the emperor in the capital would certainly be followed in the provinces; and the Jews, on the eve of their own great catastrophe, seized the opportunity for renewing their charges against and assaults upon the Christians. The eminent leaders, instead of merely falling victims to the lawless rage of the Jews, like Stephen and the two Apostles James, or finding refuge under the Roman law, like Paul, were now sought out and carried to Rome for execution. Such was the fate of PAUL, whose prospect of triumphant martyrdom from the rage of the imperial lion is drawn by his own hand in the *Second Epistle to Timothy*, and of PETER, whose First Epistle bears the marks of being written to strengthen his Christian

[1] This clearly means their confession that they were Christians, not that they had set fire to the city, for that charge is immediately afterwards declared groundless by Tacitus himself—"haud perinde in crimine incendii." We shall soon find Pliny, the philosophic friend of Tacitus, treating the mere confession of the Christian name as a sufficient ground for a capital sentence, in the persecution under Trajan.

[2] The heathen adversaries constantly charged Christianity with being anti-social, and hostile to human happiness.

[3] The idea seems to be that some were thus made living torches to light up the agonies of the other sufferers, when the spectacle was no longer visible through the fall of night.

[4] Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 44, under A.D. 65, near the beginning of the year.

[5] See Notes and Illustrations (A).

brethren of the Jewish Dispersion under a general persecution. Clement of Rome, the earliest of the "*Apostolic Fathers*" (those writers who had intercourse with the Apostles), testifying to the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, adds that their fate was shared by "a great multitude of the elect, who, suffering many insults and torments through the envy of their adversaries, left the most glorious example among us."[1] The general character of Nero's persecution is also testified by Eusebius and Lactantius in the fourth century, and by Orosius in the fifth; and Sulpicius Severus (about the same time) says that the Christian religion was forbidden by laws and public edicts, adding the circumstance, which fixes the date, that, while these things were done at Rome, the Jews began their rebellion, provoked by the outrages of Gessius Florus.[2]

§ 19. The unexampled horrors of the Jewish War, and its climax in the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus (A.D. 70), were the first fulfilment of Christ's great prophecy of His coming to put an end to the Jewish dispensation, that His kingdom on earth might be entrusted only to the Christian Church, which was built up on the ruins of the Jewish. Or rather, to use a truer figure,[3] as the Christian religion and Church were wholly a development of the Jewish, the old dispensation fell to the ground and died, like a seed, in order that the New might bring forth the fruit predicted by its Lord.[4] The destruction of Jerusalem marks the epoch at which Christianity emerged from its initiatory stage, with a church completely organised, and numbering converts through the whole Roman Empire, and even beyond its borders to the East, to replace Judaism as the witness for the one true God. So clearly did the Christians of Jerusalem themselves see this significance of their Lord's prophecy, that they retired from the Holy City before its investment by Titus, and the Church of Jerusalem (as it was still called) had its seat at Pella, a village of the Decapolis, beyond the Jordan,[5] till Hadrian permitted them to return to what was no longer the Jewish capital, but the Roman city of Aelia Capitolina (A.D. 136).[6] The spiritual Zion had replaced the material city of David.

[1] Clemens Romanus, *Epist. I. ad Corinthios*, 5.

[2] The government of Gessius Florus began (as above stated) in A.D. 64, and the Jews broke out into open rebellion in A.D. 66.

[3] John xii. 24. [4] Matt. xxi. 43.

[5] Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 5; Epiphan. *Hær.* xxix. 7; *de Mens. et Pond.* 15. The latter writer says that a Christian Church was soon gathered again amidst the ruins of Jerusalem, under Simeon, a relative of Jesus Christ; and he adds the marvel, that the little house formerly used by the Church of Jerusalem was one of the few buildings spared by Titus.

[6] The old name of Jerusalem was only revived by Constantine. During the interval we find mention of bishops of Pella; but afterwards they become again bishops of Jerusalem.

§ 20. The prolonged life of the Apostle JOHN, and the writings of his which we possess in the New Testament,[1] continue the apostolic age for a generation beyond the epoch of the fall of Jerusalem. The disciple distinguished by his Master's special love was distinguished also by surviving his Lord's coming,[2] that he might be a witness to Christianity in the new light thrown upon it by that event. Accordingly, in the visions of the Apocalypse, the form and worship of the destroyed temple are transferred to a heavenly sanctuary, in the midst of which the slain and risen Christ is enthroned, to receive the worship of the twenty-four elders, the joint number of the tribes of Israel and "the Apostles of the Lamb," of the "sealed" elect, symbolised in like manner by the 144,000 of every tribe, and of "a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues"—the members of the universal church—clothed with white robes, the signs of their salvation by the blood of the Lamb, and carrying palms as emblems of their victory in the conflict with the world and persecution. Round this temple of the Christian Church are grouped a succession of scenes—properly so called, for they are displayed pictorially, as was often the case in Hebrew prophecy—which unfold the future history of the Church, in a mystery only to be understood as the time of its fulfilment draws near. Finally, the temple and city of God, the new Jerusalem, comes down from heaven in full glory, signifying the revelation of the pure and perfect Church, and all ends with the consummation of judgment and the bliss of the redeemed.

This vision belongs to a time of persecution, by many internal marks, as well as by the express statement of the introductory Epistle to the Seven Churches of Asia: "I John, who am also your brother, and *companion in tribulation* and in the kingdom and in patience, in Jesus Christ, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ."[3] The writer of these words was clearly exiled as a confessor to this rocky isle of the Icarian sea, at a season of general persecution; but not a hint is given by himself of the time and cause, which were well known to those whom he addressed. Yet something may be learnt from internal evidence. He writes to the Seven Churches of Asia, with Ephesus at their head, as one who well knew their state from having laboured among them and having shared the very persecution to which they were still subject. Now the concurrent testimony of ecclesiastical writers connects John with the Church of Ephesus; but, on the other hand, there is not a trace of any such

[1] Even if the earlier date of the Apocalypse were admitted, it would be impossible to bring the Epistles and Gospels within the limit of A.D. 70.

[2] John xxi. 20–23: "If I will that *he tarry till I come.*"

[3] Rev. i. 9.

connection till after the final removal of Paul by his arrest and martyrdom.[1] These considerations seem to exclude the Neronian persecution, in which also John would surely have shared the fate of Paul and Peter, not the milder sentence of banishment.[2] The few late and obscure ancient testimonies, which place John's banishment to Patmos under Nero, could never have been followed, but for the sake of the theory which places the Apocalypse before the destruction of Jerusalem, and makes its prophecies refer to that catastrophe, to which assuredly they cannot be limited.

Coming down from such mere hypotheses to the firm ground of testimony, its whole weight is in favour of a new persecution under Domitian, who banished John from his pastoral work at Ephesus to forced labour in the quarries of Patmos, shortly before the emperor's own death in A.D. 96. The main facts are agreed upon by Irenæus, Eusebius, and Jerome; and the testimony of the first, who was the disciple of Polycarp, the disciple of John, seems decisive. He says that the Apocalypse "was seen no very long time ago, but almost in our own generation, at the close of Domitian's reign"; and no writer of the first three centuries gives any other date.

The great writer, who continues Roman history after Tacitus,[3] says that Domitian put to death the consul, Fabius Clemens, *and banished* his wife, Flavia Domitilla, *to the island of Pandateria* (though both were of his own kindred) on the charge of atheism—that is, of refusing to worship the gods of Rome; and that many others were condemned on the same charge, because *they turned aside to the customs of the Jews;* and some were put to death, and others were deprived of their property.[4] The Christians were still regarded as a Jewish sect; and Eusebius expressly reckons these

[1] It must be remembered that, besides the statement of ecclesiastical writers that Paul was arrested at Ephesus, his Epistles to Timothy bring down his connection with the Asiatic churches to the very eve of his martyrdom; and it is impossible to account for his silence about John if John had been already among those churches. It is also to be observed how perfectly the tenor of the Epistles to the Seven Churches presents a development of their state as described in the First Epistle to Timothy. (See the *N. T. Hist.*, p. 528, note 83.)

[2] Some such consideration seems to have given rise to the fable related by Tertullian, that Nero caused John to be placed in a caldron of boiling oil, but it had no power to hurt him. Augustine also tells of his drinking poison unharmed. There was evidently an idea that he bore a charmed life, founded on that very misinterpretation of Christ's words, against which John had himself protested (John xxi. 23).

[3] Dion Cassius lived in the latter part of the second and the early part of the third centuries, and wrote a *History of Rome* from the beginning to the year of his own second consulship, A.D. 229. Most of it is preserved only in the *Epitome* of Xiphilinus.

[4] Xiphilin. *Epit. Dion. Cass.* lxvii. 14.

sufferers as Christians.[1] Others add that Domitian caused search to be made in Palestine for the posterity of David (as his father Vespasian had already done), and that, in consequence, the grandchildren of Judas, the brother of Christ, were brought before the emperor.[2] Whether these details are wholly trustworthy or not, here is sufficient evidence of a persecution of Christianity by Domitian, on the twofold ground of the perversion of eminent Romans to the "Jewish superstition," and of the suspicious tyrant's fear of new troubles in Judea. Ecclesiastical writers reckon this as the *Second General Persecution*.

That the vile informers who served Domitian had made the charge of Judaizing a common weapon of that tyranny and extortion, which Tacitus so vividly describes, is proved by the distinct record of Nerva's abolition of such accusations, which is commemorated by a coin of the Senate.[3] Nerva's dismissal of the accused, and recal of those exiled on the charge of atheism, agrees with the ecclesiastical tradition of John's return to Ephesus, where he died in extreme old age.[4] His special advocacy of the truth respecting the person of Christ, as the WORD OF GOD manifest in the flesh, gained him the title of THEOLOGUS. Finally, his Gospel, written to supplement the other three, completed the body of apostolic and inspired Christian literature; and his own attestation puts him in the very first place among those who have handed down to us their testimony as eye-witnesses to the facts of Christianity :—"This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things, and we know that his testimony is true."[5]

[1] Euseb. *Chron. s.* Ol. 218; *H. E.* iii. 18, § 2; Hieron. *Epist.* 86 (or 27) *ad Eustochium.* [2] Hegesipp. *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 12, 20.

[3] "Fisci Judaici calumnia sublata." Eckhel, vol. vi. p. 405. Xiphilin. *Epit. Dion. Cass.* lxviii. 1.

[4] The dates assigned to his death range from A.D. 89 to A.D. 120.

[5] John xxi. 24, comp. xix. 35; and 1 John i. 1–3. For what is known of the labours of the remaining Apostles and Evangelists, and the extent of ground over which Christianity had spread in the Apostolic age, see Notes and Illustrations (B).

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(A.) THE TEN GENERAL PERSECUTIONS.

The following are the Ten Great Persecutions of the Christians by the heathen Roman Emperors, as reckoned by ecclesiastical historians. How far they are properly called *general** is considered as we come to each.

* The word *general*, in this connection, is equivalent to the sense in which certain Councils are spoken of as *general* or *œcumenical*, from the use of the word οἰκουμένη to signify the *Roman Empire*, as in Luke ii. 1.

I. By *Nero;* beginning A.D. 64.
II. By *Domitian;* A.D. 95–96.
III. By *Trajan;* A.D. 106–117.
IV. By *Marcus Aurelius;* A.D. 166–177.
V. By *Severus;* A.D. 202, and onwards.
VI. By *Maximin;* A.D. 235.
VII. By *Decius;* A.D. 250–251; continued under *Gallus;* A.D. 251–253.
VIII. By *Valerian;* A.D. 258–260.
IX. By *Aurelian;* A.D. 275.
X. By *Diocletian* and *Maximian;* A.D. 303–305; continued by *Galerius* and *Maximin* to A.D. 311.

B. THE RECORDS OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH OUTSIDE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. First, to sum up the records of the New Testament itself, there is specific mention of the following churches, besides indirect allusions to others in the several provinces named.

1. In *Palestine*, at Jerusalem, Lydda, Sharon, Joppa, Cæsarea, and (as it clearly implied), at Samaria, besides probably others included in the general term "the churches of Judea."

2. In *Phœnicia*, at Tyre and Ptolemais (the ancient Acco and the *St. Jean d'Acre* of medieval and modern history).

3. In *Syria*, at Antioch and Damascus; and from the latter city Paul went and preached among the Arabian subjects of King Aretas.

4. *Cilicia*, which was more closely connected with Syria than with Asia Minor within the Taurus, was one of the earliest scenes of Paul's labours (Gal. i. 21), and "the churches of Cilicia" are expressly mentioned in Acts xv.

5. In *Cyprus*, Paul and Barnabas doubtless founded churches at the two cities of Salamis and Paphos; and the last mention of Barnabas shows him renewing his work in the island, after his separation from Paul.

6. In *Asia Minor* (within Taurus) four groups of churches are to be noticed:—(1) Those planted by Paul and Barnabas in the wild regions of *Pisidia* and *Lycaonia*, at Antioch, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra. (2) The churches of *Galatia*, founded by Paul in his second tour. (3) The famous churches of *Asia*, the fruit chiefly of Paul's labours at Ephesus during his third circuit, namely, those at Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Alexandria Troas, with those of *Phrygia*, reckoned as belonging to Asia, at Colossæ and Laodicea. (4) To these must be added the churches of "the Dispersion" in the other provinces of Asia Minor, to whom Peter addresses his first Epistle, namely (besides Galatia and Asia), Pontus, Cappadocia, and Bithynia.

The fact that churches were planted over the whole of Asia Minor (Lycia and Caria being the only provinces in which no churches are named), alike among the Hellenistic Jews of the dispersion, the Hellenized natives of all Eastern races, and the Celtic Galatians, is very significant. The soil where the greatest mixture of races was gathered in a narrow compass received most readily the seed of the faith designed for all kindreds of mankind, intermixed, however, with Oriental ideas; and the free spirit of Hellenic civilization proved more congenial to the Gospel than the exclusiveness either of the Jewish religion or of the proud Roman supremacy. And the civic constitution, which the Greek cities retained in their internal affairs, made them the fit seats of religious communities which were independent of the political society amidst which they lived. Besides, the strong Jewish element in these cities (in spite of the unbelief of the majority) furnished everywhere a nucleus of the Christian Church. In *Eastern Europe* there was the same Hellenism infused with a Jewish leaven.

7. In *Macedonia*, Paul founded churches at the colony of Philippi, at the port of Thessalonica, and at Berœa. The existence of other churches may be inferred with probability from the allusions to the *churches* of Macedonia. (2 Cor. viii. 1, ix. 2; Rom. xv. 26.)

8. In *Greece* (the province of *Achaia*), besides the famous church at Corinth and that at Athens, the existence of others is attested by the Epistle addressed to them. (2 Cor. i. 1, viii. 1, ix. 2; Rom. xv. 26)

9. In *Crete*, the existence of several churches is testified by the Epistle to Titus. The Epistle also alludes to the labours of Apollos in Crete (Tit. iii. 13). In the Post-Apostolic age, the principal church in Crete was at Gortyna.

10. On his third circuit, Paul went on from Macedonia to the shores of the Adriatic, and he distinctly marks his labours in *Illyricum* as *completing* the extension of the Gospel through the eastern part of the empire to its western limit. (Rom. xv. 19; comp. "those parts" in Acts xxi. 2.) The existence of churches in that neighbourhood is implied in his mention of Titus's visit to Dalmatia. (2 Tim. iv. 10.)

11. ROME closes the list, as the only church known as yet in the western part of the Empire.

12. That Peter, in the discharge of his special mission to open the kingdom of heaven, passed beyond the limits of Cæsar's rule into the rival empire of *Parthia* (perhaps as a refuge from persecution) is quite clear if we accept in its literal sense the name of the place from which he

wrote his First Epistle, *Babylon*, where the Jews of the Eastern Dispersion were numerous and wealthy, and maintained intercourse with those both of Asia Minor and Judea. (See *N. T. Hist.*, ch. xix. § 16.)

Among the "devout Jews, out of every nation under heaven," who were at Jerusalem and heard the preaching of Peter on the great day of Pentecost, those of fifteen nations and provinces are mentioned by name. Eight of the fifteen are afterwards conspicuous in the apostolic history; namely, besides *Rome* and *Judæa* itself, and *Crete* and *Arabia*, there are three of the provinces of Asia Minor which were special seats of Paul's work, *Asia*, *Phrygia*, and *Pamphylia*, and two which are named in Peter's Epistle, *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*. In connection with these, and at the head of the whole list, stand the *Parthians*, and *Medes*, and *Elamites*, and dwellers in *Mesopotamia*, that is, the whole region of the Tigris and Euphrates and the bordering lands to the east, which formed the chief part of the Parthian Empire. These lands, so famous in Jewish history, were the abodes of whatever remnants were left of the great captivities of Israel; and thus it would seem that the first preaching of Christianity embraced all sections of the race.

13. The remaining countries in the list are *Egypt* and the parts of *Libya* about *Cyrene*. These regions of *Africa*, now included in the Roman Empire, had received a strong infusion of Jewish settlers, beginning from the time of the Babylonian captivity, and increased during the period of the Hellenistic rule.

14. Proceeding to the southernmost parts of Africa, as then known, the Eunuch converted by Philip carried the Gospel to *Ethiopia*, that is, the kingdom of *Meroë*.

II. Passing from the Sacred History to the traditions of the Church, we are at once warned of the doubtful and often plainly treacherous ground, by such stories as that the Apostles cast lots to decide the countries to which they should severally go from Jerusalem; that, before they separated, they joined in drawing up the symbol of faith called the Apostles' Creed; and that they were all unmarried; not to recur to the other special fables about Peter. But there are some traditions about their labours in the diffusion of the Church which deserve more respect from their antiquity.

Within the limits of the Roman Empire, the Apostle PHILIP is said to have spent his last years at Hierapolis in *Phrygia*;* and the foundation of the important Church of *Alexandria*, in Egypt, is ascribed to JOHN MARK, the Evangelist and the companion of Barnabas, Paul, and Peter.† In the East, beyond the Empire, THOMAS is said to have preached the Gospel in *Parthia*, and to have been buried at Edessa.‡ It is not till the fourth century that we find the tradition of this Apostle's preaching in *India*,§ which others assign to BARTHOLOMEW;‖ while the more usual account makes *Armenia* the scene of the latter Apostle's labours, and of his cruel martyrdom by flaying alive and crucifixion.¶ The nations beyond the eastern border of the Empire are also assigned by some to MATTHEW,** whom the prevailing tradition sends to *Æthiopia*.†† The confused way in which the several traditions assign various countries to each Apostle, proves how little was known of their personal history, or of the steps by which the Church was first extended to the remoter regions. It became a matter of national pride to claim an Apostolic founder, or a contemporary of Christ and the Apostles, for the Church of every country; and some of the most extravagant of these claims have been perpetuated; as in the honour paid in Spain to James, the son of Zebedee, as *Santiago di Compostella*; in France, to Dionysius the Areopagite, as *Saint Denys*, whose claim, however, is disputed on behalf of Lazarus, Martha, Mary Magdalene, and others; and in Russia, to St. Andrew. The conversion of Germany was ascribed to Maternus, Eucherius, and Valerius, as legates of St. Peter; but there is no evidence that Christianity had yet reached the "barbarian" nations of Europe.‡‡

* Polycrates (about A.D. 190) ap. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 31, v. 24). The apocryphal *Acts of Philip* are full of the wildest legends.

† Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 16.

‡ Euseb. iii. 1.

§ Respecting this, and the "Syrian Christians of St. Thomas," on the Malabar coast, see *N. T. Hist.*, ch. xx. § 16. Some think the tradition to be of Manichæan origin, as the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas* are decidedly Manichæan. See Philo, *Acta Thomæ Apostoli*, Lips. 1823.

‖ Euseb. *H. E.* v. 10; Rufinus, *H. E.* x. 9. The country meant, which the latter writer calls *Outer India*, appears from his description to be the part of Arabia now called *Yemen*.

¶ Assemann, *Bibl. Or.* iii. 2, 20.

** Ambros. in Psalm. xlv.

†† Socrates, *H. E.* i. 19; Rufin. *H. E.* x. 9.

‡‡ On the supposed case of the British lady named Claudia, see the *Student's N. T. Hist.* p. 530, note.



Roman Catacombs. Gallery with "Loculi." (From Northcote's *Roma Sotterranea.*)

CHAPTER III.

AGE OF THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

FROM NERVA TO COMMODUS, CORRESPONDING TO THE SECOND CENTURY (A.D. 96–192.)

§ 1. Character of the Post-Apostolic Church—The Second and Third Centuries the age of *Apologies* and *Persecutions.* § 2. Jewish and Heathen Hostility—Calumnies against the Christians. § 3. Quiet Rule of NERVA (A.D. 96–98)—Policy of TRAJAN (A.D. 98–117)—His Edict against Illegal Societies—Pliny's Account of Christianity in his Correspondence with Trajan—Its resemblance to the New Testament model—Trajan's Rescript on the mode of dealing with the Christians—The *Third Persecution.* § 4. The Protomartyr SYMEON, Bishop of Jerusalem—IGNATIUS, Bishop of Antioch, brought before Trajan and condemned to be thrown to the lions at Rome—His Journey through Asia Minor, and his Letters to the Churches—His Martyrdom at the *Saturnalia.* § 5. Popular Rage against the Christians—Reign of HADRIAN (A.D. 117–138)—The earliest *Apologies*, by QUADRATUS and ARISTIDES—Hadrian's mild Rescript. § 6. The last great Revolt of the Jews, under Akiba and Bar-cochab—Final Desecration of Jerusalem and Severance of the Jews and Christians. § 7. Schism in the Church of Jerusalem—Sects of the *Nazareans*, the *Ebionites*, and the *Elcesaites*—Rise of the Ebionite Gnosticism—The *Pseudo-Clementines.* § 8. Tolerant Policy of ANTONINUS PIUS (A.D. 138–

161); but continued popular enmity—Conversion and Life of JUSTIN MARTYR—His *First Apology*, addressed to Antoninus Pius. § 9. MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS (A.D. 161–180)—His Hatred of Christianity as a Philosopher and a Ruler—The *Fourth Persecution*—Records of the Catacombs. § 10. The *Second Apology* and Martyrdom of JUSTIN MARTYR—Martyrdom of MELITO, Bishop of Sardis—Persecution at Smyrna, and Martyrdom of POLYCARP. § 11. Persecution in Gaul—Origin of the Gallic Church—Pothinus, Bishop of Lyon—Letter of the Churches of Lyon and Vienne relating the Martyrdoms there. § 12. Legend of the "Thundering Legion." § 13. Reign of COMMODUS (A.D. 180–192)—Martyrdom of Apollonius. § 14. Extension of the Church throughout the Empire during the Second Century—Evidence of a British Church—Churches in the East beyond the Empire. § 15. Canon of the New Testament formed in the Second Century

§ 1. WITH the close of the New Testament records, and the death of the last surviving Apostle, the History of the Church passes from its sacred to its purely human phase. The miraculous gifts which attested the divine mission of the Apostles cease; not indeed by any formal record of their withdrawal, but by the clear evidence that they were possessed no longer. But those permanent gifts which mark the true spirit of Christ, and which Paul valued above tongues and prophetic powers, remain with the Church. It preserves, during the second and third centuries, a prevailing character of purity, zeal in the defence and propagation of the truth, and freedom from a worldly spirit. A constant conflict is maintained, by arguments based on Scripture and reason, both with Jewish and heathen adversaries, and with the corruptions and heresies that sprang up within the Church; and the efforts of heathen rulers to root out the new faith are met by constancy under persecution.

These two centuries are eminently the age of *Apologies* and *Persecutions*; the age in which the truths of Christianity were defended by its teachers, and attested by its martyrs; for it had become as needful to refute calumny as to bear suffering and death.

§ 2. After the severance made between Jews and Christians by the vast increase of Gentile converts and by the fall of Jerusalem, the Christians were still in the peculiar position of being obnoxious both to Jews and heathens, alike for their separation from Judaism and for their connection with it. They were still commonly regarded by the heathen as a Jewish sect; but peculiar hostility was excited by a religion, which was seen not to be national, but to claim universal allegiance. In the eyes of the rulers, the Christian churches were a new form of the dangerous "illegal associations"; while both rulers and people were moved to hatred by calumnies which arose from misunderstanding of the Christian doctrine and worship. The secresy

which persecution imposed upon their meetings was at once a source of suspicion and an opportunity for the misrepresentations of informers; and in spreading such calumnies the Jews found a gratification of their malignant envy of the Christians.[1] The fragments of information obtained by the curiosity of heathen masters from their Christian slaves must have been a fruitful source of mistake. What they heard of "eating the body of Christ," in the Lord's Supper, may have been the ground of the charge of "Thyestean banquets";[2] the familiar fellowship of the "love-feasts," in which men and women joined, may have been distorted into riotous banquets and promiscuous intercourse;[3] and the prominence assigned to spiritual influence may have been the foundation for the charge of magic—a power which was claimed, in that age, by most teachers of new religions.[4] Nor can it be denied that some colour was given to these accusations by the doctrines and practices with which some of the heretical sects had already corrupted Christianity.[5]

To all this was added the interested opposition which sprang from the same motive as that of Demetrius at Ephesus. The priests, and all those whose livelihood depended either on the heathen worship or on the spectacles and amusements which the Christians abhorred,—and for abhorring which they were held up to the people as enemies of human happiness,[6]—all these could at any time raise popular tumults, in which the Christians were first assailed and then made responsible for the disturbance; or they could invoke the law against illegal superstitions,[7] if not some special laws still in force against the Christians.

§ 3. Such laws slumbered while NERVA, to use the words of Tacitus, "united what had long been irreconcilable—supreme

[1] Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 17; Orig. *c. Celsum*, vi. 27. Most of our information about these calumnies is naturally derived from the replies to them by the Christian Apologists. They are doubtless referred to in Tacitus's character of the Christians as "per *flagitia* invisos."

[2] Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 26; Irenæus; and other authorities, cited by Canon Robertson, *Hist. of the Christian Church*, vol. i. p. 10.

[3] Possibly the rite of baptism may have had something to do with this charge.

[4] The *hymns*, which formed so conspicuous a part of Christian worship, may have been regarded as incantations of sorcery.

[5] "Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 2, p. 514) charges the Carpocratians with the abominations which were falsely imputed to the Church." Robertson, *l. c.*

[6] "Odio humani generis convicti" (Tacitus).

[7] Besides this general law, special laws had been made against the Christians by Nero and Domitian; and, though some hold them to have been repealed, Tertullian expressly states that those of Nero were left standing when his other acts were abrogated. The existence of such laws would explain Pliny's sending Christians to execution on their mere confession of the *name*.

power and liberty" (A.D. 96–98).[1] But the system by which TRAJAN (A.D. 98–117) "daily increased the happiness of the Empire" involved the severe repression of every source of danger to the public security. In this spirit, early in his reign, he issued an edict against the guilds or clubs (*hetœriæ*); and the Christian churches were special objects of the inquisition made for such, on account of the mystery in which their worship and usages were involved.[2]

It fell to the lot of the younger Pliny to enforce this edict as Proconsul of Bithynia and Pontus, where we have seen that Christianity was already deeply rooted, especially among the Jews.[3] Within half a century of Peter's martyrdom, Pliny found the heathen temples almost deserted; and the want of a market for the sacrificial animals threatened the prosperity of his province. Among the accused were persons of every rank, of both sexes, and of all ages; nor had "the contagion of this superstition" infected the cities only, the usual centres of new opinions, but even the villages and the country districts.[4]

Such is the account which Pliny writes to Trajan, while asking how he is to deal with this large class of persons, who were accused of no crime but their religion. He had doubted whether he ought to punish "*the name itself*, if free from crimes, or the crimes cohering with the name"; and the discovery that there were no such crimes seems to have surprised the philosopher, who had shared the prejudices of his friend Tacitus. At first he had deemed it enough to ask the accused whether they were Christians, and, on their repeated confession, he had put some of them to death, reserving those who were citizens to be sent to Rome. "I had no doubt," writes the philosopher, "that, whatever it was that they

[1] See Tac. *Agric.* 3.

[2] That this edict was the mainspring of the ensuing persecution, is seen in the words of Pliny, writing to Trajan:—"Secundum mandata tua, hetærias esse vetueram." (*Epist.* x. 96, § 7; comp. *Epist.* x. 36.)

[3] See 1 Peter i. 1. The Jews had probably gone into these provinces as commercial speculators in the track of the Roman armies. The prevalence of Christianity there, in the second century, is confirmed by Lucian (*Alexander*, c. 45). The *date* of Pliny's government is unfortunately doubtful; whether A.D. 103–105 or 111–113. Clinton places the correspondence in A.D. 104; Pagi and Merivale in A.D. 112; and Pagi conjectures that the occasion arose out of the refusal of the Christians to join in the sacrifices at Trajan's *Quindecennalia*—the fifteenth anniversary of his adoption as heir of the empire.

[4] This is an early sign of the distinction which is still testified by the word "pagan." The *pagani* were simply people of the country districts (*pagi*), as opposed to those of the cities, *urbani;* and the former class adhered, in great part, to the old religion, even after the imperial establishment of Christianity.

confessed, their wilfulness and inflexible obstinacy deserved punishment." But in this first record of a systematic persecution, we find that the courage of some gave way, and they became what the Church afterwards called "the lapsed." Many, who were accused on anonymous information,[1] were allowed to clear themselves by offering incense to the gods of Rome and to the emperor's statue, and by cursing the name of Christ. There were some who at first confessed and then retracted, declaring that they had renounced Christianity as much as three or even twenty years before.[2] From these the proconsul hoped to get light on the vile practices which rumour ascribed to the Christians; and the result of his enquiries gives such a picture of the worship and life of the early Church, that his letter has been called the *First Apology for Christianity*.[3]

In Pliny's own words, "They affirmed this to have been the sum of their fault or rather error, *that they used to assemble on a fixed day before it was light*,[4] *and to sing responsively a hymn to Christ as to a god*;[5] *and they bound themselves by a sacramental oath*,[6] *not to some crime*"—as the proconsul had expected to

[1] Observe this testimony to the fact that the Christians were exposed to the private enmity, and other base motives, of anonymous informers, who appear to have been generally Jews. Compare Trajan's answer, below.

[2] The conjecture of Pagi that the period of twenty years refers back to Domitian's persecution, cannot be accepted as evidence for the date. It might just as well be argued that the three years point back to Trajan's edict against the *hetæriæ*. Robertson observes that "the equivocal behaviour of these persons leaves it in doubt whether they really apostatized, or whether they used the licence which was sanctioned by some heretical sects, and disavowed their belief in order to escape danger."

[3] The following is the text of this invaluable testimony to primitive Christianity. Pliny is speaking of those who had recanted:—"Adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent; quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium."

[4] That this *certain day* was the *Lord's-day*, or first day of the week, may be inferred from the practice of the Apostolic Churches (Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2). The hour, before daylight—the very time of Christ's resurrection—was also that which even slaves could call their own. The natural inference is that the primitive Christians observed the Lord's-day for worship, but made no attempt to deprive their masters of their labour on that day.

[5] "Carmen . . . . . dicere *secum invicem*" seems to imply the *antiphonal singing* which was characteristic of Jewish psalmody. For the hymnology of the Apostolic Church compare Acts iv. 24–26; Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16; James v. 13.

[6] The *sacramentum* is taken by some for the baptismal vow. It was not the Lord's Supper, for this was celebrated in the evening.

discover, like the conspiracies which were cemented by unhallowed rites—"*but that they would commit no thefts, nor robberies, nor adulteries, nor break their word, nor deny a deposit when called upon:* having done which, their usage was to depart, and to assemble again to take food, which, however, was common and guiltless."[1]

This account, given by recreants, and preserved in the words of an impartial enemy of the faith, reflects at every point the indications of the New Testament concerning the primitive Church: their meeting for worship on the first day of the week, before daylight, and again, when the day's work was done, to eat the Lord's Supper in connection with their own Feast of Love; the prominence given in their worship to hymns of praise, in which divine honour was paid to Christ;[2] and the strict bond of holiness and honesty on which their fellowship was based. Pliny tested their confession by the evidence of two female servants, evidently deaconesses[3] of the Church, whom he put to the torture, but he still extracted proof of nothing but "immoderate addiction to a perverse superstition."

Such was the case which Pliny submitted to Trajan, asking how he should deal with the Christians: whether he should be satisfied with a recantation, and whether any favour should be shown to the young and weak. He adds that his measures had brought back many worshippers to the temples, and advises a moderate policy as the best means of recovering many more. Trajan's answer is deeply interesting, as showing the policy deliberately adopted towards Christianity by him whom all historians, from Tacitus

[1] These words clearly refer to the charge of "Thyestean banquets," which appears to have usually taken the form of their alleged eating the flesh of children; a charge which was very frequently made against the Jews, in ancient as well as medieval times. The "cibum *promiscuum*" appears to mean ordinary food, as distinguished from the revolting banquets (*obnoxium*, the opposite to *innoxium*) charged against them. The meal itself was doubtless the ἀγάπη or *love-feast*, which was eaten in connection with the Lord's Supper.

[2] Even if the words "quasi deo" were Pliny's own gloss, of which there is no proof, the fact remains, that hymns of worship were addressed to Christ. The recreants, who had just cleared themselves by invoking the gods of Rome, must surely have meant the same kind of divine worship when they said that they had hitherto invoked the name of Christ, *as if he were a god* (*quasi deo*). And it is to be observed, in the whole history of Roman persecutions, that *Christ* is made correlative with *the gods*, not regarded as the mere leader of a sect. The Christians are required to abjure *His name*, and to invoke *the names of the gods*, as a point of religion, and the name of the emperor, as a point of loyalty.

[3] "Ancillis, quæ *ministræ* dicebantur." Comp. Rom. xvi. 1: Φοίβην . . . . . οὖσαν διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς.

downwards, hold up to admiration as the most just and statesman-like among the emperors.[1] He approves of the proconsul's measures thus far, and prefers leaving him a large discretion to laying down a rigid rule. He directs that the informers should be discouraged, and that no inquisition should be made for the Christians; but those who are convicted are to be punished. Those, however, who deny that they are Christians, however much suspected in the past, may obtain pardon by supplicating the gods of Rome. The policy thus announced was to connive at the existence of the new religion, so long as it was not forced on the notice of the government in such a manner as to require the execution of the laws; but none the less was Christianity branded as a legal crime by the rescript of one of the noblest emperors.[2] Such was the result of viewing it in the light of mere policy, without inquiring into its truth.

The sufferings of the Christians under Trajan are reckoned as the *Third General Persecution.*

§ 4. It was probably before and independently of the emperor's rescript, that the *protomartyr* of the Post-Apostolic Church fell a victim to the hatred of the Jews. This was SYMEON, who is said to have been a kinsman of our Lord, being the son of Cleophas, and a brother of James the Just, on whose death he was chosen Bishop of Jerusalem. Eusebius relates the tradition, that Symeon was denounced by some Jewish heretics as one of the progeny of David, and, after enduring cruel tortures with a constancy that amazed the lookers-on, he was crucified at the age of a hundred-and-twenty.

But the most striking event of this persecution was the martyrdom of IGNATIUS, the venerable Bishop of Antioch, after a trial by the emperor in person. Ignatius is said to have been a disciple of St. John,[3] and to have succeeded Euodius at Antioch about the year 70. It was probably during Trajan's stay at Antioch on his march to Parthia, and when the capital of the East was laid in ruin by an earthquake, in which the emperor nearly lost his life, that this alarm (like the fire under Nero) caused new inquisition to be made for those obnoxious to the gods.[4] Whether selected as

[1] This estimate of Trajan has not been confined to heathens. Of Gregory the Great "it is said that he was so impressed with the thoughts of the justice and goodness of this heathen sovereign, that he earnestly prayed in St. Peter's Church, that God would even now give him grace to know the name of Christ and to be converted." (Dean Stanley, *Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 23.)

[2] We may do justice to Trajan's decision from his own point of view, without denying the force of Tertullian's indignant comment: "O sententiam necessitate confusam! Negat inquirendos, ut innocentes; et mandat puniendos, ut nocentes" (*Apol.* 2).

[3] Hieron. *de Vir. Illust.* c. 16.

[4] It is not certain to which of Trajan's visits to Antioch the sentence of

a chief victim, or coming forward of his own free will,[1] Ignatius gladly embraced the opportunity of pleading the cause of Christ, and explaining his faith before the emperor; but his "good confession" was early transformed into an exchange of rhetorical speeches between him and Trajan. In the end, he was condemned to be thrown to the lions at Rome, whose populace would be gratified with the spectacle, by which Trajan may have feared to provoke the Christians of the always restless Eastern city. It seems, too, that Trajan counted on the deep impression that would be made through the empire, whether this leader of the new religion were induced to apostatize through the long delay and hardships of his journey, or by his public execution in the capital, after being led in chains through those parts of the empire where Christianity most prevailed. But the real effect was to enable Ignatius to confirm those churches by his presence or his letters, and his only fear through the long journey was lest the intercession of his friends should rob him of his crown of martyrdom.

He was carried, in charge of ten brutal soldiers, from Seleucia by sea to Smyrna, where he met his fellow-disciple and follower in martyrdom, POLYCARP, and the Bishops of Ephesus, Magnesia, and Tralles, by whom he sent letters to their churches, and he also wrote to his brethren at Rome. From Troas he sent back letters to Polycarp and the Church of Smyrna, and one to the Church of Philadelphia, whose bishop had come to meet him.[2] Thence he sailed to Neapolis in Macedonia, and, having crossed by land to Epidamnus, was carried round by sea to Portus (the harbour of Rome) near Ostia. He was hurried to Rome, not to disappoint the people of such an addition to the wild mirth of the Saturnalia as the sight of a venerable leader of the Christians brought from the extreme East to be torn to pieces by the lions in the Colosseum, where he suffered on the 20th of December.[3] He is said to have expressed a wish that nothing of his mortal body might remain undevoured; and only the larger and harder bones were left to be gathered

Ignatius should be referred; but the weight of opinion is in favour of that referred to above, according to which Clinton fixes the martyrdom at A.D. 115.

[1] The statement, that Ignatius "was voluntarily led" before the emperor, admits of either interpretation. It must be added, however, that the *Acts of the Martyrdom of Ignatius*, in which these words occur, and which give the conversation between the bishop and the emperor, are of doubtful genuineness, and the latter part, at least, is usually given up as spurious. (See Robertson, vol. i. p. 16.)

[2] Respecting the Epistles ascribed to Ignatius, see Chap. IV. § 4.

[3] His martyrdom was on the last day of the *Sigillaria*, a feast attached to the *Saturnalia*.

up by his brethren, and carried back to Antioch, amidst marks of grief and honour from all the churches on the road. It was left for a later age to make the relics of martyrs an object of worship.

§ 5. The exposure of Ignatius in the Colosseum gave an impulse, as Trajan had probably intended, to the popular prejudice which was ready to visit every public calamity on those who refused alike to worship the national gods and to indulge the national vices; and every plague or famine or earthquake or defeat was a signal for the mob assembled in the amphitheatres of every city to raise the cry, "*Christianos ad leones!*" The demand for their destruction, made on the occasion of HADRIAN'S[1] second visit to Athens, called forth the earliest of those *Apologies*,[2] which a succession of Christian writers addressed to the emperors, in explanation and vindication of the Christian faith and character, during the second and third centuries. The first of these "*Apologists*" were QUADRATUS, a disciple of the Apostles, and Bishop of Athens, and ARISTIDES, a converted philosopher of the same city. Their writings, addressed to Hadrian about the year 125, are no longer extant, but we may judge of their contents by the arguments of their successors. One chief object was to refute the charges brought against the Christians by their Jewish adversaries, and to dissipate the prejudice which confounded them with the Jews. Hadrian, who made it his business to study philosophic questions at all the great seats of learning, was the more open to conviction, as the renewal of Jewish revolt was one of the chief troubles of his reign. An appeal came to him, about the same time, from the Proconsul of Asia, against the cruelties inflicted on the Christians at the bidding of popular clamour. A rescript to the provincial governors forbad the punishment of the Christians, except in due form of law and for crimes distinctly proved, and ordered false informations against them to be severely punished. But this fell far short of toleration, for the existing laws were left to be enforced as the local magistrates might think fit.

§ 6. The Jewish disturbances just referred to were the means of completing the severance between Judaism and Christianity. The terrible Jewish War of Titus had been followed by strict measures to keep down the indomitable spirit of the race throughout the empire, which needed not to be inflamed by the fabulous cruelties

[1] Hadrian succeeded Trajan on August 8th, 117, and reigned till July 10th, 138.

[2] The readers for whom this work is meant will hardly need a warning not to confound Ἀπολογία with our colloquial "apology," like the king who remarked on Bishop Watson's famous *Apology for the Bible*—"I never knew that the Bible needed an Apology!" It should be observed, however, that an *apology* is not merely an argument on the evidences of Christianity, but specifically an *answer* to charges against it.

which the Rabbinical writers ascribe to Trajan. On the opportunity given by the withdrawal of his legions for the Parthian War, a revolt broke out first in Cyprus, the refuge of many fugitives from Palestine, and next in Egypt and the province of Cyrene, and was marked everywhere by cruel massacres and murderous retaliation. The rebellion was put down with a severity which the emperor, victorious in the East, extended to the Jews of Mesopotamia, who had enjoyed toleration under the Parthian kings.

Hadrian, who as Trajan's lieutenant had crushed the revolt in Cyprus, kept down the embers of rebellion by the force which he withdrew from Parthia. Meanwhile, however, the revived national spirit was fostered in Palestine by the mystic teaching of the schools of Tiberias, which produced a new head in the RABBI AKIBA, and a new hand in a man of superhuman size and strength, who assumed the name of BAR-COCHAB, that is, Son of the Star.[1] The final provocation is said[2] to have been given by the settlement of a colony of veterans at Jerusalem, which Hadrian had resolved to make a Roman city (A.D. 131). The revolt was at first successful, and it lasted for three years before it was suppressed, with the slaughter of 580,000 Jews in Palestine (A.D. 132–135). The site of the Holy City was occupied and desecrated by a Roman colony, on which Hadrian, in celebrating his *Vicennalia*, bestowed the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, combining with his own family name the title of the Capitoline Jove, whose temple was now reared on Mount Zion. All Jews were forbidden to enter the new city on pain of death; but an exception was made in favour of those Christians who declared their severance from Judaism by abandoning the distinctive Jewish practices. The majority of the Church in Judea accepted the condition, chose a bishop of Gentile race, and adopted Gentile usages. Thus, as is the natural course of great organic changes, the bond which had lost all vital force was finally severed by an impulse from without.

§ 7. But the change caused a new schism in the Church itself, which some trace back to the time of Symeon's death.[3] Those who adhered to the Mosaic law formed a separate community at the old refuge of the Church in Pella, and other places beyond the Jordan. They divided again into two sects. The *Nazareans* adhered to the

[1] In allusion to the "Star of Jacob" predicted by Balaam (Numb. xxiv. 17). For further details of this last Jewish War, see the Introduction to the *Student's N. T. Hist.*, chap. v. § 12.

[2] Dio Cass. lxix. 12.

[3] Hegesippus, *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 32. Elsewhere (iv. 22) the same writer calls the Judaizing corrupter of the Church *Thebuthis;* but it is doubtful whether this is the name of a person, or a collective term, denoting an "opposition," which is cast off as refuse. (See Gieseler, vol. i. pp. 98, 99, notes).

whole Christian faith without renouncing the character and customs of Jews, which, however, they did not impose on Gentile converts; in a word, they clung to the position of the earliest Jewish Christians. The other party, who were afterwards called *Ebionites*,[1] were the true successors of the Judaizing opponents of Paul. They held the law of Moses to be still binding in every detail, and necessary for salvation, and they regarded Jesus as the son of Joseph and Mary. Both sects are often confounded by early writers under the latter name, but those who distinguish them regard the Ebionites only as heretical.

A third branch of these Judaizing sects was formed by the blending of the Ebionites with the Jewish Essenes,[2] who also were strong beyond the Jordan, and by a further intermixture with elements from heathen philosophy and magic, forming a compound of what would now be called asceticism, ritualism, rationalism, and pseudo-spiritualism, a mixture less strange in practice than in theory. They were called the *Elcesaites*[3] or *Sampsœans;* and their final development is seen in the Ebionite branch of the great Gnostic heresy, the tenets of which were propounded in the *Clementines*, or forged writings ascribed to Clemens Romanus, which belong to the latter part of the second century. (See Chapter IV. § 14.)

§ 8. The policy of Hadrian towards the Church was continued by the just and gentle ANTONINUS PIUS.[4] In reply to the request of the governors for directions in dealing with the popular cry for vengeance on the Christians, he ordered a strict adherence to Hadrian's edict in their favour.[5] But they were still troubled by popular disturbances;[6] and their adversaries, Jews, heretics, and heathen, demanded their punishment, on the ground of the old calumnies,

[1] Tertullian is the earliest writer who mentions an heresiarch named *Ebion*, a curious example of how soon a personal *eponymus* is invented from a collective name. The true derivation is from אֶבְיוֹן, (*ebion*, "poor"), a name which was either assumed in the secondary sense of "pious" (comp. Matt. v. 3), or, as some say, applied by the Jews in derision to the whole body of Christians, and afterwards transferred by the latter to these despised heretics.

[2] On the character and tenets of the Essenes, see the Introduction to the *N. T. Hist.*, Appendix, Sect. IV. § 13.

[3] This name is derived by the ecclesiastical writers from a leader named *Elkesai*, who lived in the reign of Trajan; but the sectaries themselves explained it as חַיִל כַּסְיָ, i.e. *δύναμις κεκαλυμμένη*, "hidden power."

[4] He reigned from July 10th, 138, to March 7th, 161.

[5] Melito, *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26. There is an "Edictum ad Commune Asiæ," in which Antoninus instructs the Council of Asia to punish with death all who should molest the Christians; but this is generally regarded as spurious. (See Gieseler, vol. i. p. 130; Robertson, vol. i. p. 22.)

[6] One example is a persecution at Athens, in which Bishop Publius suffered. (Dionys. Corinth. *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23.)

among which that of atheism was insisted on, because the Christians had neither temples nor altars, images nor sacrifices.

It was in reply to these charges that the philosopher JUSTIN, who earned the surname of MARTYR in the next reign, addressed to the emperor the earliest extant *Apology*. Another of his apologetic works (the *Dialogue with the Jew Trypho*) exhibits the first complete portrait of a Christian of the age after the Apostles.

FLAVIUS JUSTINUS, whom Tertullian surnames "Philosopher and Martyr," was a native of Palestine, but of Greek race, born at the city of Flavia Neapolis (now *Nablus*), on the site of the famous Sychem in Samaria, about the end of the first century or the beginning of the second. In his search for truth he had studied the various forms of Greek philosophy, and had at last adopted Platonism. One day he was walking by the sea-shore in deep meditation,[1] when he was met by an old man of mild and reverend appearance, who directed him to turn from his vain studies to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and to pray "that the gates of light might be opened" to him. The truth of what he read was confirmed by what he saw of the constancy of the Christians under persecution; and he devoted his life to the support of his new faith as an itinerant evangelist, with no office in the Church. His calling is expressed in his own words, "Every one who can preach the truth, and does not preach it, incurs the judgment of God." The philosopher's cloak,[2] which he retained, helped to secure him a hearing in various cities of the East, as well as at Rome, where he opened a regular school of Christian philosophy, and addressed his *First Apology* to Antoninus Pius.

In this work, and in Justin's other writings,[3] we have a vindication both of the character of the Christians and the truth of their religion. He denounces the injustice of withholding toleration from them alone. He repels the charges of atheism, immorality, and disloyalty. He deduces the divine origin of Christianity from the twofold argument, which has ever since been urged, of prophecy and miracles; and confirms it by the pure morality taught by Christ and practised by His disciples down to his own time; by their firmness in confessing their faith, even to death; and by the

[1] Some understand the scene to be at Ephesus, and others at Cæsarea.

[2] The τρίβων or *pallium*.

[3] The most famous of these is Justin's *Dialogue with the Jew Trypho* (whom he had attempted to convert at Ephesus), in reply to the Jewish objections against Christianity. Several other works ascribed to him are partly doubtful and partly spurious. There were some genuine polemical works, which are lost, namely, that *Against all Heresies*, mentioned by Justin himself, and that *Against Marcion*, fragments of which are preserved by Irenæus, which may have been a part of the more general work.

progress which the Gospel had already made, though opposed by every human power. He vindicates the miracles of Christ, and explains the chief doctrines of Christianity, dwelling especially on the resurrection of the body.[1] He exposes the absurdities of Greek and Roman heathenism, both in its popular form, as set forth by the poets, and in the refined interpretations of philosophers; and in a terrible picture of heathen morals he retorts the charges made upon Christianity.[2]

We have no evidence of any effect which such arguments might have upon Antoninus, who dealt with Christianity in the spirit of his own calm temper and statesmanship, but on his philosophic successor they produced only irritation and resentment.

§ 9. In MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS (161–180), whom Justin himself addressed as "Verissimus the Philosopher,"[3] the Christians found an oppressor more severe than Nero or Domitian, as he was a deliberate defender of the heathen system. The proud Stoic philosophy of Aurelius was utterly opposed to the doctrines of Christianity and to its peculiar character as a popular religion. He resented its growing success, and felt it his duty as emperor to be the champion of the national gods; and though, as a philosopher, he did not believe in them himself, he regarded the refusal to join in the worship which he paid them, as an insult to his own majesty. The constancy with which the Christians suffered and died for their opinions offended the Stoic as a sort of theatrical enthusiasm, the direct opposite to the rational calmness of his sect.[4] The infectious character of this enthusiasm alarmed the emperor at the progress of "a kingdom not of this world;" and many Christians had begun to speak of their coming triumph in terms at least suggestive of disloyalty.[5]

Nor was the philosopher Marcus entirely free from the vulgar prejudices against Christianity, which were exasperated by a new succession of calamities. His reign was a constant conflict with the increasing pressure of the barbarians on the frontier, and it was marked by terrible outbreaks of pestilence and famine. It is very striking how each of these calamities coincided with a fresh storm of that persecution which went on more or less through the whole

[1] Justin wrote a special treatise on the Resurrection, of which fragments only remain.

[2] The date of Justin's *First Apology* is usually placed at from 130 to 140; but by some as late as 150 or 151, chiefly on the ground of his mention of the heretic Marcion.

[3] This play upon his family name *Verus* had been made by Hadrian, when Marcus was a boy, as a tribute to his truthfulness.

[4] M. Aurel. *Meditat.* xi. 3.

[5] See Justin. *Apol.* i. 11. This is seen especially in the forged *Christian Sibylline Verses*, which were circulated early in the second century.

reign of Aurelius. The governors of provinces were now foremost in putting the old laws in force, instead of restraining the outbursts of popular fury, and in seeking out victims, contrary to the policy of Trajan. The informers were again encouraged, and the evidence of slaves was illegally received against their masters, and extracted by torture.[1] This *Fourth Persecution* was the fiercest yet, and it was general throughout the empire.[2] Torture, death, indignities, and confiscations, were inflicted on the Christians, without respect for sex or age, upon the information of their Jewish, heretic, and heathen enemies.

The severity of the persecution at Rome is still attested by the affecting records of the catacombs, in whose dark recesses the Christians found a refuge for their secret worship, and a resting-place for their martyred bodies. Here, for example, is an epitaph which expressly records the persecution of Aurelius:—"In Christ. Alexander is not dead, but lives beyond the stars, and his body rests in this tomb. He lived under the Emperor Antoninus, who, foreseeing that great benefit would result from his services, returned evil for good. For, while on his knees and about to sacrifice to the true God, he was led away to execution. Oh sad times, in which sacred rites and prayers, even in caverns, afford no protection to us! What can be more wretched than such a life, and what than such a death? He has scarcely lived, who has lived in Christian times."[3] The keen natural sense of suffering, which finds vent in such a record, enhances the value of the constancy with which the Christian martyrs bore witness to their faith.

§ 10. The persecution of Marcus Aurelius called forth a number of *Apologies*, of which we only possess the *Second Apology* of Justin Martyr, written on the occasion of the martyrdom of some Christians at Rome. The writer anticipates his own martyrdom through the arts of his enemies, especially a Cynic philosopher, Crescens; and his expectation was fulfilled in the first of the two chief outbursts of persecution which mark this reign. It was probably during the great pestilence, which the Syrian army brought back from the East in 166, that Justin was denounced

[1] The antiquity of the law, "De Servo in Dominum quæri non licere" (*Dig.* lib. xlviii. tit. 18) is attested by Cicero (*Pro Rege Deiot.* 1) and Tacitus (*Ann.* ii. 30).

[2] It appears from the collections of Roman laws, that Marcus Aurelius issued a new edict against the introduction of new religions, and especially against "terrifying weak-minded men by superstitious reverence for a deity" (*superstitione numinis*). The penalty was banishment to an island for those of the higher ranks (*honestiores*), and death for any of the common people (*humiliores*). (Modestinus, *Dig.* lib. xlviii. tit. 19, I. § 30; Julius Paulus, *Sentent. Recept.* lib. v. tit. 21, § 2).

[3] See Maitland's *Church in the Catacombs.*

and beheaded at Rome, after maintaining on his trial a firmness worthy of his life-long defence of the faith.[1]

To the same time, or a little later, belong the martyrdoms of MELITO, Bishop of Sardis,[2] and of the venerable POLYCARP, Bishop of Smyrna, one of the last survivors of the Apostolic age. Polycarp was a disciple of John, and he may have been "the angel of the Church at Smyrna," addressed in the Apocalypse.[3] He had visited Rome under Antoninus Pius, chiefly to confer with the bishop, Anicetus,[4] on the time of the Paschal Feast (Easter), which was already in question between the East and West. Here he recovered several persons who had been perverted by the Gnostic leaders, and he is said to have encountered the heresiarch Marcion, to whose claim for recognition (perhaps as a former acquaintance in Asia) Polycarp replied, "I know thee for the firstborn of Satan."[5] This incident is related by Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, who has preserved many other reminiscences of the "blessed and apostolic presbyter"—his personal appearance and his mode of life, his discourses to the people, and his witness to the teachings and miracles of the Lord, as he had received them from the mouth of John and other eye-witnesses, "his testimony being in agreement with the Scriptures."

When the popular voice demanded victims to atone for the great plague which ravaged the East, the city of Smyrna became the seat of a fierce persecution,[6] and after many Christians had suffered with great constancy, the cry was raised, "Seek out Polycarp!" It was a question often debated in the early Church whether martyrdom should be sought or shunned; and the recent relapse of one who had offered himself as a victim at Smyrna had caused the Church to discourage such forwardness. Polycarp was induced to

[1] *Acta Martyrii Justini Philos.* in Gallandi, *Biblioth. Vett. Patrum*, tom. i. p. 707, *seq.*; Semisch, *Justin der Martyr*, Breslau, 1840, translated by J. E. Ryland, Edinb. 1844; Otto, *Zur Charakteristik des heiligen Justinus*, Wien, 1852, and his *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Sæculi Secundi*, Jenæ, 1847, *seqq.*

[2] On the severity of the persecution in Asia, and the encouragement given to the vilest informers, see the quotation from the *Apology* of Melito in Eusebius (*H. E.* iv. 26).

[3] Rev. ii. 8–11. Irenæus represents him as ordained by John himself to the bishopric of Smyrna.

[4] Anicetus occupies the seventh place in the somewhat doubtful list of the Bishops of Rome. Respecting the controversy on Easter, see Chap. VIII.

[5] Iren. *Hæres.* I. xxv. 6.

[6] The *Letter from the Church of Smyrna*, relating this persecution and the martyrdom of Polycarp, is one of the most interesting records of the early Church. It is preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* iv.15), and in a separate and somewhat longer form, first published by Archbishop Ussher, 1647, and in the Collections of the Apostolic Fathers by Cotelerius and Ruinart.

withdraw first to one village, and then to another, where, when he was discovered, he said, "The will of the Lord be done!"

As he was led into the arena, he thought he heard a voice from heaven, saying, "Be strong, Polycarp, play the man!" His presence excited the people to frenzy; but the proconsul urged the old man to save his life by the customary form of reviling Christ. "Fourscore and six years,"[1] answered Polycarp, "have I served Him, and He never did me wrong; how then can I revile my King and Saviour?" Equally vain were the proconsul's threats of the wild beasts and fire, till, in compliance with the continued cries of the multitude, Polycarp was sentenced to be burnt; and the Jews, "as was their custom," were especially zealous in heaping fuel round the stake. Natural incidents may easily have been magnified by the Christian bystanders into the marvellous story, that the flames refused to touch him, and swept round him "like the sail of a ship filled with wind," in the midst of which his body was seen "like gold and silver glowing in a furnace;" and, when at last one of the executioners stabbed him with a sword, his blood quenched the flames.[2] The heathens and Jews burnt the body, for fear (as they said) lest the Christians should worship Polycarp instead of "the Crucified;" and the bones only were left for the martyr's flock to bury with due honour. The probable date of Polycarp's martyrdom is 166 or 167.

§ 11. The second great outbreak of persecution under Marcus Aurelius took place about ten years later, when the empire was threatened with a new German war (A.D. 177). The chief seat of this persecution, as of the danger, was in the West. We now find Christianity established in Gaul, especially in the old Roman province on the Rhone. It is said to have been introduced from the East by POTHINUS, who was now, at the age of 90 years, Bishop of Lugdunum (*Lyon*); and thus much is clear, that the two chief Gallic churches

[1] It seems more natural to take this for the time since Polycarp's conversion than for his full age, which is represented as on the extreme limits of longevity. His birth as late as A.D. 80 is scarcely consistent with his ordination to the bishopric of Smyrna by John, unless we believe in the Apostle's almost fabulous old age. In any case, it is very interesting to see that a living connection with Christ, through only two generations, could be prolonged till late in the second century.

[2] The further marvel, that a dove flew out from the wound, is wanting in some MSS. of the martyrdom, and in Eusebius. Attempts have been made to explain it as a confusion between περιστερά and ἐπ' ἀριστερά ("on the left" breast or side). But the system of adorning facts with marvels began early enough to make rationalizing glosses as superfluous as they are generally unsatisfactory. The excitement of such a scene is the true key to the marvellous details, which do not affect the substantial truth of the narrative as the testimony of eye-witnesses.

at Lyon and Vienna (*Vienne*) kept up a closer intercourse with the churches of Asia than with those of Italy. A letter from the churches of these two cities to the churches of Asia and Phrygia[1] forms a second contemporary picture of the suffering of the Christians under Aurelius. Here, as at Smyrna, the attack began with the insults and outrages of the multitude, which the magistrates hastened to encourage. Strict search was made for the Christians; and torture, contrary to law, extracted from their slaves evidence of their lustful orgies and Thyestean banquets. The accused were put to the torture, which was applied even to Roman citizens, and many died in loathsome dungeons. Of those sentenced to death, the slaves were crucified, the provincials were thrown to wild beasts, and the Roman citizens were beheaded, by the direction of the emperor.[2] The bodies of the victims were cast to the dogs; and the fragments which they left were burnt, and the ashes flung into the Rhone, in mockery of the hope of resurrection.

Among the chief sufferers was the aged bishop, Pothinus. When asked by the proconsul, "Who is the God of the Christians?" he answered, "If thou art worthy, thou shalt know." After the torture of a military scourging, he was beaten almost to death by the crowd on his way to prison, where he died in two days. The most signal example of constancy was shown by a slave named Blandina, who was put to all the tortures that practised ingenuity could devise[3] to extract evidence against her Christian mistress; but she only kept repeating, "I am a Christian, and no wickedness is done amongst us." The bearer of the letter from the Gallic churches to Asia was a Presbyter named IRENÆUS, a native of Smyrna and disciple of Polycarp, who returned to Lyon as successor to Pothinus, and who fills an eminent place in the history of the next century.

§ 12. The date of this Gallic persecution is alone sufficient to refute the fable, that Aurelius was at length turned from his cruel policy towards the Christians by a miraculous deliverance which he experienced in his decisive campaign against the Quadi. The story[4] is, that the Roman army, hemmed in by the barbarians, were exhausted with fatigue and thirst, when a legion consisting wholly of Christians knelt down and prayed, and the sky was quickly

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 1–3.

[2] Here is an incidental confirmation of the form in which Paul, as a Roman citizen, suffered martyrdom.

[3] One example of the infernal invention, which only inquisitors calling themselves Christians have equalled, is the case of an Asiatic citizen of Rome named Attalus, who was placed in a heated iron chair, and, at the smell of his burnt flesh, he calmly charged his executioners with the cannibalism of which they accused the Christians.

[4] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 5.

overcast with clouds, which poured down in torrents of rain to refresh the Romans and discomfit the barbarians. The emperor confessed the miracle, and perpetuated its memory by the name of the "Thundering Legion" (*Legio Fulminatrix*).[1] But, in fact, the title is as old as the time of Augustus; the idea of a legion of Christian soldiers at this time is an absurdity; and the deliverance, though attested by contemporary heathen records,[2] is ascribed by them to the gods of Rome, to the arts of an Egyptian sorcerer, or to the prayers of the emperor himself.[3]

§ 13. COMMODUS, the degenerate and infamous son of Marcus Antoninus (A.D. 180-192), is said to have been influenced by his mistress, Marcia, to favour the Christians.[4] But their continued exposure to the laws against them is proved by the martyrdom of a Roman senator, named APOLLONIUS. Accused by an informer, he read a defence of his faith before the Senate, who condemned him to be beheaded.[5] The murder of Commodus, which put an end to the line of the Antonines, on the last day of the year 192, forms an epoch in Roman History which nearly coincides with the close of the second century of the Christian Church.

§ 14. At this epoch, there is good reason to believe that the faith of Christ had been received in every province of the Roman Empire, from the Tigris to the Rhine, and even in Britain, and from the Danube and the Euxine to Ethiopia and the Libyan Desert; that it had spread over a considerable portion of the Parthian Empire and the remoter regions of the East; and that it had been carried beyond the Roman frontiers to the barbarous tribes of Europe. The statements of contemporary writers are not free from rhetorical vagueness;

[1] Claudius Apollinaris, *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* v. 5; Tertullian, *ad Scapul.* 4, and more fully in his *Apology* (c. 5), where he appeals to the letter of M. Aurelius himself, which ascribed the deliverance to the prayers of the Christian soldiers, and adds that, though the emperor did not openly remove the penalty to which Christians were subject, yet he annulled it in another way, by subjecting their accusers to a severer sentence, namely (according to the letter appended to Justin's *Apology*), to death by fire. But this document seems as spurious as the *Edictum ad Commune Asiæ* ascribed to Antoninus Pius.

[2] By the emperor's own coins and the Antonine column, as well as by historians (Xiphil. *Epit. Dion. Cass.* lxxi. 8; Jul. Capitolin. *Vita M. Aurel.* 24; Themist. *Orat.* xv. p. 191; Suidas, *s. v.* Ἰουλιανός).

[3] On the emperor's coin, Jupiter is represented as hurling his thunderbolts on the prostrate barbarians. (Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* vol. iii. p. 61.)

[4] Dio Cass. lxxii. 4; Origen, *Philosophumena* ix. p. 454.

[5] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 21; Hieron. *de Vir. Illust.* 42. The statement that the informer, Severus, was punished with death, is involved in much doubt; and, if true, it would rather seem that he was punished as a slave for betraying his *master*, than as an *informer* for denouncing a Christian. (See Gieseler, vol. i. p. 132, note.)

but their general purport is confirmed by other evidence. The Apologists appeal to the wide extension of the faith as a proof of the divine powers working with it. Thus Justin Martyr says, "There exists not a people, whether Greek or barbarian, or any other race of men, by whatever appellation or manners they may be distinguished, however ignorant of arts or of agriculture, whether they dwell under tents or wander about in covered waggons, among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered up in the name of a crucified Jesus to the Father and Creator of all things."[1] Irenæus names, besides the churches of the Celts (a phrase which probably includes more than those which suffered in the persecution of Aurelius), others in Spain and Germany.[2] Tertullian, at the beginning of the third century, gives a list of the nations among which the Gospel had been preached before his time, including, besides the Spaniards and Gauls, a number of barbarian tribes:—the Moors and Gætulians of Africa; the Germans, Dacians, and Sarmatians, of Eastern Europe (to whom access had been opened by Trajan's victories beyond the Danube); the Scythians of Asia; and, in the Western Ocean, "Britons beyond the Roman pale."[3]

The last statement, which seems to imply the reception of Christianity in Roman Britain as a matter of course, is specially interesting because of the favourite native tradition that a British king, Lucius, wrote to Pope Eleutherus, praying for instruction in Christianity, and that the Britons were converted by the two missionaries sent by the Pope.[4] Though the story cannot be accepted as it stands, it may

[1] *Dial. c. Tryphon.* 117. We give the passage in Gibbon's free translation. It is evidently not meant to describe the *geographical* extension of Christianity. It was enough for the writer's purpose that there were converts among *some* nations in the stage of civilization which he describes.

[2] Iren. *adv. Hær.* I. x. 5. The last word, which is in the plural (Γερμανίαις), leaves it doubtful whether the writer meant more than the two German provinces of Gaul, on the left bank of the Rhine, within the empire. Tertullian, indeed, speaks of Germans among the barbarian Christians—meaning, apparently, those on the Danube chiefly, while Irenæus refers to those on the Rhine; but it is not likely that there were more than a few scattered converts among their tribes. Their constant wars with Rome must almost have forbidden the entrance of Christian missionaries; and the mass of the Germans are found in a heathen state down to the end of the seventh century. It was probably among those who served in the Roman armies that converts were gained.

[3] Tertull. *adv. Judæos*, c. vii. With regard to the Dacians and Sarmatians, it should be remembered how thorough were Trajan's conquests beyond the Danube. Four Roman colonies were founded in the new province of Dacia, the people of which have ever since boasted the name of Romans (*Roumani*) and have been lately re-united as the state of Roumania.

[4] The story is told by Bede (*H. E.* i. 4, and *Chron.*) with a confusion of time which can be explained; the date meant seems to be during the

be based on some correspondence between one of the petty native princes of Roman Britain and the Bishop of Rome. It is certain that Christianity had spread to Britain by the third century, and probably much earlier. Origen, writing a little later than Tertullian, speaks of the Britons as, "although divided from our world," yet united with the Mauritanians in the worship of the same one God.[1] Origen also speaks of "myriads of barbarians," and even of the greatest part of the barbarian world, as "already subject to Christ."[2]

In the East, the Church of Edessa, the alleged Apostolic foundation of which has claimed our notice, was certainly in existence before the latter part of the second century, when it was troubled by the Gnostic heresy of Bardesanes; and on his testimony we learn that the Gospel had been preached in Parthia, Media, Persia, and Bactria.

§ 15. The internal state and constitution of the Church, and the heresies which troubled it, will be best reviewed for the whole period to the end of the third century. But special mention is due to that great work of the second century, which fixed the foundations of Christian doctrine by the settlement of the *Canon of the New Testament*. This was not, indeed, done formally till the Canon was ratified by the Council of Carthage in A.D. 397; but far better than any such decision by authority is the spontaneous agreement which we find in the writings of the Christian teachers of this and the following century: first, in the principle that true Christian doctrine must be decided by an appeal to the BOOK; and, secondly, as to the divine authority of nearly all the books which form our New Testament, though a few were still disputed.

joint reign of M. Aurelius and Commodus (A.D. 177–180; Eleutherus was Bishop of Rome from 171 to 192). Before Bede, however, the *Historia Britonum*, ascribed to Nennius, mentions the baptism of "Lucius, Britannicus rex, cum universis regulis totius Britanniæ," in the year 164, but under Pope Evaristus (A.D. 100–109); so that there is a confusion either in the date or in the name of the Pope. It is added that Lucius was named "*Levermaur*, id est *magni splendoris*, propter fidem quæ in ejus tempore venit." This is usually understood to be the king's native Celtic name, *Lewer Maur*, the "great light." Fuller accounts are given by the monastic chroniclers, especially in the *Chronicle of Abingdon*.

[1] *Hom. in Luc.* 6, vol. iii. p. 939.

[2] *Contra Celsum*, i. 27; ii. 14.



Cave-Church of the Apocalypse in Patmos. (From Calmet.)

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE OF THE SECOND CENTURY.

I. The Patristic Literature in General.—§ 1. The "Fathers of the Church"—Significance and Extent of the Title—Conditions of its application—Why denied to some most eminent Writers. § 2. General Character of the Patristic Literature—Compared with the Classical Literature—Its Best Writers, and their distinguishing excellences—Classification of the Fathers and their Writings. II. The Apostolic Fathers.—§ 3. Clement of Rome—His Epistle to the Corinthians—Spurious Works. § 4. Ignatius of Antioch and the *Ignatian Epistles*, and the Controversy respecting them. § 5. Polycarp's *Epistle to the Philippians*. § 6. Minor Works of the Apostolic Fathers—The so-called *Epistle of* Barnabas. § 7. The *Shepherd* of Hermas. § 8. Papias of Hierapolis. § 9. The *Epistle to Diognetus*—Its interesting Picture of Primitive Christianity. III. The Christian Apologists.—§ 10. Their General Character—Apologists before and contemporary with Justin—Quadratus and Aristides—Ariston of Pella, Claudius Apollinaris and Miltiades. § 11. Apologists later in this Century—Melito of Sardis—Tatian, his *Diatessaron*—Athenagoras—Theophilus—Hermias — Hegesippus — Dionysius of Corinth. IV. Polemic Writers against Heresies.—§ 12. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyon—His work against the Gnostic Heresies—His Martyrdom. V. The Pseudo-Clementine Works.—§ 13. Various kinds of Forged Christian Writings. § 14. The *Clementine Recognitions and Homilies*—Theology of the Clementines—Their Ecclesiastical Principles. § 15. The *Apostolical Constitutions and Canons*—The *Liturgy* and *Decretals* of St. Clement.

I. The Patristic Literature in General.

§ 1. As a religion based upon historical facts, and upon a divine revelation which gives guidance and support for the present life and the promise and conditions of life eternal, Christianity produced of necessity a new literature, historical, didactic, and prophetic. The first stage of this literature is formed by the Holy Scriptures, the Old Testament (or rather Covenant), adopted as the revelation preparatory to Christianity, and the New Testament (or Covenant), embodying the essential facts and teaching and promises, of Christ's Gospel, as recorded and inculcated by inspired men, the Apostles and their associated Evangelists.

The absence of inspiration, and of personal communication with and commission from Christ himself, makes a distinct line of severance between the Apostles and all later teachers and writers. But a certain class of those who occupy the second stage of Church literature are distinguished by the venerable title of *Fathers of the Church*, or *Church Fathers*, or simply *Fathers* (Πάτερες, *Patres*, *Patres Ecclesiastici*), a term applied from of old, and in many nations, to teachers, and especially to such as were among or near to the founders of a doctrine, and indeed of any system or art.[1]

In the use now under consideration the title has a *literary* sense, denoting not simply the most eminent early teachers of the Church, but *writers* whose works are extant or known to have existed. It involves two other ideas—*antiquity*, and a certain *authority*, recognized, in whatever various degrees, by all sections of the Christian Church. Hence the title is more properly limited to the writers of the first five or six centuries, before the severance of the Eastern and Western Churches; the period during which the "Catholic" theology and rules of the Church were formed, and recognized by Œcumenical Councils. The extension by the Romish Church of the line of the *Patres* and *Doctores Ecclesiæ* far into the Middle Ages, so as to include St. Bernard of Clairvaux, St. Thomas Aquinas, and even the divines of the Council of Trent, is a part of her assumption of exclusive catholicity. Her use of the title excludes, on the other hand, some of the earliest and most eminent of the Christian writers, whose opinions, as was natural in the age when dogmatic theology was only forming, deviated from the standard that ultimately prevailed. As Professor Schaff well puts this point:—"Besides antiquity, or direct connection with the formative age of the whole Church, learning, holiness, orthodoxy, and the approba-

[1] See Gen. iv. 20, 21, 22, xlv. 8; 2 Chron. ii. 13; of a prophet, 2 Kings ii. 12, vi. 21, xiii. 14; and in a sense above that of an ordinary "instructor," 1 Cor. iv. 15.

tion of the Church, or general recognition, are the qualifications for a Church Father. These qualifications, however, are only relative. At least we cannot apply the scale of fully-developed orthodoxy, whether Greek, Roman, or Evangelical, to the ante-Nicene Fathers. Their dogmatic conceptions were often very indefinite and uncertain. In fact the Romish Church excludes a TERTULLIAN for his Montanism, an ORIGEN for his Platonic and idealistic views, a EUSEBIUS for his semi-Arianism, from the list of proper *Patres*, and designates them merely *Scriptores Ecclesiastici*. In strictness, not a single one of the ante-Nicene Fathers fairly agrees with the Roman standard of doctrine in all points. Even IRENÆUS and CYPRIAN differed from the Roman bishop; the former in reference to Chiliasm and Montanism, the latter on the validity of heretical baptism. We must resort here to a liberal conception of orthodoxy, and duly consider the necessary stages of progress in the development of Christian doctrine in the Church."

§ 2. The general character of the patristic literature is excellently described by the same writer:—"The ecclesiastical literature of the first six centuries was cast almost entirely in the mould of the Græco-Roman culture. The earliest Church Fathers, even Clement of Rome, Hermas, and Hippolytus, who lived and laboured in and about Rome, used the Greek language, after the example of the Apostles, with such modifications as the Christian ideas required. Not till the end of the second century, and then not in Italy, but in North Africa, did the Latin language become, through TERTULLIAN, a medium of Christian science and literature. The Latin Church, however, continued for a long time dependent on the learning of the Greek. The Greek Church was more excitable, speculative, and dialectic; the Latin more steady, practical, and devoted to outward organization; though we have on both sides striking exceptions to this rule, in the Greek CHRYSOSTOM, who was the greatest practical divine, and the Latin AUGUSTINE, who was the profoundest speculative theologian, among the Fathers.

"The patristic literature in general falls considerably below the classical in elegance of form, but far surpasses it in the sterling quality of its matter. It wears the servant form of its Master during the days of His flesh, not the splendid princely garb of this world. Confidence in the power of the Christian truth made men less careful of the form in which they presented it. Besides, many of the oldest Christian writers lacked early education, and had a certain aversion to art, from its manifold perversion in those days to the service of idolatry and immorality. But some of them, even in the second and third centuries, particularly CLEMENT and ORIGEN, stood a the head of their age in learning and philosophical culture; and, in the fourth and fifth centuries, the literary productions

of an ATHANASIUS, a GREGORY, a CHRYSOSTOM, an AUGUSTINE, and a JEROME, excelled the contemporaneous heathen literature in every respect. Many Fathers, like the two CLEMENTS, JUSTIN MARTYR, ATHENAGORAS, THEOPHILUS, TERTULLIAN, CYPRIAN, and, among the later ones, even AUGUSTINE, embraced Christianity after attaining adult years; and it is interesting to notice with what enthusiasm, energy, and thankfulness, they lay hold upon it.

"In general the excellences of the Church Fathers are very various. POLYCARP is distinguished, not for genius or learning, but for patriarchal simplicity and dignity; CLEMENT OF ROME, for the gift of administration; IGNATIUS, for impetuous enthusiasm for episcopacy, unity, and Christian martyrdom; JUSTIN, for apologetic zeal and extensive reading; IRENÆUS, for sound doctrine and moderation; CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, for stimulating fertility of thought; ORIGEN, for brilliant learning and bold investigation; TERTULLIAN, for freshness and vigour of intellect, and sturdiness of character; CYPRIAN, for energetic churchliness; EUSEBIUS, for industry in compilation; LACTANTIUS, for elegance of style. Each also had his weakness. Not one compares in depth and spiritual fulness with St. Paul or St. John; and the whole patristic-literature, with all its incalculable value, must ever remain very far below the New Testament.

"The Church Fathers before the Council of Nice may be divided into five or six classes:—

(1.) The *Apostolic Fathers*, or personal disciples of the Apostles. Of these POLYCARP, CLEMENT, and IGNATIUS, are the most eminent.

(2.) The *Apologists for Christianity* against Judaism and heathenism; JUSTIN MARTYR, and his successors to the end of the second century.

(3.) The *Controversialists against Heresies* within the Church; IRENÆUS and HIPPOLYTUS, at the close of the second century and the beginning of the third.

(4.) The *Alexandrian School* of philosophical theology: CLEMENT and ORIGEN, in the first half of the third century.

(5.) The contemporary but more practical *North African School* of TERTULLIAN and CYPRIAN.

(6.) There were also the germs of the *Antiochean School*, and some less-prominent writers, who can be assigned to no particular class."

Only the first two of these classes belong to the second century.[1]

[1] The following are the chief collections of the Church Writers of the first three centuries: GRABE, *Spicilegium Patrum ut et Hæreticorum Sæculi* 1, 2, *et* 3, *vel Integra Monumenta vel Fragmenta*, edit. iii. Oxon. 1714, 3 vols.; ROUTH, *Reliquiæ Sacræ, s. Auctorum fere jam perditorum IIi. IIIique Sæculi quæ supersunt. Acc. Synodi et Epistolæ Canonicæ Nicæno Concilio antiquiores*, Oxon. 1814 (edit. ii. 1848), 5 vols.; HORNEMANN,

II. The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers.[1]

Of those who bear this title, as the reputed disciples of the Apostles, there are three of special eminence, who have left at least some genuine works.

§ 3. Clement of Rome (Clemens Romanus), who is said to have been the fourth Bishop of Rome (91–100),[2] and is usually regarded as the Clement named by Paul (Philipp. iv. 3), was the author of the only genuine extant work of the first century which has not been received into the Canon, namely, his *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, in Greek. It was written, probably after the persecution of Domitian, to recommend peace and humility to the Church, which was disturbed by dissensions. A *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, and two letters *To Virgins*, which exist only in Syriac, are rejected by the best critics. The undoubted forgeries put forth by the Gnostics under the name of Clement will be spoken of separately.

§ 4. The famous name of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, is ascribed, as we have seen, to several epistles, which purport to have been written to various churches (and one of them to Polycarp) during his journey to Rome for his martyrdom. They are full of energetic warnings against Judaizing and Gnostic heresies, of emphatic acknowledgments of the deity of Christ, and of earnest exhortations to magnify the episcopal office and obey the bishop as the representative of Christ. This last feature of their teaching has added polemical heat to a controversy which is one of the most interesting and difficult in the whole range of criticism.

Down to the middle of the 17th century there was a *longer*

Genuina Scripta Græca Patrum Apostolicorum, eorumque qui ab horum ætate recentes fuerunt, Harf. 1828–30, 3 vols.; Gersdorf, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum selecta*, Lips. 1838, *et seqq.*

[1] The works of the *Apostolic Fathers* are collected by Cotelerius, *Patrum qui temporibus Apostolorum floruerunt Opera*, Par. 1672; re-edited by Jo. Clericus, Amst. 1724, 2 vols. fol.; Ittig, *Bibliotheca Patrum Apostolicorum*, Lips. 1699; Russell, Lond. 1746; Jacobson, Oxon. 1838, 3rd edit. 1848, 2 vols.; Hefele, 1839, 4th edit. Tübingen, 1855; Muralt, Zurich, 1847; Dressel, Lips. 1857. Of a new edition by Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, in 3 parts, Part I. has appeared (1875). There is a good English translation by Prof. Chevallier, of Durham, Camb. 1875.

[2] The common list of Bishops of Rome, to the end of the second century, runs thus: 1. Peter (A.D. 42–66). 2. Linus (66). 3. Cletus or Anacletus (78). 4. Clement I. (91). 5. Anacletus I. (100–109). 6. Evaristus (100–109; there is a confusion as to the dates of these two). 7. Alexander I. (109). 8. Sixtus I. (119). 9. Telesphorus (128). 10. Hyginus (139). 11. Pius I. (142). 12. Anicetus (157). 13. Soter (168). 14. Eleutherus (177). 15. Victor I. (192–202). The earlier names, however, are very doubtful, and the dates are given very variously. (The above dates are those of Sir Harris Nicolas, *Chronology of History*, pp. 208–211.)

recension of *twelve* Ignatian Epistles in Greek (besides three in a Latin version only); but scholars agreed that these were in great part forged or interpolated. Archbishop Ussher's ingenious restoration of the genuine epistles by the help of two Latin MSS. (1644), was in great measure confirmed by Isaac Vossius's discovery of a MS. at Florence, containing only *seven epistles*, in Greek, namely, those to Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, Rome, Philadelphia, Smyrna, and to Polycarp (1646). The discovery of this *Shorter Recension* left no reasonable doubt of the spuriousness of the remaining eight epistles (the five in Greek and the three in Latin), which had been already condemned for their glaring offences against history and chronology, and on other grounds.

The genuineness of the Shorter Recension was ably defended by Bishop Pearson against the objections drawn from their strong episcopal teaching (*Vindiciæ Epistolarum Ignatii*, Cantab. 1672, republished Oxon. 1852). The seven epistles were generally accepted, though writers of such eminence as Beausobre and Lardner held that they were interpolated, till the controversy was rekindled by the discovery of a part, at least, of the lost Syriac version, which had long been known of and sought for. In 1839 and 1843 the Rev. Henry Tattam found in the monastery of Nitria, in Egypt,[1] two MSS., one containing the *Epistle to Polycarp*, the other the *Epistles to the Romans* and *Ephesians;* and this Syriac recension, of only *three epistles*, was published by the Rev. William (afterwards Canon) Cureton (1845), and more fully, with the aid of a third MS., in a complete collection of the Ignatian Epistles (*Corpus Ignatianum*, 1849).

Thus to the Long and Short Recensions in Greek there was added a third in Syriac, shorter still not only in the number of the epistles, but in the form of the three that are left; for large and important passages of the Greek version are absent from the Syriac. Two distinct questions arose, which must not be confounded: (1) Whether the Syriac version contains *all* the authentic Epistles of Ignatius; and (2) Whether it contains them in their most genuine form. The first conclusions of Cureton, Bunsen, and others, in favour of both these propositions are now generally admitted to have been hasty, especially as to the first point.

(1) As to the *Number*. The subscription of the Syriac MS., "Here end *the Three Epistles* of the Bishop and Martyr Ignatius," is quite indecisive, even if added by the translator, much more if added only by a transcriber. *Seven* epistles were known and used by Eusebius; and Cureton's collection contains fragments of a Syriac version of the whole seven, which was circulated in the East before the date

[1] These, with 365 other Syriac MSS. from Nitria, are in the British Museum.

of the Nitrian MSS., which belong at earliest to the sixth or seventh century. The recent discovery of the Syriac version of the three epistles would raise an expectation of discovering the rest, rather than prove their non-existence; and it is curious that one of the three (that to Polycarp) had been fixed on by Mosheim and Neander as the most suspicious on internal grounds.

(2) As to the *Contents*.—The absence of any passage in one recension, which is present in another, raises of course a certain presumption of its interpolation. But this test is not at all decisive, and least of all when the shorter recension has the appearance of being an abridgment; and a careful comparison of the two has established the probability that the Syriac version is a fragmentary extract from the Greek text.[1] The comparatively late date of the Syriac version is a very important consideration under this head. Nor must we overlook the plain principle of criticism, that the pure text of Ignatius cannot be got at by the mere process of elimination, first from the Longer Recension to the Shorter, and then from the Shorter to the Syriac. The existence of so many different versions is a strong argument (against Baur and others, who impugn the genuineness of *all*) for the existence of *some* genuine basis of epistles written by Ignatius,[2] but it is equally strong against the supposition that that basis is to be found in any one of the existing texts. The shortest form may be itself corrupted, especially if it is an abridgment of a corrupted copy.

(3) The *Present State of the Controversy* is summed up by Professor Schaff, who is free from any polemical bias, in favour of the Shorter Greek Recension, as a whole, though not as the pure uninterpolated form of the epistles. His judgment is the more valuable for its incidental description of some points which characterize the writings of the age after the Apostles. "We certainly grant," he says, "that the integrity of these epistles, even in the shorter copy, is not beyond all reasonable doubt. As the MSS. of them contain, at the same time, decidedly spurious epistles, the suspicion arises, that the seven genuine may not have wholly escaped the hand of the forger. Yet there are, in any case, very strong arguments for their genuineness and substantial integrity, viz.: (*a*) The testimony of the Fathers, especially of Eusebius. (*b*) The raciness and freshness of their contents, which a forger could not well imitate.

[1] See Schaff, vol. i. p. 471.

[2] For the fact that Ignatius wrote such epistles, we have, long before even the early testimonies of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome, the decisive witness of his friend Polycarp, who, in writing to the Philippians, promises to send them the *Epistles of Ignatius*. This is also an interesting proof of the circulation of copies of Christian writings in the early Church, like that furnished by Colossians iv. 16.

(*c*) The small number of citations from the New Testament, indicating the period of the immediate disciples of the Apostles. (*d*) Their way of combating the Judaists and Docetists (probably Judaizing Gnostics of the school of Cerinthus), showing us Gnosticism as yet in the first stage of its developement. (*e*) Their dogmatic indefiniteness, particularly in regard to the Trinity and Christology, notwithstanding very strong expressions in regard to the divinity of Christ. (*f*) Their urgent recommendation of episcopacy, as an institution still new and fresh. (*g*) Their entire silence respecting a Roman primacy, even in the *Epistle to the Romans*."[1]

§ 5. No such difficulties attend the one extant work of Ignatius's friend, POLYCARP. His *Epistle to the Philippians* is mentioned by his own disciple, Irenæus; it is cited by Eusebius, and was used in the churches of Asia down to the time of Jerome; and its contents agree with the known life and character of Polycarp.[2] The Epistle was written in the name of Polycarp and the presbyters of Smyrna, soon after the death of Ignatius. It praises the Philippians for their love shown to Ignatius and his companions in bonds, and for their firm faith; exhorts them to maintain the Christian virtues; gives directions for the order of the Church; and warns against Gnostic heresies. Its citations from the Gospels and from the Epistles of Paul and John furnish important evidence for the New Testament Canon. Polycarp bears emphatic testimony to the work and dignity of Christ; and he draws a clear line of demarcation between the inspired Apostles and teachers like himself, even apologizing for writing an epistle to a church which had been taught by "the wisdom of the blessed and glorious Paul."

§ 6. To the writings of these three great teachers must be added others of less certain date and of inferior authority.

Such is a *General Epistle* (ἐπιστολὴ καθολική) against Jews and Judaizing Christians, ascribed to BARNABAS, which, if genuine, should have been included in the Canon of the New Testament, for Barnabas is recognized as an Apostle. It is cited as his work (not as that of another and later Barnabas) by Clement of Alexandria and Origen. Barnabas is not named, however, as the author in the epistle itself, but only in its title. The work is thoroughly suspicious from its disparagement of the Old Testament, and its allegorical interpretations of Scripture in the spirit of the Alexandrian school, to the teaching of which, indeed, it may be regarded as a step.

[1] The argument is also summed up by Professor Chevallier, in his *Translation of the Apostolic Fathers*, and in the *Quarterly Review* for December 1850.

[2] Iren. *adv. Hær.* III. iii. 4; Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 14, 15, iii. 36, v. 20; Hieron. *Vir. Illust.* c. 17.

Neander considers it to be the work of a converted Alexandrian Jew, written in a tone "more consonant with the spirit of Philo than that of St. Paul, or even of the Epistle to the Hebrews." This judgment is the more important, as the alleged resemblance of style and reasoning has been made an argument for the hypothesis that Barnabas wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews. The work must, however, be placed early in the second century,[1] which makes its testimony to the Christian Sabbath specially important.

§ 7. The earlier part of the second century is also the probable date of the work entitled *The Shepherd* (Ποιμὴν, *Pastor*) of a certain HERMAS. Its early date, and the respect in which it was held, are proved by Irenæus's citation of a passage from the work, as if from Scripture.[2] It is likewise quoted by Clement of Alexandria and by Tertullian; but the latter treats it with contempt, and expressly calls it apocryphal. Origen, who even regards the work as inspired,[3] first suggested, but only as an opinion of his own, that the author was the Hermes (Ἑρμῆς) to whom Paul sent greeting (Rom. xvi. 4).[4] But an old fragment on the Canon (about A.D. 170)[5] makes him a brother of Pius I., Bishop of Rome (about A.D. 150), and this became the general opinion in the Latin Church. The author himself professes to be a contemporary of Clement of Rome; and he seems to have been a married layman, whom the loss of his wealth had brought to repentance and faith in the Gospel, to the teaching of which he had devoted himself. It is clear that he was a Roman; and the Greek copy which we possess, full of Latinisms, is supposed by some to be a late version of a Latin original. The originality of the Greek text, however, is confirmed by Tischendorf's discovery of a portion of it in a Sinaitic MS. of the Bible, belonging to the fourth century, as well by M. d'Abbadie's comparison of the Greek with an ancient Ethiopic version.[6]

The work is remarkably distinguished from the writings of the known Apostolic Fathers, both by its literary form and the spirit of its teaching. Instead of an Epistle to a Church, or an Apology to an Emperor, it is a sort of Apocalyptic Book; and there is no better test of the wide difference between Apostolic and post-Apostolic writings than the measure of its falling off from the grand simplicity of "John the Divine." As Schaff observes, "It often reminds one of such Jewish apocalyptic writings as the *Book of Enoch*, the *Fourth*

[1] Hefele puts it between 107 and 120.

[2] Εἶπεν ἡ γραφή. Iren. *adv. Hær.* iv. 20, 2; Tertull. *de Pudicit.* 10, 20; Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 3; Hieron. *Vir. Illust.* 10.

[3] "Valde utilis et divinitus inspirata."

[4] Orig. *Comm. in Epist. ad Rom.* x. 31.

[5] Muratori, in Gallandi, *Biblioth.* ii. 208.

[6] Kurz, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, § 39, note 1.

Book of Ezra, and the lost *Book of Eldad and Medad*, expressly cited by Hermas. Its doctrine of angels, particularly, flowed from such apocalyptic sources. As to its matter, the *Pastor Hermæ* is a sort of system of Christian morality, and a call to repentance and to a renovation of the already somewhat slumbering and secularised Church. It falls into three books: (1) *Visiones;* four visions and revelations, which were given to the author in the neighbourhood of Rome, and in which the Church appears to him, first in the form of a venerable matron, then as a tower, and lastly as a virgin. (2) *Mandata*, or twelve commandments, prescribed by an Angel in the garb of a *Shepherd* (whence the title of the book). (3) *Similitudines*, or ten parables, like the visions, in which the Church again appears in the form of a building, and the different virtues are represented under the figures of stones and trees."

The theology of the *Pastor* diverges greatly from that of the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, and bears witness to the growth of that legal Jewish spirit in the Church of Rome, against which Paul contended in his Epistle. Like him, Hermas insists on "the law of Christ," but the "Shepherd" says nothing of justifying faith. He enjoins fasting and voluntary poverty, and teaches even the supererogatory merit of good works, and the sin-atoning virtue of martyrdom. He regards baptism as indispensable to salvation, insists on penance, much in the later Romish sense, and rests on the view of an exclusive Church, in which alone salvation is to be found. He ascribes supererogatory merit to abstinence, but allows second marriage and second repentance, at least till the return of the Lord, which is supposed to be near at hand. Hence the disfavour with which the work was regarded by the Montanist Tertullian, who calls Hermas "ille apocryphus Pastor mœchorum."[1]

§ 8. PAPIAS, the friend of Polycarp, and Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia up to the middle of the second century, made a collection of oral traditions of the works and words of Jesus, derived professedly from the Apostles, under the title of *Explanations of the Lord's Discourses* (Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις). The work is said to have been still extant in the thirteenth century; but we now possess only fragments of it in Irenæus and Eusebius. It is chiefly remarkable as showing the grossly materialistic views about the *Millennium* which already existed in the Church.

§ 9. To these works, which bear the names of Apostolic Fathers, may be added the *Epistle to Diognetus*,[2] the anonymous author of which calls himself "a disciple of the Apostles" (ἀπο-

[1] *De Pudicit.* 20, § 8.

[2] Some ascribe it to Justin, but this is evidently a mistake.

στόλων γενόμενος μαθητής); but this is in the eleventh chapter, which, with the twelfth and last, is suspected to be an addition by a later hand. The work is a vindication of Christianity, in reply to a distinguished heathen; and if this was the Diognetus who was preceptor to Marcus Aurelius, its date would be brought down to the middle of the second century. But it is with more probability assigned to the time of Trajan or Hadrian. Professor Schaff regards it, in spirit, as well as in time, as a transition from the Apostolic Fathers to the Apologists, uniting the simple practical faith of the former with the reflective theology of the latter: "It evinces fine taste and classical culture, is remarkable for its fresh enthusiasm of faith, richness of thought, and elegance of style, and is altogether one of the most beautiful memorials of Christian antiquity."

The author's description of the Christians in their relations to the world will furnish at once a good specimen of the style of the early Christian literature, and a vivid contemporary picture of the state of the persecuted Church in the second century:[1]—"The Christians are not distinguished from other men by country, by language, nor by civil institutions. For they neither dwell in cities by themselves, nor use a peculiar tongue, nor lead a singular mode of life. They dwell in the Grecian[2] or barbarian cities, as the case may be; they follow the usage of the country in dress, food, and the other affairs of life. Yet they present a wonderful and confessedly paradoxical conduct. They dwell in their own native lands, but as strangers. They take part in all things, as citizens, and they suffer all things, as foreigners. Every foreign country is a fatherland to them, and every native land is foreign. They marry, like all others; they have children, but they do not cast away their offspring. They have the table in common, but not wives. They live upon the earth, but are citizens of heaven. They obey the existing laws, and excel the laws by their lives. They love all, and are persecuted by all. They are unknown, and yet they are condemned. They are killed, and are made alive. They are poor, and make many rich. They lack all things, and in all things abound. They are reproached, and glory in their reproaches; they are calumniated and are justified; they are cursed, and they bless; they receive scorn, and they give honour. They do good, and are punished as evil-doers; when punished they rejoice, as being made alive. By the Jews they are attacked as aliens, and by the Greeks persecuted; and the cause of the enmity their enemies cannot tell. In short, what the soul is in

[1] *Epistola ad Diognetum*, cc. 5, 6 (p. 69, *seq.* ed. Otto, Lips. 1852), as translated in Schaff's *History of the Christian Church*, vol. i. p. 146.

[2] Here probably equivalent to *civilised*; but still a sign that Christianity as yet prevailed more in the Hellenic than the Latin world.

the body, the Christians are in the world. The soul is diffused through all the members of the body, and the Christians are spread through the cities of the world. The soul dwells in the body, but is not of the body; so the Christians dwell in the world, but are not of the world. The soul, invisible, keeps watch in the visible body; so also the Christians are seen to live in the world, but their piety is invisible. The flesh hates and wars against the soul, suffering no wrong from it, but because it resists fleshly pleasures; and the world hates the Christians with no reason, but that they resist its pleasures. The soul loves the flesh and members, by which it is hated; so the Christians love their haters. The soul is enclosed in the body, but holds the body together; so the Christians are detained in the world as in a prison; but they contain the world. Immortal, the soul dwells in the mortal body; so the Christians dwell in the corruptible, but look for incorruption in heaven. The soul is the better for restriction in food and drink; and the Christians increase, though daily punished. This lot God has assigned to the Christians in the world, and it cannot be taken from them."

III. THE APOLOGISTS FOR CHRISTIANITY.

§ 10. These writers are placed in a class by themselves, on account of the importance of their chief literary works, though they have left other writings. Though the earliest of them were contemporary with the Apostolic Fathers, they do not bear that title, as they were not actual disciples of the Apostles. They were, for the most part, philosophers and rhetoricians, who had embraced Christianity in mature age, after thoughtful investigation, as the source of that religious satisfaction and hope which they could not find in the heathen systems of philosophy. Hence they exhibit a culture and learning which is another mark of distinction from the Apostolic Fathers, and their writings are the first link between ecclesiastical and classical literature.

Of JUSTIN, the chief writer of this class in the second century, a sufficient account has been given above; and we have mentioned the earlier *Apologies* of QUADRATUS and ARISTIDES, which were addressed to the Emperor Hadrian. Another early Apology by ARISTO, of Pella, was addressed especially to the Jews. CLAUDIUS APOLLINARIS, Bishop of Hierapolis, and the rhetorician MILITIADES, addressed Apologies to Marcus Aurelius; but their works are only known by a few references.

§ 11. We possess several extant works by Apologists who wrote in the latter half of the second century:—

MELITO, Bishop of Sardis, who suffered martyrdom about the

same time as Polycarp. His *Apology*, addressed to M. Aurelius about A.D. 170, was only known by references, till it was lately discovered in a Syriac translation, among the Syriac MSS. acquired by the British Museum, but it has not yet been published.[1] Melito was one of the chief writers of the second century, eighteen works of his being mentioned by Eusebius. We possess a fragment from him on the Canon of the Old Testament, which forms an important link in the history of the sacred text.

TATIAN, of Assyria, was at first an itinerant philosopher like Justin, whom he met at Rome and became his disciple. His *Discourse to the Greeks* (Λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας) exposes the absurdities and immoralities of the Greek mythology, and vindicates Christianity as the "philosophy of the barbarians." Tatian afterwards fell away to Gnosticism, and founded the ascetic sect of the Encratites. He was one of the first to attempt the task of weaving the four Gospels into one narrative; but his *Diatessaron* (Διὰ τεσσάρων, literally, "according to the Four"), or, as it would now be called, "Harmony of the Gospels," is no longer extant.

ATHENAGORAS, an Athenian philosopher, is said to have been converted by his study of Christianity in order to write a confutation of the new religion. His Πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν (which we may venture to translate, "Report upon the Christians"), addressed to M. Aurelius and Commodus, about 177, is a calm and eloquent refutation of the charges of atheism, incest, and Thyestean feasts. He has also left a work *On the Resurrection of the Dead*, for which he argues from the natural destiny of man, as well as from the wisdom, power, and justice of God.

THEOPHILUS, who died bishop of Antioch in 181, addressed a defence of Christianity to a heathen friend, named Autolycus (πρὸς Αὐτόλυκον περὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως). In this work, the old Greek word *Trias* (Τρίας) is first applied to the Holy Trinity.

We have under the name of HERMIAS, a philosopher otherwise unknown, a small satirical work, entitled *Mockery of the Heathen Philosophers* (διασυρμὸς τῶν ἔξω φιλοσόφων), from whose contradictions he illustrates the saying of Paul, that the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. It is doubtful whether this work belongs to so early a period as the second century.[2]

With the Apologists may be classed, in point of time, and partly also for the apologetic object of the work, the *Memorials*

[1] The *Discourse to Antoninus Cæsar*, published in *Spicilegium Syriacum* (1855), appears to be a different work.

[2] The collected works of these early Apologists have been published by Prud. Maranus (Par. 1742, and Venet. 1747), and, recently, in OTTO'S *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Sæculi Secundi*. Jenæ, 1847, *seqq.*

(*ὑπομνήματα*) of the Apostolic and Post-Apostolic age, and particularly of the churches of Palestine, which were collected, in the course of his travels, by HEGESIPPUS, an orthodox Jewish Christian, who died about A.D. 180. The work, of which fragments of considerable value are preserved by Eusebius, is most interesting as a first, though very imperfect, contribution to the literature of Church History. "His reports," says Professor Schaff, "on the character and martyrdom of James the Just and Simeon of Jerusalem, the rise of heresies, the episcopal succession, and the preservation of the orthodox doctrine in Corinth and Rome, as embodied in the History of Eusebius, claim attention for their antiquity; but, as they show that his object was apologetic and polemical rather than historical, and as they bear a somewhat Judaizing (though by no means Ebionistic) colouring, they must be received with critical caution."[1]

Another writer, contemporary with the Apologists, but more akin by his works to the Apostolic Fathers, was DIONYSIUS, Bishop of Corinth (about 170), who wrote eight epistles to the Lacedæmonians (whose church is thus first heard of), the Athenians, the Romans, and others. Eusebius makes some valuable extracts from these last works.

IV. POLEMIC WRITERS AGAINST HERESIES.—IRENÆUS.

§ 12. While the Apologists were defending Christianity against Jewish and heathen adversaries without the Church, the growth of heresy within called forth the earliest writings of the class styled *polemical* (from *πόλεμος*, *war*)—that is, the earliest after the Apostles, for the Epistles of Paul and John contain, as we have seen, a strong polemic element, directed against the beginnings of heresy in the churches. The attentive reader of the Epistles plainly sees that the Apostles do not set to work to draw up a regular body of Christian doctrine. They make emphatic statements of the truths proper to correct the errors and false teaching that arose in each church; and Paul especially supports the true doctrines by powerful arguments. And so, in the ensuing history of the Church, it was from the necessity of opposing what was regarded as false teaching, that Christian doctrine was cast into a dogmatic form.[2] The special literature of

[1] The fragments of Hegesippus are printed in Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*.

[2] Here again, as in the case of the word *apology*, a term is used in its proper sense, which has acquired a different meaning in vulgar usage. In this scientific sense, the Greek *dogma* (*δόγμα*, from *δοκεῖν*, "to seem," "to be held as true,") is the more exact equivalent of the Latin *doctrine* (*doctrina*, a "teaching"), and the term *dogmatics* or *dogmatic theology* expresses the whole statement and discussion of Christian truth as reduced to definite propositions. Thus we speak of the *dogma* of the Trinity, or of justification by faith.

writers against heresy begins in the second century with IRENÆUS and his pupil HIPPOLYTUS, who were both of Greek education, but had the West for the scene of their ecclesiastical labours and relations. But, though Hippolytus lived partly in the second century, his activity as a writer belongs to the beginning of the third.[1]

IRENÆUS (*Εἰρηναῖος*)[2] was born in Asia Minor, between the years 120 and 140, and was taught in his youth by Polycarp of Smyrna.[3] "What I heard from him," says he, "that I wrote not on paper, but in my heart; and by the grace of God I constantly bring it afresh to mind:" words which help to explain the paucity of early Christian literature. A new doctrine, which comes from a teacher's lips to his disciples' hearts, lives there almost too freshly to need committing to the medium of letters, except as special necessities arise for its communication to others. As the disciple of Polycarp, Irenæus stands next to the Apostolic Fathers, and is linked, through him, to the age and teaching of St. John.

It is conjectured that he accompanied Polycarp on his journey to Rome respecting the Easter controversy: at all events he settled, with others from the Asiatic Church, in Southern Gaul, and he was a presbyter at Lyon in the time of the persecution by M. Aurelius. The mission, on which we have seen him carrying to Rome an account of the martyrdoms at Lyon and Vienne, was entrusted to him as a means of allaying the heats engendered by the Montanist disputes.[4] It was probably during his absence that he was chosen to succeed the martyred Pothinus as Bishop of Lyon (178), where he laboured for the oppressed Church for nearly five-and-twenty years, by his writings as well as his pastoral teaching and government. It was during the early years of his episcopate that Irenæus wrote, in Greek, the great work against the Gnostic heresies, from which nearly all our knowledge of Gnosticism is derived.[5] Its full title is *Ἔλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως*, but it is commonly quoted by the Latin title used by Jerome, *Adversus Hæreses*. Of its five books we possess the greater portion in a literal Latin version crowded with Græcisms. Fragments of the Greek original are preserved by Eusebius, Theodoret, and especially Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxxi. cc. 9–33).[6]

[1] See Chap. VI. § 15.

[2] The name signifies *Peaceable*. Eusebius notices the agreement of the bishop's name with his labours for the peace of the Church, especially in relation to the controversy about Easter.

[3] Iren. *adv. Hær.* III. iii. 4. Mr. Harvey supposes Irenæus to have been a native of Syria. *Introduction* to Irenæus, p. cliv.

[4] Respecting Montanism, see Chap. VI. § 18.

[5] The work was written during the pontificate of Eleutherus at Rome, that is, between the years 177 and 192.

[6] A too literal version is often made clearer to the mind by re-transla-

As Eusebius observes, Irenæus verified the significance of his name by securing the peace of the Church, when it was imperilled by Victor I. of Rome with respect to the Easter controversy. Brought up in the usage of the Asiatic churches, he had adopted at Lyon the Roman rule, which prevailed through the West. In the name of his church, he wrote to Victor, counselling moderation; and the result was that the Asiatic churches, having in a circular letter cleared themselves from the suspicion of heretical leanings, were allowed to retain their own usage, till the Council of Nice established a uniform rule for the Catholic Church. The common statement of later writers, that Irenæus suffered martyrdom in the persecution of Septimius Severus (A.D. 202), is rendered somewhat doubtful by the silence of Tertullian and Eusebius. The same tradition fixes his burying-place under the altar of the church of St. John at Lyon.

V. THE PSEUDO-CLEMENTINES.

§ 13. It has been observed above, how early Christians were led into the fatal practice of seeking authority for disputed doctrines in works doubtfully, or even falsely, ascribed to their great teachers. Among the writings of the second century are a multitude of apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Apocalypses, ascribed to the Evangelists and Apostles, besides forged Jewish prophecies,[1] such as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. To these were added the pretended prophetic utterances with which even heathen seers were said to have been inspired, such as the books of Hydaspes, of Hermes Trismegistus, and the Sibyls; but we cannot stay to describe these curiosities of literature.

Among the alleged writings of the Post-Apostolic age, we have seen how much is either very doubtful or clearly spurious. Still the Epistles falsely ascribed to Ignatius and Polycarp are more or less in harmony with their spirit and doctrines. But the Judaizing Gnostics did not scruple to embody their views in forged works, bearing the venerable name of the earliest Apostolic Father, Clement of Rome. The fascinating style of these first Christian romances, their moral earnestness and tender feeling, have combined with the

tion into the original language. Such an attempt has been made on the first four chapters of the third book of Irenæus by H. W. Thiersch, in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1842.

[1] See Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus Vet. Test.* Hamb. 1722, and *Codex Apocryphus Nov. Test.* 1719; Thilo, *Codex Apocr. N. T.* Lips. 1832; Gfrörer, *Prophetæ Vet. Pseudepigraphi, ex Abessyn. vel Hebr. Latine*, Stuttg. 1840; Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, Lips 1853, and *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, Lips. 1851.

support they give to the pretensions of the Roman see to secure them a place in Christian literature from which the merest touch of criticism at once casts them down.

§ 14. The pseudo-Clementine writings consist of two chief works, the *Recognitions*[1] and the *Homilies*, embodying very different views. Some suppose the *Homilies* to be an heretical perversion of the *Recognitions*; but the converse seems more probable, namely, that the *Homilies* present the original form of the work, of which the *Recognitions* are a more orthodox version. The *Homilies* are supposed to have been concocted in Syria, the *Recognitions* at Rome. The former is the work commonly designated as the *Clementines*. Besides the full Greek text, there is a poor abridgment of the work, under the title of an *Epitome*.[2]

The *Homilies* appear to have been written in the second half of the second century by a Jewish Christian, who was versed in the heathen systems of philosophy. While fathering his work upon St. Clement, he confuses the Apostolic Bishop of Rome with Flavius Clemens, kinsman of the Emperor Domitian. But the introduction (though transparently fictitious) assigns to the *Homilies* that higher Apostolic authority which has commended them to the Church of Rome. In this preface, Clement writes to the Apostle James the Less, sending him the *Homilies*, as being a summary of the preaching of Peter on his apostolic journeys, composd at the instance of Peter himself, who, shortly before his death, had named Clement his successor in the see of Rome. There is also a letter of Peter to James, begging him to keep the sermons strictly secret. Thus does the writer attempt at once to give his work the authority of Peter, and to account for its late publication.

The work is described by Professor Schaff[3] as "a philosophico-religious romance, based on some historical traditions, which it is

[1] The ten books of the *Recognitions* are mentioned by Origen, but they are now extant only in the Latin version, "Clementis Romani Recognitiones (*ἀναγνώσεις, ἀναγνωρισμοὶ τοῦ* Κλήμεντος), interprete Rufino," in the collections of Cotelier, Gallandi, and Gersdorf, and in a Syriac version (ed. Lagarde, Lips. 1861). The title of the *Recognitions* is derived from the narrative, in the later books, which tells how the scattered members of the Clementine family were finally re-united in Christianity and baptized by Peter.

[2] *Epitome de Gestis Petri*, or Τὰ Κλημέντια, or more fully, Κλήμεντος *τῶν* Πέτρου *ἐπιδημιῶν κηρυγμάτων ἐπιτομή*, first published (without the 20th Homily) at Paris, 1555; then by Cotelier (*Patres Apost.* Par. 1672), and by Schwegler, Stuttg. 1847. The complete work was first edited from a new MS. by A. Dressel, "Clementis Romani quæ feruntur Homiliæ Viginti nunc primum integræ," with a Latin translation and Notes, Gotting. 1853; Dressel has also edited "Clementinorum Epitomæ duæ," Lips. 1859.

[3] *History of the Christian Church*, vol. i. pp. 216, foll.

now impossible to separate from philosophical accretions." The substance of the *Homilies* themselves is briefly this: Clement, an educated Roman, of the imperial family, not satisfied with heathenism, and thirsting for truth, goes to Judea, having heard that Jesus had appeared there. At Cæsarea he meets with the Apostle Peter; and, being converted by him, accompanies him on his missionary journeys, and, at the Apostle's request, commits the substance of his discourses to writing. Chief among these are the disputations of Peter with Simon Magus, who is made the author of all anti-Jewish heresies, especially of the Marcionite Gnosticism. But it is conjectured that the real "deceiver," whom the writer attacks under the mask of Simon, without venturing to utter his true name, is Paul himself. "The doctrine, which the psuedo-Clement puts into the mouth of Peter, is a confused mixture of Ebionistic and Gnostic, ethical and metaphysical, ideas and fancies. He sees in Christianity only the restoration of the pure primordial religion, which God revealed in the creation, but which, on account of the obscuring power of sin and the seductive influence of demons, must be from time to time renewed. The representatives of this religion are the seven pillars of the world,[1] Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Christ. These are in reality only different incarnations of the same Adam or primal man, the true prophet of God, who is omniscient and infallible." The faults recorded of the patriarchs, from the fall of Adam downwards, as well as all unworthy views of God (those especially which liken him to man) are accounted for as interpolations made by demons in the Scriptures. To Adam, Moses, and to Christ above all, he assigns the highest rank among the prophets and lawgivers, but he allows Christ no supremer dignity or nature. "The history of religion, therefore, is not that of progress, but only of return to the primitive revelation. Christianity and Mosaism are identical, and both coincide with the religion of Adam. Whether a man believe in Moses or in Christ, it is all the same, provided he blaspheme neither. But to know both, and to find in both the same doctrine, is to be rich in God, to recognize the new as old, and the old as become new. Christianity is an advance only in its extension of the Gospel to the Gentiles, and its consequent universal character."[2]

His acknowledgment of one God, the Creator, is distinctly Ebionistic, as opposed to the dualism of the Gnostics. But then in the dual form of antithesis, which he ascribes to the whole creation, and which returns to God as its final rest, his scheme accords with the Gnostic view of a pantheistic emanation. "The fulfilling of the law, in the Ebionistic sense, and knowledge, on a

[1] Comp. Prov. ix. 1.

[2] Schaff, *l. c.*

half-Gnostic principle, are the two parts of the way of salvation. The former includes frequent fasts, ablutions, abstinence from animal food, and voluntary poverty, while early marriage is enjoined, to prevent licentiousness. In declaring baptism to be absolutely necessary to the forgiveness of sin, the author approaches the Catholic system. He likewise adopts the Catholic principle involved, that salvation is to be found only in the external Church. As regards ecclesiastical organization, he fully embraces the episcopal monarchical view. The bishop holds the place of Christ in the congregation, and has power to bind and loose. Under him stand presbyters and deacons. But singularly, and again in true Ebionistic style, JAMES, the brother of the Lord, Bishop of Jerusalem, which is the centre of Christendom, is made the general *Vicar of Christ*, the visible head of the whole Church, the *Bishop of Bishops*. Hence even Peter must give to James an account of his labours. It is very easy to see that this appeal to a pseudo-Petrine primitive Christianity was made by the author of the *Homilies* with a view to reconcile all the existing differences and divisions in Christendom."

§ 15. Besides the *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, the name of Clement was used to give authority to the so-called *Apostolical Constitutions* and *Canons*, derived by him, professedly, from the Apostles. The *Apostolic Constitutions*[1] are eight books of moral exhortations, Church laws and usages, and liturgical formularies, collected probably from the teaching and customs of the early Churches, which the compiler pretends to have been taught or dictated by the Apostles to the Roman bishop Clement. The first six books, which form the basis of the work, compiled probably in Syria in the second century, have a strongly Jewish-Christian tone. The seventh and eighth books are a distinct work, belonging to the beginning of the 4th century, before the Council of Nice. The design of the whole collection was to set forth rules of ecclesiastical life for the clergy and laity, and to maintain the power of the episcopal order. The work formed the prevalent standard of discipline in the East, till it was rejected for its heretical interpolations by the Trullan Council, in A.D. 692.

The *Apostolic Canons*[2] are 85 (in some copies 50) brief rules of

[1] Διαταγαὶ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος, also entitled Διδασκαλία, Διατάξεις, Διδαχαὶ τῶν Ἀποστόλων, and Διδασκαλία καθολική. Printed, under the title of *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, in Cotelerius (vol. i. p. 199, *seqq.*), and in the collections of *Councils* by Mansi and Harduin, and newly edited by Ueltzen, Rostock, 1833. English translation:—CHASE, *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, including the Canons*; Whiston's version, revised from the Greek; with a prize essay (by Krabbe) upon their origin and contents, New York, 1848.

[2] Κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων, *Canones, qui dicuntur*,

prescriptions, added as an appendix to the 8th Book of the *Constitutions*, but also existing separately in Greek, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic MSS. "Their contents are borrowed partly from the Scriptures, partly from the Pastoral Epistles, partly from tradition, and partly from the decrees of early councils at Antioch, Neocæsarea, Nice, Laodicea, &c. They are therefore, evidently of gradual growth, and were collected either after the middle of the fourth century, or not till the latter part of the fifth, by some unknown hands, probably also in Syria. They are designed to furnish a complete system of discipline for the clergy. Of the laity they say scarcely a word. The 85th and last canon settles the Canon of the Scripture, but reckons among the New Testament books two Epistles of Clement and the genuine books of the pseudo-Apostolic *Constitutions*. The Greek Church, at the Trullan Council of 692, adopted the whole collection of 85 canons as authentic and binding. The Latin Church rejected it at first, but subsequently decided for the smaller collection of 50 Canons, which Dionysius Exiguus, about the year 500, translated from a Greek manuscript."[1]

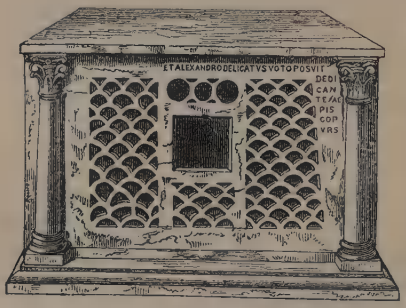
The so-called *Liturgy of St. Clement* is a part of the 8th Book of the *Apostolical Constitutions*.

Five Decretal Letters, forged in the name of Clement, are placed at the head of the famous pseudo-Isidorian Decretals.[2] Three of them are a part of that fabrication; the other two, addressed (like the *Homilies*) to James, are older than the pseudo-Isidorians.

Apostolorum. They are printed by Cotelerius, Mansi, and Harduin, and in most collections of Church law, and newly edited by De Lagarde, *Reliquiæ Juris Eccles. Antiquissimæ, Syr. et Græc.* Lips. 1856.

[1] Schaff, vol. i. pp. 442–3.

[2] Respecting this famous forgery of the 9th century, see Chap. XXII. § 9.



Altar of S. Allessandro on the Via Nomentana, near Rome. Probably of the 5th Century.



Symbol of the Church as a Ship.

CHAPTER V.

THE CHURCH IN THE THIRD CENTURY.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS TO CONSTANTINE'S EDICT OF TOLERATION, A.D. 192–313.

§ 1. Reign of SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (A.D. 193–211)—Local Persecutions of the Christians—The *Fifth General Persecution*—The African Martyrs—Perpetua and Felicitas. § 2. Christianity under CARACALLA (A.D. 211–217), ELAGABALUS (A.D. 218–222), and ALEXANDER SEVERUS (222–235)—Honours paid by Alexander to Christ—Favour of his Mother, Mamæa, for the Christians—Continued Persecutions in the Provinces—The Sassanid Dynasty in Persia. § 3. The *Sixth Persecution*, under MAXIMIN (A.D. 235–238). § 4. The Emperors GORDIAN (238–244) and PHILIP (244–249)—The Millennium of Rome—Alleged Christianity of Philip. § 5. The *Seventh Persecution*, under DECIUS (249–251), a really *General Persecution*—Its Spirit and Object—§ 6. Effect of this Persecution on the Church—The "Lapsed"—Flight from Persecution, defended by CYPRIAN—Enthusiasm for Martyrdom—Legend of the *Seven Sleepers of Ephesus*. § 7. Reigns of GALLUS (251–253) and VALERIAN (253–260) — The *Eighth General Persecution* — Martyrdom of CYPRIAN of Carthage and SIXTUS II. of Rome—Legend of St. Lawrence. § 8. GALLIENUS (A.D. 254–268) issues the *First Edicts of Toleration*—Eminent Positions held by Christians. § 9. The ineffectual Edict of AURELIAN (A.D. 270–275), wrongly called the *Ninth Persecution*—The Settlement of the Empire by DIOCLETIAN (284–305)—His colleague MAXIMINIAN, and the Cæsars, GALERIUS and CONSTANTIUS. § 10. Christian Dignitaries of the Empire—Peace enjoyed by the Church for twenty years, but with partial interruptions—Story of St. Maurice and the Theban Legion—Legends of St. Gereon, &c. § 11. Progress of Christianity to the End of the Third Century—Hindrances to Christianity—The decay of Heathenism and confessed need for a better Religion. § 12. Facilities for its Diffusion—Its Missionaries and Versions of the Scriptures—Numbers of the Christians through the Empire. § 13. Churches in Asia and Africa—Of Rome and Italy—In Gaul, and among the Germans and other Barbarians—In Spain and Britain—Christianity in Persia. § 14. Literary Opposition to Christianity—The Life of APOLLONIUS of Tyana by PHILOSTRATUS, and the Discourses of

HIEROCLES. § 15. LUCIAN of Samosata—His *Life and Death of Peregrinus*—The *True Discourse* of CELSUS. § 16. Rise of *Neo-Platonism*—Its Spirit and Doctrines—Its Religious System—Its Magic and Superstition—AMMONIUS SACCAS—PLOTINUS and his Successors—PORPHYRY'S *Discourses against the Christians*. § 17. The great *Tenth Persecution* throughout the whole Empire—First Edict of Diocletian. New causes of exasperation—Search for the Scriptures—The *traditores*. § 18. Second, third, and fourth Edicts—Their various enforcement in the Provinces—St. Alban and the British Martyrs. § 19. Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian—Persecuting fury of MAXIMIN. § 20. Death of CONSTANTIUS—Tolerant Edict of Galerius—Victory of CONSTANTINE over Maxentius—His *Edict of Milan*, establishing universal freedom of religion.

§ 1. THE extinction of the Antonine line by the death of Commodus caused a change in the relations of the empire to religion. The distinguished princes who had reigned during the second century, as representatives of the Roman senate and people, were firm adherents of the national religion. The line of emperors who followed them, and assumed the honoured name of Antoninus,[1] were imbued with an Oriental spirit, and had little zeal for the deities of the Capitol. The successful competitor for the purple, SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (A.D. 193–211), was of Punic origin, and his wife, Julia Domna, was a Syrian. She is said to have favoured the Christians, to whom Severus was at first not unfriendly.[2] But the Christians were still exposed to popular fury; and the old laws against them were made a new engine of oppression by the caprice and rapacity of provincial governors.[3] As the Church grew in numbers, the pure spirit of martyrdom declined; toleration or escape was purchased by a bribe; and governors put to death a few of the poorer Christians, to frighten the rich into paying freely. Such bribes became in some places a regular tax, like the licence to carry on disreputable callings. Bishops defended the practice by the example of Jason;[4] and its chief opponents were found among the heretic Marcionites and Montanists. Tertullian condemns alike the "gratuitous ransom of flight, and escape by a ransom in money."[5]

On his return to Rome from his successful expedition against the

[1] There was a family connection between Septimius Severus, his sons Caracalla and Geta, and the emperors Elagabalus and Alexander Severus.

[2] Tertull. *ad Scapulam*, 4. This toleration is ascribed to a cure wrought on Severus by an anointing with oil at the hands of a Christian named Proculus Torpacion, whom the Emperor kept near his person. His son Caracalla seems to have had a Christian nurse, for Tertullian speaks of him as "brought up on Christian milk."

[3] Tertull. *Apol.* 12, 30.

[4] Acts xvii. 9.

[5] Tertull. *de Fuga in Persecutione*, 12: "Sicut fuga redemptio gratuita est, ita redemptio nummaria fuga est."

Parthians (A.D. 202), Severus issued an edict, that none of his subjects should embrace Judaism or Christianity under a heavy penalty.[1] This edict seems to have been in the spirit of the old laws against illegal societies,[2] and to have been suggested in part by what Severus saw in Palestine of Jewish fanaticism, in part by the rumours of the coming of Christ, which suggested a new competitor for the purple, after the two whom he had put down.[3] Signs of disloyalty were probably seen in the refusal of the Christians to join in celebrating the emperor's triumph, since Tertullian explains their abstinence from the indecent heathen rites, in which conscience, and not disloyalty, forbad their taking part.[4]

It is only the conjecture of Gieseler,[5] that this *Fifth Persecution* was provoked in part by the excesses of the fanatical sect of the Montanists, which had lately arisen in Africa; but, at all events, its severity was confined to the African provinces. At Alexandria, Leonides, the father of Origen, was beheaded; and a beautiful virgin, named Potamiena, was tortured and then burnt to death, with her mother, in boiling pitch. Basilides, one of her executioners, shielded her from worse abuse, and was moved by her constancy to become a Christian and a martyr.[6]

Proconsular Africa, which was the chief seat of Montanism, was the scene of the famous martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas and three young men. Their *Acts*, a document which consists, in part at least, of their own words written in the prison, form an affecting narrative, though marked with the delusions of Montanist enthusiasm.[7] Perpetua was a noble and wealthy lady of Carthage, a wife or recent widow of the age of 22, with an infant at the breast. On her arrest as a Christian, she resisted the passionate entreaties of her heathen father, and his appeal to her pity for her child and the shame she would bring upon her relations. She was baptized in prison, with her companions—Felicitas, who was a slave, and Revocatus, Saturninus and Secundulus—for as yet they were all catechumens. Their trial in the forum was interrupted by another piteous appeal to Perpetua from her father, whom the procurator scourged before his daughter's face. After their condemnation,

[1] Ael. Spartian. *Vit. Sever.* 17. [2] Ulpian, in *Dig.* i. tit. 12, § 14.
[3] Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 7. [4] Tertull. *Apol.* 35.
[5] Vol. i. p. 191. [6] Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 1, 5.
[7] Among these is the vision in which Perpetua, having prayed for her deceased infant brother, Dinocrates, saw him "translated from punishment," in which we have germs of the doctrines of purgatory and prayers for the dead. Augustine argues against the inference, that prayer is efficacious for those who die unbaptized. (*De Anima*, i. 10, iii. 9.) The *Acta SS. Perpetuæ et Felicitatis* have been published by Ruinart, and in Münter's *Primordia Ecclesiæ Africanæ*.

Felicitas gave birth to a child, and when the jailor asked her how she would bear the keener pain of being torn in pieces by wild beasts, she answered, "It is I that bear my present suffering, but then there will be One within me to suffer for me, because I too shall suffer for him." Their martyrdom formed a part of the show which celebrated the birthday of Geta, whom his father Severus had associated in the empire. The men were torn in pieces by lions, bears, and leopards; Perpetua and Felicitas were tossed by a furious cow, and finally despatched by the swords of gladiators.

It was under Severus that TERTULLIAN wrote the famous *Apology*, of which we have to speak with the other writings of this father of Latin theology.

§ 2. The persecution gradually ceased under CARACALLA, the infamous son of Severus (A.D. 211–217);[1] and his abandoned cousin ELAGABALUS (218–222) tolerated all forms of religion, as a step to merging them in his own sanctity as the high-priest and incarnation of the Sun-god of Syria, from whom he took his name (*El-Gabal*). In the universal temple, which he built beside the imperial residence on the Palatine, he proposed to celebrate the rites of Jews, Samaritans, and Christians.[2]

In a like spirit of Oriental comprehension, his virtuous cousin, ALEXANDER SEVERUS (A.D. 222–235) granted full toleration to Jews and Christians, and set up the image of Christ, in the company of Abraham, Orpheus, and Apollonius of Tyana, in the chapel (*lararium*) where he began each day with prayer.[3] He inscribed on his palace, and on public monuments, a maxim like the law of Christ, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."[4] He had many Christians in his household. He would have built a temple to Christ, and enrolled him among the gods, had not the soothsayers found a prophecy that, if this were done, all men would become Christians, and the other temples would be deserted.[5] One story of Alexander's tolerance is interesting, as showing how the Christians were gradually obtaining places for public worship. They had taken possession of a place which was public property; the eating-house keepers claimed it as theirs; but an imperial rescript declared that it was better for God to be worshipped there, in whatever form, than for the place to be given

[1] Between Caracalla and Elagabalus, MACRINUS was emperor for a year in the East; but there is no record of his relations with the Christians.

[2] Lamprid. *Vit. Elagabali*, 3. [3] Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 29.

[4] Lamprid. 51. But he used it only in the *negative form*—*Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris*—in which it is found in Isocrates and in the Talmud. It is one glory of Christ's teaching to stamp with divine approval the purest maxims of human benevolence.

[5] *Ibid.* 43.

up to the cooks.[1] Still more decided was the favour shown to Christianity by the emperor's mother, Julia Mamæa, who invited Origen to the court at Antioch.[2] Eusebius calls her a very devout and pious woman.[3] Later writers claim her for a Christian;[4] but there is no reason to believe that either she or her son favoured Christianity in any other than an eclectic spirit. Persecution and martyrdom did not cease in the provinces; and the laws against the Christians, so far from being repealed, were about this time collected into a digest by the great jurist Ulpian, in his book on the Duties of a Proconsul.[5] At all events, we now mark a certain tendency in the ruling powers, from very mixed motives, to give Christianity some place among the elements of the constitution.

The reign of Alexander Severus was marked by an event which had a great influence on the fortunes of Christianity in the East. In the year 226, the Persian ARDSHIR, whom the Greeks called Artaxerxes, overthrew the last Parthian king, founded the new Persian dynasty of the Sassanians,[6] and restored the religion of Zoroaster. We shall presently have to trace the connection of this revolution with the rise of the great Manichæan heresy, which blended the dualism of the Magian religion with Christianity.[7]

§ 3. The savage Thracian usurper, MAXIMIN (A.D. 235–238), who showed his regard for the national religion by stripping the temples of their offerings, and melting down the statues of gods, heroes, and emperors, to pay his rude soldiery, made the Christians suffer for the favour they had enjoyed from the emperor whom he had slain. It was as the friend of Julia Mamæa that ORIGEN was marked for a victim, and driven from Cæsarea. In the provinces, encouragement was given to the new outburst of popular rage, which made the Christians responsible for a series of terrible earth quakes. Many were put to death, and their churches were burned, in this *Sixth General Persecution*.[8]

§ 4. A respite from persecution was enjoyed under GORDIAN (238-244) and PHILIP the Arabian (244-249), who was early claimed as the first Christian emperor. But it seems to have been rather a

[1] Lamprid. 49.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 21.

[3] *H. E.* vi. 21: θεοσεβεστάτη καὶ εὐλαβής; comp. Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 15: "Mulier *sancta*, sed avara, et auri atque argenti cupida."

[4] Oros. vii. 18; Tillemont, iii. 279, adopts this view.

[5] Lactant. *Div. Inst.* v. 11.

[6] The Sassanians reigned in Persia from A.D. 226 to the Mohammedan conquest in A.D. 651.

[7] See Chap. IX. § 13.

[8] The legend of St. Ursula and her 11,000 virgins is dated in the reign of Maximin. An origin has been suggested for the story in an old inscription (in a missal of the Sorbonne), "Ursula et XI. M.V.," which may stand for "XI. martyres virgines," but was read "XI. milia virginum." (Schaff, vol. i. p. 171).

fond idea than a real fact which connected the attainment of Rome's millennium with the conversion of her imperial head. There was nothing in Philip's character to make the Church proud of such a convert; and the games by which he celebrated the thousandth year from the foundation of the city were entirely heathen. It seems clear, however, that Philip was friendly to the Christians. Both he and his wife, Severa, received letters from Origen, who now began to rejoice that God had given the Christians the free exercise of their religion, and to anticipate the conversion of the empire.[1] This was "a new idea, remarkably opposed to the tone of the earlier Christian writers, who had always regarded the Roman power as incurably hostile and persecuting,—as an oppression from which there could be no hope of deliverance except through the coming of the end."[2]

§ 5. Such hopes were at once dashed by the *Seventh Persecution*, under DECIUS (249-251), the first which historians agree in calling strictly "general."[3] It was a systematic effort to uproot Christianity throughout the empire. The edict of Decius is lost,[4] but we have the contemporary records of its universal enforcement by torture and death, exile and confiscation.[5] Contrary to the rule laid down by Trajan, strict inquisition was made for the Christians, and chiefly for the bishops and clergy. Among the most eminent martyrs were Fabian, Bishop of Rome, Babylus of Antioch, and Alexander of Jerusalem. Origen obtained the lesser honours of a confessor, and the cruel tortures to which he was put in his prison hastened his death.[6]

The treatment of Origen illustrates one peculiar feature of this persecution. It was undertaken by Decius as a reforming statesman; and the saying is ascribed to him, that he would rather have a second emperor by his side than a bishop at Rome,—a striking testimony to the place which Christianity now filled in the empire, and to the dignity claimed by its ministers.[7] The persecution was therefore directed, primarily, to make the Christians apostatize, through promises or threats, confiscation and imprisonment, torture and starvation, death being reserved as the penalty of obstinacy or to terrify the many by a few eminent examples.

[1] Orig. *contra Celsum*, vii. 26, viii. 68.

[2] Robertson, vol. i. p. 98; Neander, vol. i. p. 179.

[3] Its severity seems to have led Origen to underrate the extent of former persecutions when he says, ὀλίγοι κατὰ καιροὺς καὶ σφόδρα εὐαρίθμητοι περὶ τῆς Χριστιανῶν θεοσεβείας τεθνήκασι (*contra Celsum*, iii. p. 116).

[4] It is described by Gregory of Nyssa (*Vit. Gregor. Thaumaturgi*, iii. p. 567).

[5] Dionys. of Alex. *ap* Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 40–42, and the works of Cyprian.

[6] See Chapter VI. § 10.

[7] The saying of Decius alone might not prove the latter inference; but it is borne out by the claims of high episcopal authority, though as yet only within the Church, put forward by Cyprian and other writers.

§ 6. The comparative security which the Christians had long enjoyed, and the growth of mere nominal profession and worldliness with the increasing numbers of the Church, aided the effect of this policy. Origen in the East, like Cyprian in the West, had denounced the pride, luxury, and covetousness of the higher clergy and the irreligious lives of the people, and had foretold a great falling away if persecution should arise. The fulfilment of his prediction revealed one purpose of these trials, in the sifting of the Church, and the renovation of a true Christian spirit.

In the first heat of the persecution many yielded so as to perform the heathen rites, for which their brethren branded them with significant epithets,[1] as well as with the general title of "the lapsed" (*lapsi*). A vehement controversy afterwards arose on the question of restoring to the Church those of them who repented their apostasy.

Many, especially of the bishops and clergy, fled through cowardice; while some took the same course from Christian prudence, hoping that their absence would turn aside the fury of persecution from their flocks, to whom they might return in better times. Distinguished among this class was Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, who thus defended his flight:—"Our Lord commanded us in times of persecution to yield and fly. He taught this, and practised it himself. For since the martyr's crown comes by the grace of God, and cannot be gained before the appointed hour, he who retires for a time and remains true to Christ, does not deny his faith, but only bides his time." When that time came to Cyprian himself, in the next great persecution, he proved that he had the true martyr's spirit; and meanwhile from his place of retirement he laboured diligently in the pastoral work of confirming and comforting the suffering Churches of Africa.

In striking contrast to the course taken by Cyprian was that enthusiasm of self-sacrifice, which had been seen in former persecutions, and was generally checked by the greatest teachers as passing the limits of Christian duty. Hundreds presented themselves before the tribunals, to proclaim their faith and demand the confessor's sufferings or the martyr's crown. Their spirit breathes in the letter which the confessors of Rome wrote from prison to their brethren in Africa:—"What more glorious and blessed lot can fall to man by the grace of God, than to confess the Lord God amidst tortures and in the face of death itself; to confess Christ the Son of God with lacerated body and with a spirit departing, yet free; and to become fellow-sufferers with Christ in

[1] *Sacrificati, thurificati, libellatici.* (Comp. Chap. VI. § 22.) The last term denoted those who, without sacrificing, obtained by a payment in money certificates that they had obeyed the edict.

the name of Christ? Though we have not yet shed our blood, we are ready to do so. Pray for us, then, dear Cyprian, that the Lord, the best captain, would daily strengthen each one of us more and more, and at last lead us to the field as faithful soldiers, armed with those divine weapons,[1] which can never be conquered."[2]

§ 7. The sharp persecution of Decius ended with his short reign, but under GALLUS (251-253) the Christians still suffered from the popular rage, which ascribed to them the calamities brought on the empire by the Gothic invasions, and by the great plague which lasted for fifteen years. In the short reign of Gallus, two bishops of Rome, Cornelius and Lucius, were banished, and afterwards put to death.

The Emperor VALERIAN (253-260) was at first more favourable to the Christians than "even those of his predecessors who were reputed Christians."[3] But in his fifth year (257-8) Valerian was instigated to that which is reckoned as the *Eighth Persecution* by his minister, Macrianus, who is said to have been connected with the Egyptian magicians.[4] As in the persecution of Decius, but in a much milder form, the attempt was made to win back the common people by depriving them of their teachers and leaders, and forbidding their assemblies for worship and the use of their cemeteries. When these measures were found ineffectual, the emperor issued a second rescript to the Senate, that the bishops, presbyters, and deacons should be forthwith put to death; that senators and knights, and other men of rank, should be deprived of their privileges and their property, and if they still persevered in Christianity, they were to be capitally punished; noble matrons and persons of lesser rank were to suffer confiscation and banishment.[5] No direct penalties were provided for the common people; and, instead of being deterred by the example made of their leaders, they followed their bishops into the remote places of their exile, and spread the Christian faith to regions where it had been unknown before.

[1] Ephes. vi. 2.

[2] The legend of the "Seven Sleepers" refers to this persecution the miracle of the seven brethren, of Ephesus, who retreated to a cave and there fell asleep, and only awoke 200 years later, under Theodosius II. (447) to find Christianity the religion of the empire. The story is first told a hundred years later still by Gregory of Tours, in the sixth century; and no criticism is needed to show the poetic form, which has been adopted by innumerable writers of imagination, to represent the surprising character of a great revolution.

[3] These words of a contemporary (Dionysius of Alexandria, *ap.* Euseb. vii. 10) are especially interesting, as showing that, even thus early, not one only, but more, of the preceding emperors were claimed as Christians. The passage may be assumed to refer to Alexander Severus and Mamæa, and to Philip.

[4] Dionys. *l. c.*; Robertson, vol. *i.* p. 99.

[5] Cyprian. *Epist.* 82.

The most eminent martyrs in this persecution were Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, of whom we have presently to speak fully,[1] and Xystus (or Sixtus II.), Bishop of Rome, with his deacon, Laurentius.. But the famous story of St. Lawrence bears the stamp of legend. His martyrdom is first related by Ambrose, and its details glorified by the Christian poet Prudentius, a century after the event. It is said that, on being required to give up the treasures of which he had charge as deacon, Laurentius referred the avaricious magistrates to the poor and sick as the true treasure of the Church; and, to extort a more literal answer, he was slowly roasted to death on the gridiron, which has become his sign.[2]

§ 8. On the capture of Valerian by the Persian Sapor I., his son and associate in the empire, GALLIENUS (A.D. 254-268), not only put a stop to the persecution, but proclaimed throughout his whole empire the *First Edicts of Toleration*, addressed to the Christian bishops themselves. In his own striking words, he "ordered the benevolence of his gift to be proclaimed throughout the whole world."[3] The Christian exiles were recalled; the burial-places, which they called with a beautiful significance *cemeteries* ("sleeping-places"), were restored to them;[4] and Christianity was acknowledged as a *religio licita*. The weak and worthless character of Gallienus leaves us to find the only explanation of this great act of toleration in the growing influence which Christianity had obtained in high places. The edicts of Valerian prove that many senators, knights, imperial officers, and ladies of rank and influence, were Christians; and the shortness of the persecution would naturally leave many of them undisturbed, to advise a change of policy after Valerian's great disaster. The same process went on more and more during the ensuing forty years of peace for the Church; and the position obtained by Christians in the empire was a chief cause and measure of the severity of Diocletian's persecution.[5]

§ 9. This period of rest and outward prosperity was not inter-

[1] See Chap. VI. § 25.

[2] The example was not lost on so-called Christian magistrates and nobles in their dealings with Jews for a like purpose; and Philip II. of Spain, a great burner of heretics, built his palace of the Escorial in the form of a gridiron in honour of the saint. The martyrologies place the death of St. Lawrence at August 10th, 258.

[3] Eusebius (vii. 13) quotes two rescripts of Gallienus, to this effect. One is addressed to the bishops of Egypt (which he had just reconquered) announcing to them the toleration already proclaimed in the rest of the empire (261), in which Gallienus says, *Τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τῆς ἐμῆς δωρεᾶς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἐκβιβασθῆναι προσέταξα.*

[4] The second of the rescripts cited by Eusebius is *Τὰ τῶν καλουμένων κοιμητηρίων ἀπολαμβάνειν ἐπιτρέπων χωρία.*

[5] Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 1.

rupted, though it was threatened, by AURELIAN (A.D. 270-275). The conqueror who put down the so-called "Thirty Tyrants," and recovered the East from Zenobia, was a devotee of heathenism, and especailly of the Eastern worship of the Sun, whose priestess his mother had been. He affected to rank with the great princes who had restored the empire and the national religion. Like them, he despised the Christians, and an edict for their persecution expressed gratitude to the gods of Rome for his victorious establishment in the empire. But the emperor's assassination prevented the execution of his edict; and ecclesiastical writers are clearly wrong in reckoning a Ninth General Persecution under AURELIAN.[1] The edict was revoked by Aurelian's successor, TACITUS (A.D. 275-276); and the Christians were at peace during the defensive wars waged against the Goths and Persians by PROBUS (276-282), CARUS, and his sons (282-284). At length the empire received a stable government by the accession of DIOCLETIAN (284), and his choice of MAXIMIAN as his colleague, to rule over the Western Provinces (286), was followed by the association of two *Cæsars* with the two *Augusti*, as their subordinate colleagues, sons-in-law, and successors designate; GALERIUS with Diocletian in the East, and CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS with Maximian in the West (A.D. 292).

§ 10. Under the imperial constitution, which Diocletian framed on the model of an Oriental monarchy, Christians had a large share in the new dignities of the court and offices of the imperial household. Diocletian, a rude Illyrian soldier by origin, was indifferent to the various legal religions, among which the edict of Gallienus had given a place to Christianity. His wife Prisca, and her daughter, Valeria, were Christians. The influence of the latter kept in check the hostility to Christianity which her husband Galerius shared with the savage Maximian; and twenty years passed before that hostility prevailed upon the aged Diocletian to order the last and greatest of the persecutions.

The heathen party, however, were still able to inflict annoyance and suffering upon Christians, on various indirect grounds, especially upon soldiers under the pretence of military discipline. There are records of military martyrs in the early years of Diocletian, but the story of Maximian's persecution of the famous "Theban Legion"[2]

[1] Vopisc. *Aurelian*, 4, 20; Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 30; the work ascribed to Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, 6.

[2] *Legio Thebæa*, *Thebæi*, *Legio Felix Agaunensis*. Eusebius, Lactantius, Prudentius, and Sulpicius Severus, are all silent about the story, which is first found in martyrologies of the sixth century. It was transferred to a Greek Mauritius, who is made a military tribune, executed with seventy soldiers at Apamea, by order of Maximian; and it was repeated at various places, as in the famous legend of St. Gereon and his 318 fellow-

must be regarded as legendary, at all events in its details. The date assigned to the story is 286. "The legion, it is said, consisting of 6600 Christians, was summoned from the East for the service of Maximian in Gaul. When near the Alpine town of *Agaunum*, which takes its modern name from their leader, *St. Maurice*,[1] the soldiers discovered that they were to be employed in the persecution of their brethren in the faith, and refused to march onwards for such a purpose. By order of Maximian, who was in the neighbourhood, they were twice decimated. But this cruelty was unable to shake the firmness of the survivors; and Maurice, in the name of his comrades, declared to the emperor that, while ready to obey him in all things consistent with their duty to God, they would rather die than violate that duty. The emperor, exasperated by their obstinacy, ordered his other troops to close around them; whereupon the devoted band laid down their arms and peacefully submitted to martyrdom."[2] In 298 an order was issued that all persons in military service, or in public employment of any kind, must sacrifice to the gods.

That such difficulties were not of daily occurrence, and that the profession of Christianity was found compatible at all with military service, affords striking evidence not only of the loyalty of the Christians, but of the tolerant spirit of the imperial government. But still, as Gibbon observes, examples of such a nature served to alienate the minds of the emperors, and to authorise the opinion that a sect of enthusiasts, which avowed principles so repugnant to the public safety, must either remain useless, or would soon become dangerous subjects of the empire.

§ 11. The pause before the last great struggle, which was to decide whether the dominant religion of the reconstituted empire should be heathenism or Christianity, is a fit epoch for reviewing the progress made by the Church to the end of the third century.

Its spread throughout, and even beyond the empire, had gone on steadily, notwithstanding, nay, rather in proportion to the prejudices and hatred of the people, the scornful or interested opposition of philosophers, priests, and the higher society, and the direct efforts of the ruling powers to suppress it. The self-defeating results of persecution are summed up in the memorable words of Tertullian:— "All your ingenious cruelties can accomplish nothing; they are only a lure to this sect. Our number increases the more you destroy us.

soldiers martyred at Colonia Agrippensis (*Cologne*). See Gieseler, vol. i. p. 195.

[1] Mauritius, the *Primicerius Legionis*. The name of St. Maurice is given to more than one Alpine village; the scene of the legend is the one in Wallis (the Valais).

[2] Robertson, vol. i. pp. 147–8.

The blood of the Christians is their seed." But the same great apologist testifies that more were kept out of the new sect by the love of pleasure than by the love of life. The religion of Christ offered no such baits as Mohammedanism afterwards held out to the corrupt desires of human nature. It struck at the very roots of pride, self-righteousness, and self-indulgence, by its demand for repentance and faith, purity and self-denial; and it thwarted the inclinations of daily life by requiring renunciation of the world as the condition of the true pleasure to be found in the kingdom of God. Though it perfected the revelation made to the Jews, and offered the true life after which the best heathens had been striving, its spiritual doctrines and moral purity offended Jews and Gentiles alike; and its very Jewish origin caused it to be repudiated by the one and scorned by the other. The blessings which it offered to all classes alike, and which many of the highest and wisest learned from the first to value, were naturally accepted more readily by those who had least of worldly riches and favour and knowledge; and the fact that Christianity was the religion of the poor and lowly roused the contempt of those who called themselves the better classes. The first heathen antagonist who is known to have encountered the new faith by argument, Celsus, scoffingly remarked that "weavers, cobblers, and fullers, the most illiterate persons," preached the "irrational faith," and knew how to commend it especially "to women and children."

In this very taunt the believer sees the confession that Christianity supplies the deepest spiritual wants of humanity itself, and the chief reason of its steady progress against all opposition, and under all sufferings. The wants for which it provides are felt in every age by individual man, conscious of sin and misery, and yearning for happiness and immortal life; but they were the crying needs of the world at the epoch appointed by God for this last perfect revelation. To use the words of a great Church historian, "Christianity had a powerful advantage in the hopeless condition of the Jewish and heathen world. Since the fearful judgment of the destruction of Jerusalem, Judaism wandered restless and accursed, without national existence. Heathenism outwardly held sway, but was inwardly rotten and in process of inevitable decay. The popular religion and public morality were undermined by a sceptical and materialistic philosophy; Grecian science and art had lost their creative energy; the Roman Empire rested only on the power of the sword and of temporal interests; the moral bonds of society were sundered; unbounded avarice and vice of every kind, even by the confession of a Tacitus and a Seneca, reigned in Rome and in the provinces, from the throne to the hovel. Nothing that classic an-

tiquity in its fairest days had produced could heal the fatal wounds of the age, or even give transient relief. The only star of hope in the gathering night was the young, the fresh, the dauntless religion of Jesus, fearless of death, strong in faith, glowing with love, and destined to commend itself more and more to all reflecting minds as the only living religion of the present and the future. 'Christ appeared,' says Augustine, 'to the men of the decrepit, decaying world, that while all around them was withering away, they might through Him receive new youthful life.'"[1] This spiritual craving of the human heart within and cry of human society without, and the essential truth of the religion which could alone satisfy them, are the very considerations omitted from Gibbon's elaborate attempt to account for the early progress of Christianity, by secondary causes, partly true and partly distorted with insidious art.[2]

§ 12. The same Providence, which sent the remedy when the disease had reached its height, had prepared the way for its diffusion by that most wonderful fact in political history, the union of the civilized world under the strong government of Rome. "Communication among the different parts of the Roman Empire, from Damascus to Britain, was comparatively easy and safe. The highways built for commerce and for the Roman legions served also the messengers of peace and the silent conquests of the Cross. The particular mode, as well as the precise time, of the introduction of Christianity into the several countries is for the most part uncertain, and we know not much more than the fact itself. . . . Besides the regular ministry, slaves and women particularly appear to have performed missionary service, and to have introduced the Christian life into all circles of society. Commerce, too, at that time as well as now, was a powerful agency in carrying the Gospel and the seeds of Christian civilization to the remotest parts of the Roman Empire."[3] Wherever the missionaries of the Gospel went, they carried with them the Holy Scriptures, first in the Greek, which was the tongue of civilized life in the Eastern Empire, and then in translations, especially into the vernacular Syriac of the East and Latin of the West.[4] The sacred writings, now collected into the recognized

[1] Schaff, vol. i. pp. 150–1.

[2] It is needless to enter upon a detailed answer to Gibbon's famous attack, after all that will be found in the Notes to Dean Milman's and Dr. William Smith's editions of the *Decline and Fall*. The reader who sees through the fallacies and insidious purpose of Gibbon may derive valuable instruction from many points in his sketch of the spread of Christianity.

[3] Schaff, *l. c.*

[4] The oldest Latin and Syriac versions date as early as the second century. The general subject of ancient versions of the Scriptures belongs to the province of Biblical criticism. (See the Article "Versions" in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.)

"Canon" as one book (the *Bible*), not only supplied the historic evidence of the rise of Christianity and the teaching of its Founder and His Apostles, but the proofs of its continuity with the former revelation, which went back to those first mysteries of creation and the relations of man to God, that had ever formed the insoluble problems of philosophy. Origen, in the early part of the third century, testifies that "Christians did not neglect to sow the Word in all parts of the inhabited world; and some made it their business to go through not only cities, but also villages and hamlets."[1]

The result, in the rapid and almost universal diffusion of Christianity, is described by the eloquence of Tertullian, as early as the beginning of the third century, in words which had acquired double force at its end:—"We are a people of yesterday, and yet we have filled every place belonging to you—cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum! We leave you your temples only. We count your armies; our numbers in a single province will be greater." It would be in vain, however, to make this rhetorical comparison the basis for an attempt to compute the number of Christians in the empire;[2] but their large proportion to the whole population is testified by heathen and official statements. One of the persecuting edicts of Maximin declares that "almost all" had abandoned their ancestral religion for the new sect.

§ 13. Several provinces, of which the evangelization was only matter of inference or conjecture during the second century, are now the seats of vigorous churches. Of those in Asia, Egypt, and proconsular Africa, we have more to say presently. No less than twenty Egyptian bishops attended a council at Alexandria in A.D. 235. In 258 Cyprian assembled at Carthage eighty-seven bishops from proconsular Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania; showing how numerous were the churches throughout all Roman Africa. But the rapid progress of a second half-century is proved by the meeting at Carthage of 270 bishops of the schismatic sect of the Donatists alone (A.D. 308).

Turning to Europe, we have more precise accounts of that which was more and more acknowledged as the central Church in the capital. Eusebius states that, in the middle of the third century, the Church of Rome numbered 1 bishop, 46 presbyters, 7 deacons, with as many sub-deacons,[3] 50 readers, exorcists, and door-keepers

[1] *Contra Celsum*, iii. p. 116.

[2] Gibbon reckons the proportion of the Christians to the whole population as low as one-twentieth: Robertson, as high as one-fifth; Schaff adopts the mean, one-tenth.

[3] The number in Acts vi. seems to have been adhered to.

and 1500 widows and poor persons under its care. From this the whole number of members has been computed at 50,000 or 60,000, that is, about a twentieth of the inhabitants of the city.[1] The rest of Italy sent only twelve bishops to a synod held by Telesphorus in the middle of the second century; but Cornelius, a century later, assembled five times that number (A.D. 255).

In Gaul, the affecting story of the martyrs under M. Aurelius referred only to the two churches of Lyon and Vienne, which had been founded by missionaries from Asia Minor. Other churches appear to have been founded from Rome in the first half of the third century;[2] and Dionysius, the first Bishop of Paris, is said to have suffered martyrdom on the hill thence named Montmartre. This patron saint of the Gallic Church, *St. Denys*, was afterwards further dignified by a confusion with Dionysius the Areopagite, the convert of Paul at Athens. We have seen that Irenæus, in the latter part of the second century, speaks of German Christians, meaning probably the German provinces of Gaul, on the left bank of the Rhine; but it is not till after the end of the third century (under Constantine) that we have distinct mention of churches in that region, such as those of Cologne and Treves.[3] On the Danubian frontier, we find traces of Christianity in Vindelicia, such as the martyrdom of St. Afra by fire at Augsburg in the Diocletian persecution (A.D. 304). The free Germans, and other barbarian tribes, appear to have only received some knowledge of the Gospel indirectly, through those who returned home after visits to the empire or from service in the Roman armies, and through their Christian captives. In this last way we are told that Christianity became known to the Goths.[4]

In the extreme west of the empire, Christian churches are first found in Spain in the middle of the third century, and nineteen bishops met at the council of Illiberis in A.D. 305. As for Britain, we have already seen Tertullian affirming that Christianity had reached the island in the beginning of the 3rd century, and at the beginning of the fourth we have the record of St. Alban's martyrdom under Diocletian, and of the presence of the bishops of York,

[1] Schaff, vol. i. p. 154.

[2] St. Gregory of Tours (about A.D. 590) says that seven missionary bishops were sent to the Gallic provinces (*in Gallias*) in the consulship of Decius and Gratus (A.D. 250), and he gives their names and sees, Tours, Arles, Narbonne, Toulouse, Paris, the Arverni (the see was at Augustonemetum, *Clermont*), and the Lemovices (at Augustoritum, *Limoges*). He cites the *History of the Passion of Saturninus*, which mentions none of these except Saturninus, who was made Bishop of Toulouse at the date specified (c. 2, Ruinart); and he probably refers the others arbitrarily to that date. The rest of his statement is compiled from various authorities.

[3] Gieseler vol. i. p. 205. [4] Sozomen, *H. E.* ii. 6; Philostorg. *H. E.* ii. 5.

London, and (probably) Lincoln, at the Synod of Arles in A.D. 314.[3]

In the rival empire of Persia, which had now eclipsed the Roman power in the East by the victory of Sapor over Valentinian, we have presently to notice the rise of the great Manichæan heresy.

§ 14. This wide and rapid diffusion of the Gospel provoked not only enmity from the people and persecution by the State, but a strong intellectual resistance from heathen writers. The scornful or malignant misrepresentations of such writers as Tacitus, Pliny, and Marcus Aurelius, were the least formidable part of this opposition. Those who saw deeper into the meaning of Christianity attempted to set up a reformed heathenism as able to satisfy man's spiritual wants. But some of them were not above the shallow artifice, which has been repeated by modern infidels, of treating the miraculous evidences of Christianity as magical tricks or delusions, which could be paralleled by similar wonders wrought by heathens.

The most remarkable case of this sort is the use made of the pretended miracles of APOLLONIUS OF TYANA, a Pythagorean philosopher of the first century, born just at the same time as Christ himself (B.C. 4). We have no evidence of any opposition or other relations of Apollonius himself to Christianity; but the philosophers of a later age put forward his alleged miracles as a set off-to those of Christ, his contemporary; either ascribing both alike to magic or imposture, or preferring those of Apollonius as the more genuine. The account of these miracles is contained in the *Life of Apollonius* by Philostratus, who wrote at the command of the Empress Julia Domna (the widow of Septimius Severus), and while he was living in the palace of Alexander Severus. But these very relations seem to contradict the supposition that his work was an indirect attack on Christianity, to which the empress was favourable (see § 1), and whose founder had an equal place in the chapel of Alexander with Apollonius himself. Neither is there any trace in the Life of a systematic parallel; it rather seems that Philostratus, in exalting the supernatural character of the enthusiast who mingled the Pythagorean philosophy with heathen mysticism, ascribed to him miracles borrowed from the Gospels among other sources. Hence the curious resemblances apparent in the announcement of the birth of Apollonius to his mother by Proteus, the incarnation of Proteus himself, the chorus of swans which sung for joy on the occasion, the casting out of devils, raising the dead, and healing the sick, the sudden disappearances and reappearances of

[1] *Acta Conc. Arelat. I.* The bishops named are "Eborius, de civitate *Eboracensi;* Restitutus, de civitate *Londinensi;* Adelphius, de civitate *Colonia Londinensium* (an error, probably, for *Lindensium*).

Apollonius, his adventures in the cave of Trophonius, and the sacred voice which called him at his death, to which may be added his claim as a teacher having authority to reform the world.

But along with this likeness in some details, there is a marked difference between the general character of the miracles ascribed to Apollonius and those of Christ. The former are distinctively the assumed powers of a Pythagorean sage. They are chiefly prophecies, and what Apollonius is made to claim is not the power of controlling the laws of nature, but rather a wonder-working secret, which gives him a deeper insight into those powers than is possessed by ordinary men. His real position seems to have been midway between the mystic philosopher and a mere impostor, between Pythagoras and Lucian's Alexander; and in this double character he was regarded by the ancients themselves. As a philosopher, Apollonius was one of the intermediate links between the Greek and Oriental systems, which he endeavoured to harmonize in the symbolic lore of Pythagoras. His main object was to re-establish the old religion on a Pythagorean basis, to purify the worship of paganism from the corruptions which the fables of the poets had (he said) brought in. In his works on divination by the stars, and on offerings, he rejects sacrifices as impure in the sight of God. There is no doubt that he himself pretended to supernatural powers, and he was variously regarded by the ancients as a magician and as a divine being. The biographer, who wrote to please the imperial worshipper of Apollonius, has supported the seer's supernatural claims by miracles borrowed from a great variety of sources, among which the records of heathen magic and Christian truth are confounded. The first laws of criticism forbid the attempt to place these compilations, of a date two centuries after the time of Apollonius, in any sort of comparison with the records of Christ's miracles by those who were contemporaries and eye-witnesses.

Nor was the attempt made till about another century after the time of Philostratus, by HIEROCLES, who took an active part in Diocletian's persecution, as governor, first of Bithynia, and afterwards of Alexandria. His deeds of lust as well as cruelty form a strange comment on the title of his "Truth-loving Words to the Christians,"[1] which is only known to us through the fragments preserved in the answer by Eusebius of Cæsarea.[2] Its substance appears to have been that the Christians considered Jesus a god, on account of some insignificant miracles falsely coloured up by his apostles; but the heathens far more justly declare the great wonder-worker, Apollonius, as well as an Aristeas and a Pythagoras, a favourite of the gods and a benefactor of men.[3] Such was the

[1] Λόγοι φιλαλήθεις πρὸς Χριστιανούς. [2] *Contra Hieroclem.*
[3] See J. H. Newman, Art. "Apollonius Tyaneus" in the *Encyclopædia*

Pythagorean argument against Christianity, which has been adopted by the English freethinkers of the seventeenth century; and it may be here observed that nearly all the objections of the moderns, who pride themselves on the title of "advanced thinkers," were advanced by Jewish and heathen opponents, and refuted by the Christian writers of the first three or four centuries.

§ 15. The early date of Apollonius himself has led us to speak of Hierocles, who was really among the last of the literary antagonists of Christianity. The earliest were the famous Lucian of Samosata, and his friend Celsus, who lived in the middle and second half of the second century, and brought their literary attacks to aid the persecuting zeal of the philosophic emperor, Marcus Aurelius.

LUCIAN,[1] the Epicurean satirist, who has been called the Voltaire of heathen literature, treats Christianity, in common with paganism, rather as an object of ridicule than of hatred. He speaks of Christ, not as an impostor, but as a "crucified *sophist*." He caricatures Christianity, in common with Cynicism, in his imaginary life and death of a contemporary Cynic philosopher, Peregrinus Proteus.[2] "Peregrinus is here represented as a perfectly contemptible man, who, after the meanest and grossest crimes, adultery, sodomy, and parricide, joins the credulous Christians in Palestine, cunningly imposes on them, soon rises to the highest repute among them, and, becoming one of the confessors in prison, is loaded with presents by them, in fact almost worshipped as a god, but is afterwards excommunicated for eating some forbidden food (probably meat of the idolatrous sacrifices); then casts himself into the arms of the Cynics, travels about everywhere in the filthiest style of that sect, and at last, about the year 165, in frantic thirst for fame, plunges into the flames of a funeral pile before the people assembled at Olympia for the triumph of philosophy. Perhaps the fiction of a self-burning was meant for a parody on the Christian martyrdom, possibly of Polycarp, who about that time suffered death by fire at Smyrna."[3]

This satire can hardly be ranked as a polemical work; and the first place in the heathen literary controversy against Christianity belongs to CELSUS, an earnest and bitter enemy. His *True Discourse*[4] is known to us only by the fragments embodied in the famous refutation of the work by Origen, who describes the author as an Epicurean philosopher and a friend of Lucian.[5] This ascrip-

Metropolitana, vol. x. pp. 619–644; Schaff, *Church History*, vol. i. pp. 194–195.

[1] Lucian was born at Samosata, in Syria, in A.D. 130, and died about A.D. 200.

[2] Περὶ τῆς Περεγρίνου τελευτῆς: also in his Ἀληθῆς ἱστορία.

[3] Schaff, vol. i. pp. 189, 190.

[4] Ἀληθὴς Λόγος.

[5] Lucian dedicated to the Epicurean Celsus his life of the magician Alex-

tion of the work, however, is rendered doubtful by the distinctly Platonic opinions expressed by the author; but an eminent Church historian solves the difficulty by regarding the views of Celsus as those of "an eclectic philosopher of varied culture, skilled in dialectics, and somewhat read in the writings of the Apostles, and even in the Old Testament. He speaks now in the frivolous style of an Epicurean, now in the earnest and dignified tone of a Platonist. At one time he advocates the popular heathen religion, as, for instance, its doctrine of dæmons; at another he rises above the polytheistic notions to a pantheistic or sceptical view. He employs all the aids which the culture of his age afforded, all the weapons of learning, common sense, wit, sarcasm, and dramatic animation of style, to disprove Christianity; and he anticipates most of the arguments and sophisms of the deists and naturalists of later times. Still his book is, on the whole, a very superficial, loose, and light-minded work, and gives striking proof of the inability of the natural reason to understand the Christian truth.

"Celsus first introduces a Jew, who accuses the mother of Jesus of adultery with a soldier named Panthera;[1] adduces the denial of Peter, the treachery of Judas, and the death of Jesus, as contradictions of His pretended divinity; and makes the resurrection an imposture. Then Celsus himself begins the attack, by combating the whole idea of the supernatural, which forms the common foundation of Judaism and Christianity. The controversy between Jews and Christians appears to him as foolish as the strife about the shadow of an ass. The Jews believed, as well as the Christians, in the prophecies of a Redeemer of the world, and thus differed from them only in that they still expected the Messiah's coming. But then, to what purpose should God come down to earth at all, or send another down? He knows beforehand what is going on among men. And such a descent involves a change, a transition

ander, in the course of which (§ 21) he praises a work written by Celsus against the belief in magic. But in the book against Christianity, Celsus stated with apparent approbation the opinion of the Platonists, that enchanters really had power over all who have not raised themselves above the influence of sensuous nature (ὕλη), but not over those who are elevated to communion with the Deity; the whole of which sentiment is inconsistent with the doctrine of Epicurus. There are other sentiments which seem to mark the author as a Platonist so decidedly, that Origen supposes that the author chose to conceal his real views, because there was at the time a strong prejudice against the Epicureans as the deniers of all religion, and therefore unfit to be the judges of Christianity. Some critics suppose the author of the Ἀληθὴς Λόγος to be a different person from the Epicurean Celsus.

[1] "Πάνθηρ, *panthera*, here and in the Talmud (where Jesus is likewise called 'Jesu ben Panthera'), is used, like the Latin *lupa*, as a type of ravenous lust."

from the good to the evil, from the lovely to the hateful, from the happy to the miserable, which is undesirable, and indeed impossible, for the divine nature. In another place he says, 'God troubles himself no more about men than about monkeys and flies.'

"Celsus thus denies the whole idea of revelation, now in pantheistic style, now in the levity of Epicurean deism; and thereby at the same time abandons the ground of the popular heathen religion. In his view, Christianity has no rational foundation at all, but is supported by the imaginary terrors of future punishment. Particularly offensive to him are the promises of the Gospel to the poor and miserable, and the doctrines of forgiveness of sins, and regeneration, and of the resurrection of the body. This last he scoffingly calls a hope of worms, but not of rational souls. The appeal to the omnipotence of God, he thinks, does not help the matter, because God can do nothing improper and unnatural.

"He reproaches the Christians with ignorance, obstinacy, agitation, innovation, division, and sectarianism, which they inherited mostly from their fathers, the Jews. They are all uncultivated, mean, superstitious people, mechanics, slaves, women, and children. The great mass of them he regarded as unquestionably deceived. But where there are the deceived, there must also be deceivers, and this leads us to the last result of this polemical sophistry. Celsus declared the first disciples of Jesus to be deceivers of the worst kind; a band of sorcerers, who fabricated and circulated the miraculous stories of the Gospels, particularly that of the resurrection of Jesus; but betrayed themselves by contradictions. The originator of the imposture, however, is Jesus himself, who learned that magical art in Egypt, and afterwards made a noise with it in his native country. But here, this philosophical and critical sophistry virtually acknowledges its bankruptcy. The hypothesis of deception is the very last one to offer in explanation of a phenomenon so important as Christianity was even in that day. The greater and more permanent the deception, the more mysterious and unaccountable it must appear to reason."[1]

§ 16. Far more serious, and just in proportion to its earnest spirit the more dangerous, was the philosophic opposition to Christianity from the school of NEO-PLATONISM, which sprang up in Alexandria in the third century. Instead of treating Christianity as a contemptible imposture, this philosophy met it on the common ground of spiritual religion and the aim to regenerate human nature and find the way to eternal life and happiness. The ideal, supernatural, and mystic elements in the philosophy of Plato had always opened for such aspirations a refuge from the

[1] Schaff, vol. i. pp. 187–189.

gross materialism of the popular religion of Greece and Rome. In this point of view the Christian revelation offered the fulfilment of the highest hopes after which Platonism vaguely felt; and some philosophic minds were led through Platonism to Christianity. But others used the points of contact between the two systems as a means of reforming and strengthening heathenism. As Schaff observes, "Neo-Platonism was a direct attempt of the more intelligent and earnest heathenism to rally all its nobler energies, especially the forces of Hellenic philosophy and Oriental mysticism, and to found a universal religion, a pagan counterpart to the Christian." Starting from Platonism as its basis, the system embraced tenets adopted from the other Greek philosophies, as well as from the religions and mysteries of the East. It was a philosophical theology, "a pantheistic eclecticism, which sought to reconcile Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy with Oriental religion and theosophy, polytheism with monotheism, superstition with culture, and to hold, as with a convulsive grasp, the old popular faith in a refined and idealized form."[1] Some Christian ideas were received into the system, and Christ himself was classed with sages of the first rank. His own doctrine was claimed as Neo-Platonic, but it had been corrupted by the barbarism of his vulgar followers.

The religious system of Neo-Platonism was based on the doctrine of one supreme God, in whom was joined the Platonic trinity of his *Essence* (οὐσία), his *Intelligence* (νοῦς), or knowledge of himself, and his *Soul* (ψυχή), or power manifested in activity; the two latter notions being inferior to the first. Under this divine trinity, the care of the world was entrusted to gods of an inferior race; and below them again to many *dæmons* (δαίμονες),[2] both good and bad, but all the ministers of the supreme God. The vulgar polytheism was ascribed to a corruption of this view. The spiritual life was based on faith, which was regarded as an act of inward perception; but it was to be cultivated by an ascetic life, as the only means of emancipation from the bonds of sense to union with the Deity, and to obtaining power over the spirits. As a part of this power, the system admitted miraculous and magical practices, besides much fanciful superstition. "Most of the Neo-Platonists,

[1] Schaff, vol. i. p. 191.

[2] The proper meaning of this word (which is also used in the diminutive, δαιμόνια) is *dividers* (i.e. of good and evil to man). The *dæmons* of the Greek mythology were spirits, inferior to the gods, sometimes the souls of departed heroes and others, who acted as ministers of weal or woe to men, each of whom was supposed to have a good or bad dæmon, or both, and according as the one or the other prevailed he was happy (εὐδαίμων, "with a good dæmon") or unhappy (δυσδαίμων, "with a bad dæmon"). Such are the "doctrines about *dæmons*," not "devils" (διδασκαλίαις δαιμονίων), against which Paul warns Timothy (1 Tim. iv. 1).

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Jamblichus in particular, were as much hierophants and theurgists as philosophers, devoted themselves to divination and magic, and boasted of divine inspirations and visions."[1] Hence it was that they were so eager to press the miracles of Apollonius into their service.

The close relation of Neo-Platonism to Christianity is indicated by the fact that the founder of the new philosophy, AMMONIUS SACCAS,[2] of Alexandria, was born of Christian parents, and was himself a Christian for so long, that it is disputed whether he ever renounced his religion. Eusebius[3] and Jerome[4] deny the statement of his heathen disciple, Porphyry, that he apostatized from the faith.[5] At all events, his teaching does not appear to have been directly hostile to Christianity; and among his disciples was the Christian leader, Origen, as well as the heathen Plotinus. In fact, Neo-Platonism presented two different aspects towards Christianity, according as its spiritual elements led the mind, as in the case of Augustine, from the bondage of scepticism to an eager desire for higher wisdom and a truer faith, or were adopted as an antagonist substitute for that faith, in the pride of human wisdom,[6] or as a refuge from perplexity amidst the controversies of the heathen sects, the Christians, and the heretics.

Ammonius Saccas died in A.D. 243. The Neo-Platonic philosophy was developed more systematically by his pupil PLOTINUS, who was also a native of Egypt, but taught at Rome, where he died in A.D. 270. The capital remained the chief seat of the new philosophy under PORPHYRY of Tyre, the pupil of Plotinus, who died in A.D. 304. Its next heads were JAMBLICHUS, of Chalcis in Cœle-Syria, famous for his Life of Pythagoras (ob. 333), and PROCLUS of Constantinople, the commentator on Plato (ob. 485). Neo-Platonism superseded all the other sects of heathen philosophy, and supplanted the popular religion among the educated classes of heathens. But by the sixth century it shared the fate of the old dead systems to which it had allied itself; a fate which its attempts at refinement only

[1] Schaff, vol. i. p. 191.

[2] Ammonius derived his surname or nickname of "the Sack," or "Sack-bearer" (Ἀμμώνιος Σακκᾶς, equivalent to Σακκόφορος) from his original occupation as a public porter (*saccarius*) of corn at the port of Alexandria.

[3] *H. E.* vi. 19.

[4] *Vir. Illust.* § 55.

[5] The best modern critics are greatly divided on this question; some agreeing with Eusebius and Jerome, others supposing that they confounded Ammonius Saccas with another Ammonius, the author of various works on the Scriptures referred to by Eusebius, and of a work *De Consensu Moysis et Jesu*, which is praised by Jerome. A *Diatessaron* by Ammonius is extant in a Latin version by Victor, Bishop of Capua in the sixth century.

[6] In this respect there was a considerable affinity between Neo-Platonism and Gnosticism.

hastened. Its literature, utterly wanting in originality, had no element of lasting life.

The chief opponent of Christianity among the Neo-Platonists was PORPHYRY, whom the Fathers regard as its most bitter and dangerous enemy. Fragments of his *Discourses against the Christians*,[1] in fifteen books, are preserved by the fathers who wrote refutations of the work, Methodius of Tyre, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and Apollinaris of Laodicea. His critical attacks on the Old and New Testaments show more knowledge than those of Celsus, and he found a powerful weapon in the allegorical interpretations into which Origen had been led by the spirit of Neo-Platonism itself. Porphyry is the very prototype of the sceptics of modern times, both in his critical objections and in his professions of respect for the pure teaching of Jesus, as contrasted with the corrupted doctrines of the Apostles. "We must not," he says, "calumniate Christ, but only pity those who worship him as God." The influence of Christianity, and the manner in which the Neo-Platonists repeated its doctrines in a sense of their own, is strikingly shown in the letter of Porphyry to his wife, Marcella.[2] He says that what is born of the flesh is flesh; that by faith, love, and hope we raise ourselves to the Deity; that evil is the fault of man; that God is holy; that the sacrifice most acceptable to Him is a pure heart; that the wise man is at once a temple of God, and a priest in that temple.[3]

§ 17. The outward history of the primitive and persecuted Church of the first three centuries culminates in that last great storm which ensued on the forty years of comparative rest, and preceded the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the empire. This *Tenth Persecution* was strictly universal through the empire. We have already seen (§ 10), the causes of political suspicion that probably furnished the strongest arguments by which Galerius prevailed on Diocletian to depart suddenly from his nineteen years' fidelity to the tolerant edicts of Gallienus. Besides special alarm for the sanctity of the military oath, the Cæsar might excite the aged emperor's jealousy at the number of Christians who had risen to fill the highest civil offices during the forty years of toleration.

The two emperors of the East were residing together at Nicomedia, near the end of the year 302, when, at a council of the chief military and civil officers, the resolution was taken, that the Christian religion should be suppressed throughout the empire. The first-fruit of

[1] Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν Λόγοι. The fragments are collected by Holstein, *Dissert. de Vit. et Script. Porphyrii*, Rom. 1630.

[2] Published by Cardinal Mai, Milan, 1816.

[3] Schaff, vol. i. p. 194.

their decision was the demolition of the splendid church at Nicomedia by the imperial guards (February 23, 303).

Next day appeared the imperial edict, giving orders for a persecution such as no former emperor had conceived. All Christian churches throughout the empire were to be destroyed and their property confiscated, and all copies of the Scriptures were to be given up to be burnt in public by the magistrates; all who practised Christian worship in private were doomed to death. Christians were deprived of their civil rights; freemen were shut out from all honours and public employments, slaves from the hope of manumission. Debarred even from the common benefit of the law, they were placed at the mercy of informers; for, while the magistrates were enjoined to hear all causes against them, the Christians were forbidden to bring their complaints before the tribunals.

No sooner was the edict published than fresh incidents arose, as in previous persecutions, to inflame animosity and give a pretext for new violence. A Christian (whose name, John, is preserved in the Greek martyrology), tore down the edict, with bitter expressions of abhorrence for such "Godless and tyrannical rulers," and he was roasted to death over a slow fire. Fires which broke out twice in the palace of Nicomedia, within fifteen days after the edict, were ascribed to the Christians, like the conflagration of Rome under Nero. The Christian officers of the palace were examined with exquisite tortures and put to cruel deaths, and Galerius departed in haste, giving out that his life was in danger.[1]

Even after these causes of mutual exasperation, the prudence of Diocletian suffered some months to pass before the general publication of the edict through the provinces; and it was at first enforced against the churches and Scriptures, rather than the persons of the Christians. As might have been expected after the interval of rest and prosperity, the "lapsed" were more numerous than in previous persecutions, and the special inquisition after the Scriptures gave rise to a new class who, for giving their Bibles up for destruction, were branded as *traditores*. In this search many other books doubtless perished, which would have been invaluable for the history of the Church; while, in other cases, the officers were imposed on by the delivery of heretical writings, and the fraud was sometimes connived at.

§ 18. As in former times of persecution, every public disaster was ascribed to the anger of the gods against their impious deniers; and

[1] The recrimination which charged the arson on Galerius himself was probably as unfounded as the accusation of the Christians. Any Christian capable of such a deed would have been fanatic enough to have gloried in it, like him who tore down the edict.

some new troubles on the eastern frontiers gave a pretext for fresh and more severe decrees. A *second edict* ordered that all Christian teachers should be thrown into prison; a *third* directed that they should be required to sacrifice to the gods of Rome and be put to the torture if they refused; and a *fourth*, in the following year, extended these orders to all Christians (A.D. 304).

The magistrates were enjoined to invent new tortures to subdue the firmness which had been so often proved. As if to make a show of the clemency which sought rather to reclaim than destroy, none of the edicts imposed the penalty of death; but it was inflicted by zealous magistrates on unnumbered victims; till, in the rhetorical language of Eusebius, the swords were dull and shattered, and the wearied executioners had to relieve each other, while the Christians sang hymns of praise and thanksgiving to God with their latest breath. Even the wild beasts at last refused to attack the Christians, as if they had assumed the part of men in place of the heathen Romans.

The edicts were enforced with various degrees of severity; most cruelly by Galerius in the East, and most mildly in the western provinces of Spain, Gaul, and Britain. But even there the Cæsar, Constantius Chlorus, did not venture on disobedience; and among the victims we have to reckon the British proto-martyr Albanus, who, being beheaded at Verulamium, gave his name to *St. Albans*, the town built from its remains; besides Aaron and Julius, citizens of Isca Silurum (*Caerleon on the Usk*), and, adds our venerable native historian, very many others of either sex in divers places, who were put to death with cruel tortures and mutilations.[1]

§ 19. On the 1st of May, A.D. 305, Diocletian abdicated the purple at Nicomedia, and Maximian very unwillingly performed the same ceremony at Milan. The supreme power was transferred by them to the two Cæsars, GALERIUS and CONSTANTIUS, as *Augusti*. The unwillingness of Constantius to leave his government in the West caused Italy and Africa to become dependencies of the East, under the Cæsar SEVERUS; and for the other Cæsar, Galerius appointed his sister's son, MAXIMIN, to the government of Syria and Egypt.

This savage Illyrian redoubled in those provinces the fury of the persecution, which seems to have ceased in the western regions under the mild rule of Constantius. All subjects of the empire, even to infants at the breast, were ordered to sacrifice to the gods, and the provisions in the markets were sprinkled with the libations, that the Christians might not obtain food without the pollution of

[1] Bæda, *Hist. Eccles.* lib. i. c. vii.

idolatry. All the old calumnies against them were not only revived, but taught in the lesson-books used in schools.

§ 20. Meanwhile the death of Constantius at York, and the proclamation of his son CONSTANTINE, gave the signal for the last great contest for the empire[1] (A.D. 306). Galerius, shortly before his death, issued at Nicomedia an edict of toleration, in his own name and those of his colleagues, Licinius and Constantine (A.D. 311). The Christians were permitted to rebuild their churches and hold their religious assemblies, provided they did nothing to disturb the order of the state. The motive avowed in the edict itself was the failure of the persecution to reclaim the Christians; but the remarkable request, that they would offer prayers to their God for the welfare of the emperors, seems to betray a superstitious remorse in the mind of the emperor, who was sinking under a loathsome disease, which the Christians compared to the fate of the first persecuting king, Herod Agrippa.

In the next year Constantine won his great decisive victory over Maxentius, near Rome (October 28th, 312); and he forthwith proclaimed toleration for the Christians. A second edict, issued from Milan next year, in conjunction with Licinius, established *universal freedom of religion* throughout the empire (June 313); and this marks the end of the last great persecution, the Tenth in order, and of a ten years' duration.[2]

[1] For the details see Gibbon, and the present author's *History of the Ancient World*, vol. iii. chap. xxiv.

[2] Respecting Constantine and the Edict of Milan, see farther in Chapter X.



Abdon and Sennen, Martyrs under Decius. (From the cemetery of Pontianus.)



Crucifixion. (Diptych of Rambona.)

CHAPTER VI.

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

I. Greek Writers of the Alexandrian School.

§ 1. The Catechetical School of Alexandria—Its Founder, Pantænus, and its succeeding Teachers. § 2. Character of the Alexandrian Theology—Its Relation to Greek Culture and Philosophy and to the Gnostic Heresy—Its

Merits and Faults. § 3. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA—His Life and Works—§ 4. ORIGEN (Origenes Adamantius)—His Boyhood—Martyrdom of his father Leonides. § 5. He becomes Head of the Catechetical School—His Ascetic Life. § 6. His Teaching of Literature, and Study of Philosophy—He hears Ammonius Saccas. § 7. Origen visits Rome—His Study of Hebrew—Aid to his Work furnished by his Convert Ambrose. § 8. His Counsel sought by Princes and Churches—Visits to Arabia, Antioch, Palestine, and Greece—His Ordination in Palestine—He is driven from Alexandria by Demetrius, and goes to Cæsarea—His Deposition and Condemnation as a Heretic. § 9. Origen's Labours at Cæsarea—His Flight to Cappadocia, and important discovery there—His success in reclaiming Heretics. § 10. Origen suffers as a Confessor under Decius—His Death—The later Origenist Controversy—His Teaching condemned as heretical (A.D. 544)—His Character and Influence—His Merits and Errors. § 11. Origen's great services to the Interpretation of Scripture—His Threefold Sense of Scripture, and Views of the *Letter*—The *Moral* and the *Mystic* Sense, allegorical and analogical. § 12. Origen's Literary Works. (I.) *Biblical*—The *Hexapla*, *Tetrapla*, and *Octapla*—His *Exegetical* Works. (II.) *Apologetic and Polemical*—His *Answer to Celsus*. (III.) *Dogmatic*—The *De Principiis*—Origen's Doctrinal System—Controversy upon his Opinions: MARCELLUS, PAMPHILUS, RUFINUS, and JEROME. (IV.) His *Practical Works*. (V.) *Letters*. (VI.) *Supposititious Works*. § 13. Followers and Opponents of Origen—HERACLAS, PIERIUS, and THEOGNOSTUS—DIONYSIUS of Alexandria—GREGORIUS THAUMATURGUS—PAMPHILUS of Cæsarea—The Cæsarean School and Library—HESYCHIUS—METHODIUS of Tyre.

II. GREEK WRITERS OF THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH.

§ 14. JULIUS AFRICANUS—His *Chronology* and *Cesti*. § 15. HIPPOLYTUS, Bishop of Portus—Recent Discoveries respecting him—His Relations with the Eastern and Roman Churches—Charge of Heresy against him—His Martyrdom and Chapel. § 16. Discovery of his Statue, with a List of his Works—His *Philosophumena*, or work *Against all Heresies*—Recent Discovery of the Missing Books—Their Contents—Autobiographical Notices of Hippolytus—His Opposition to the Roman Bishops—His Literary Character and his Theology.

III. THE WESTERN CHURCH: LATIN WRITERS OF THE AFRICAN SCHOOL.

§ 17. TERTULLIAN: his Early Life and Conversion—His Asceticism. § 18. His Lapse into Montanism—Account of Montanus and his Sect—Essential Orthodoxy of Tertullian—His Death and Character—His Theology and Style. § 19. His *Apology* and other Works. § 20. MINUCIUS FELIX—His *Octavius*. § 21. CYPRIAN, Bishop of Carthage—His Early Life and Conversion—His reverence for Tertullian. § 22. His irregular election as Bishop—Controversy about the Lapsed—Schism of Novatus and Felicissimus. § 23. Controversy about Heretical Baptism—Dispute between Cyprian and Firmilian and Stephen, Bishop of Rome. § 24. Character of Cyprian—His high views of the Unity of the Church, Episcopal Authority, and the Roman See—His devoted Ministry and ascetic Morality. § 25. Martyrdom of Cyprian. § 26. His works.

I. GREEK WRITERS OF THE ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL.

§ 1. FROM the literary assailants of Christianity to the most learned and philosophic writers who taught and defended it, a natural transition is suggested by the common scene of their activity at Alexandria. From the very beginning of Christianity, one chief care of its teachers was to instruct new converts in the Scriptures and in the doctrines and discipline of the faith.[1] As the Churches became organized, such instruction formed a regular part of their work and was entrusted to appointed teachers, who were usually presbyters or deacons. The teachers were called *Catechists*, and the pupils *Catechumens*.[2] In the case of adult converts, the latter name denoted the stage of instruction through which they were required to pass preparatory to baptism. But when children were born to Christian parents and baptized in infancy, the catechumenate followed instead of preceding baptism. As philosophers and learned men became converts to the faith, they naturally became the heads of catechetical schools, and gave their instruction a wider range. This was especially the case at such a seat of learning as Alexandria. The catechetical school of that city existed so early, that its foundation was claimed for the Evangelist Mark, whom tradition made the first bishop of the Alexandrian Church. "In that home of the Philonic theology, of Gnostic heresy, and of Neo-Platonic philosophy, it soon very naturally assumed a learned character, and became at the same time a sort of theological seminary, which exercised a powerful influence on the education of many bishops and Church teachers, and on the development of Christian science. It had at first but a single teacher, afterwards two or more, but no fixed salary nor special buildings. The teachers gave their instructions in their dwellings, generally after the style of the ancient philosophers."[3]

The real history of the catechetical school of Alexandria begins about A.D. 180 with its first known superintendent, PANTÆNUS,[4] a

[1] See Luke iv. 4; where the process is described by the very word from which *catechism*, *catechist*, &c., were derived: ἵνα ἐπιγνῷς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

[2] These names are derived from κατηχέω, *to sound out*, and hence *to sound in one's ears*, and (in ecclesiastical Greek) *to teach*; whence κατηχητής, *a teacher* (also κατηχιστής, *catechist*, from the derivative verb κατηχίζω), οἱ κατηχούμενοι (*catechumens*), *those instructed*; κατήχησις, *instruction*, *education*; and the adjective κατηχιστικός, *catechetical*. The catechumens were also called ἀκροαταί (*hearers*), and in Latin, *auditores*, *audientes*; and the teachers, *doctores audientium*.

[3] Schaff, vol. i. p. 496.

[4] The school under his presidency is called διατριβὴ τῶν πιστῶν, ἱερὸν

converted Stoic philosopher, who was also a missionary to India, though at what part of his career is doubtful. His disciple Clement says of his teaching that "like the Sicilian bee, he plucked flowers from the apostolic and prophetic meadow, and filled the souls of his disciples with genuine pure knowledge." Jerome mentions his many commentaries on Scripture, of which we possess only a few fragments. The school rose to the height of its vigour and influence under its two next teachers, CLEMENT (A.D. 189–202) and ORIGEN (A.D. 202–232). It was continued under Origen's pupils, HERACLAS (ob. A.D. 248) and DIONYSIUS (ob. A.D. 265). Among its latest famous teachers was the blind DIDYMUS (ob. A.D. 395), after whom the school sank amidst the troubles of the Alexandrian Church at the end of the fourth century.

§ 2. The fact that the earliest teachers, Pantænus and Clement, were converts from heathen philosophy, combined with the intellectual character of Alexandria to give a marked complexion both to the theology and methods of study of the Alexandrian school. The city was the great seat both of Jewish and Greek philosophy, and of the Gnostic heresy (properly so called), which reached its height here about the middle of the second century. "The Alexandrian theology aims at the reconciliation of Christianity with philosophy, of the πίστις with the γνῶσις; but it seeks this union upon the basis of the BIBLE and the doctrine of the Church. Its centre therefore is the LOGOS, viewed as the sum of all reason and all truth, before and after the incarnation. Clement came from the Hellenic philosophy to the Christian faith; Origen, conversely, was led by faith to speculation. As Philo, long before them, in the same city, had combined Judaism with Grecian culture, so now they carried the Grecian culture into Christianity. This, indeed, the apologists and controversialists of the second century had already done, so far back as Justin the Philosopher. But the Alexandrians were more learned and liberal-minded, and made much freer use of the Greek philosophy. They saw in it, not sheer error, but in one view a gift of God, and a theoretical schoolmaster for Christ, like the law in the practical sphere. Clement compares it to a wild olive-tree, which can be ennobled by faith; Origen to the jewels which the Israelites took with them out of Egypt and turned into ornaments for their sanctuary, though they also wrought them into the golden calf. The elements of truth in the heathen philosophy they attributed partly to the secret operation of the Logos in the world of reason,

διδασκαλεῖον τῶν ἱερῶν μαθημάτων or λόγων, διδασκαλεῖον τῆς κατηχήσεως, *schola* κατηχήσεων *ecclesiastica*. (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 10, vi. 3, 26; Hieron. *Vir. Illust.* 38, 69; Sozomen. *H. E.* iii. 15.)

partly to acquaintance with the Jewish philosophy, the writings of Moses and the prophets.

"So with the Gnostic heresy; the Alexandrians did not sweepingly condemn it, but recognized the desire for deeper religious knowledge which lay at its root, and sought to meet this desire with a wholesome supply from the Bible itself. To the γνῶσις ψευδώνυμος they opposed a γνῶσις ἀληθινή. Their maxim was, in the words of Clement, 'No faith without knowledge: no knowledge without faith:' or, 'Unless you believe, you will not understand.'[1] Faith and knowledge have the same substance, the saving truth of God, revealed in the Holy Scriptures, and faithfully handed down by the Church: they differ only in form. Knowledge is our consciousness of the deeper ground and consistency of faith. The Christian knowledge, however, is also a gift of grace, and has its condition in a holy life. The ideal of a Christian Gnostic includes the perfect love, as well as the perfect knowledge, of God. Clement describes him as one 'who, growing grey in the study of the Scriptures, and preserving the orthodoxy of the Apostles and the Church, lives strictly according to the Gospel.'

"The Alexandrian theology is intellectual, profound, stirring, and full of fruitful germs of thought, but rather unduly idealistic and spiritualistic; and, in exegesis, loses itself in arbitrary allegorical fancies. In its efforts to reconcile revelation and philosophy, it took up, like Philo, many foreign elements, especially of the Platonic and Gnostic stamp, and wandered into views which a later and more orthodox, but more narrow-minded and less productive age condemned as heresies, not appreciating the immortal service of this school to its own and after times."[2]

§ 3. TITUS FLAVIUS CLEMENS, commonly called CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA,[3] was born in heathenism, probably at Athens. Like Justin, he was led by dissatisfaction with the Greek philosophy, in which he was deeply versed, to seek a purer truth. After long journeys through the East and West, to hear the most eminent Christian teachers, he was captivated by the teaching of Pantænus, and became a presbyter at Alexandria. Having succeeded Pantænus in the school, about A.D. 189, he laboured in the work of Christian education and heathen conversion, till he fled from his post, during the persecution of Severus, from a motive of Christian duty (A.D. 202). After this we have merely traces of his presence in Cappadocia, at Antioch, and at Jerusalem; and he appears to have returned finally to Alexandria. He died about the same time as

[1] Isaiah vii. 9, according to the LXX.: Ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσητε, οὐδὲ μὴ συνῆτε.

[2] Schaff, vol. i. pp. 496–498.

[3] Κλήμης Ἀλεξανδρεύς, Clemens Alexandrinus.

Tertullian, the great light of the Western Church, before A.D. 220. Though ancient writers often give Clement the title of Saint, he was not enrolled in the calendar of the Roman Church. Though never branded with heresy (like Origen), his speculations were regarded (to use the modern phrase) as "latitudinarian."

The sum of Clement's teaching is embodied in his three chief works, which form a progressive series, representing "the three stages in the discipline of the human race by the divine Logos, corresponding to the three degrees of knowledge required by the ancient mystagogues,[1] and are related to one another very much as apologetics, ethics, and dogmatics, or as faith, love, and mystic vision."[2] In the *Exhortation to the Greeks*,[3] like the earlier Apologists, he exposes the absurdity and immorality of heathenism, with superfluous learning; but, in the higher spirit of the Alexandrian school, he recognizes the prophetic spirit in Hellenic poetry and philosophy. The call, in this first work, to repentance and faith, is followed up, in the second, entitled *Tutor*,[4] or *Educator*, by an exposition and inculcation of Christian morality, in contrast with heathen practices. The very title of the third, *Stromata* (that is, *Tapestry* or *Patchwork*),[5] suggests the bolder aims and characteristic faults of Clement and his school. This collection, in seven books, "furnishes a guide to the deeper knowledge of Christianity, but it is without any methodical arrangement—a heterogeneous mixture of curiosities of history, beauties of poetry, reveries of philosophy, Christian truths, and heretical errors. He himself compares it to a thick-grown, shady mountain or garden, where fruitful and barren trees of all kinds—the cypress, the laurel, the ivy, the apple, the olive, the fig—stand confusedly grouped together, that so many may remain hidden from the eye of the plunderer without escaping the notice of the labourer, who might transplant and arrange them in pleasing order. It was, probably, only a prelude to a more comprehensive theology. At the close, the author portrays the ideal of the true Gnostic, that is, the perfect Christian, assigning to him, among other traits, a stoical elevation above all sensuous affections."[6] Clement has also left us a treatise on the right use of wealth,[7] and the oldest Christian hymn,

[1] The ἀποκάθαρσις, the μύησις, and the ἐπόπτεια.

[2] Schaff, vol. i. p. 499–500.

[3] Λόγος προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Ἕλληνας, Cohortatio ad Græcos.

[4] Παιδαγωγός.

[5] "Στρωματεῖς, *Stromata*, or pieces of tapestry, which, when curiously woven, and in divers colours, present an apt picture of such miscellaneous composition" (Schaff).

[6] Schaff, *ibid.*

[7] This work is a commentary on Mark x. 17, foll., under the title, Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος; *Quis dives salvus*, or *salvetur?* It combines the spirit of self-denial and liberality.

a song of praise to the divine Word.[1] The whole teaching of the Alexandrian school was based on the exposition of Scripture; and Clement wrote a condensed survey of the contents of the Old and New Testaments, under the title of *Hypotyposes*,[2] which is unfortunately lost. But the few fragments of the work confirm what the very title suggests, that the exegesis of Clement was cast in the same fantastic allegorical mould as that of Origen, which will claim our notice presently.[3] Other lost works of Clement were, a Treatise on Prophecy, against the Montanists, and another on the Passover, directed against the Judaizing practice that prevailed in Asia Minor.[4]

§ 4. The greatest name of the Eastern Church, in this and perhaps in any other age, is that of ORIGENES (commonly called ORIGEN) surnamed ADAMANTIUS[5] for his iron industry and his ascetic life. The most eminent of Christian teachers since the days of the Apostles, the most laborious of Christian writers perhaps in any age, he had to bear the opposition of the powers in the Church as well as persecution from the rulers of the State; his body was mangled by the one, while by the other his name was branded with heresy, and his soul doomed to perdition: but his fame survives for all time as the father of that biblical criticism which is the scientific foundation of Christian truth.

Origen was one of the earliest of the great Christian teachers (for orthodox canons have denied him the name of "Father") who were born of Christian parents and baptized in infancy. He was born at Alexandria in the year 185, during the respite which Commodus granted to the Church from the Aurelian persecution. His father

[1] The hymn occurs in the *Pædagog.* iii. 12 (p. 311, Potter). It is printed in Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnologicus* (vol. iii. p. 5), and has been frequently translated into German and English.

[2] Ὑποτυπώσεις, *Adumbrationes*. See Photius, *Biblioth.* 109. Bunsen supposes that parts of the *Hypotyposes* are preserved in the so-called 8th book which has been added to the *Stromata*, and in the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* (*Analecta Antenicæna*, vol. i.; Robertson, vol. i. p. 91).

[3] Canon Robertson (i. p. 110) points out the distinction that Clement spoke with fear of divulging his mystical interpretations, and gave them as traditional, but Origen's are offered merely as the offspring of his own mind.

[4] Editions of Clement's works: Clementis Alex. Opera omnia, Gr. et Lat., ed. Joh. Potter (Bishop of Oxford, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), Oxon. 1715, 2 vols.; reprinted Venet. 1757. The small edition of Klotz, Leipz. 1831–4, 4 vols., is very incorrect.

[5] Ἀδαμάντιος, also Χαλκέντερος, i.e. *with bowels of brass*. The name Ὠριγένης, "sprung from Horus," seems to point to a native Egyptian extraction, and perhaps to a descent from the priestly caste. The name has been taken for a sign that Leonides was not converted when his son was born; but names were then given without reference to their significance, just as we still use names of heathen origin, both classical and Teutonic.

Leonides, who seems to have been a rhetorician, taught him both secular and sacred learning; and the daily learning by heart of a portion of the Bible at once prepared him for his future special work, and supplied a check on the faults by which that work was marred. Already as a child he began to put questions to his father about the deeper sense of Scripture, which Leonides reproved as a curiosity unsuited to his years, while he thanked God for his son's rare gifts, and often, as the child slept, kissed his breast with reverence, as a temple of the Holy Ghost.[1] Origen attended the lessons of Clement in the catechetical school, with Alexander, who was afterwards his protector as Bishop of Jerusalem.

In A.D. 202 the persecution of Septimius Severus fell with special fury upon Alexandria, as a seat of Jewish fanaticism (see Chap. V., § 1). Leonides suffered martyrdom, and Origen would have offered himself to death, but his mother frustrated his zeal by hiding his clothes. He wrote a fervent letter to his father in prison, exhorting him not to be shaken in his constancy by regard for the wife and seven children whom the forfeiture of his property left destitute. Origen, the eldest of the seven, was taken for a time into the house of a wealthy matron, and he then supported himself, and helped his family, by giving lessons in Greek literature and by copying manuscripts.

§ 5. Though Origen was now but eighteen years old, the fame of his learning caused him to be sought as a teacher by some educated heathens, who desired Christian instruction. His teaching marked him as the fit person to restore the school which had been broken up by the flight of Clement; and he was appointed as its head by the bishop Demetrius, his later enemy. When some of his earliest pupils were martyred, Origen stood by to strengthen them, and was himself maltreated by the populace. He pursued his work in the spirit of ascetic self-denial, supported by that literal acceptance of Christian precepts, which his simple faith combined with the widest range of speculative interpretation. In order to teach without fees—according to the command, "Freely ye have received, freely give"—he sold a collection of valuable manuscripts for a pension of four obols (about $6\frac{1}{2}d.$) a day, which he made enough to live on. He drank no wine and seldom ate flesh, had but one coat, and no shoes to his feet; and the bare floor was his bed for that small part of the night which was not given to study and prayer. His strangest act of obedience to the letter of Scripture is explained, not only by the desire for supernatural purity, but as a safeguard against the temptations and scandal which might arise from the presence of many female pupils in his school; and thus he "made

[1] Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 2, the chief authority for Origen's life.

himself an eunuch for the kingdom of heaven's sake."[1] When the act, which Origen endeavoured to conceal, became known to Demetrius, the bishop at first commended the zeal which he afterwards made the ground of censure and clerical disability.

§ 6. Whatever may have been the case before, the catechetical school became under Origen a seminary of secular as well as sacred learning. We are expressly told that he lectured on *Grammar*—a term then (as in the old days of our own schools and universities) equivalent, according to its literal sense, to *letters*, the whole culture of literature. In pursuit of this learning, Jews, heathens, and Gnostic heretics frequented the school, and were led to embrace the Gospel.[2] To qualify himself the better for this wide range of teaching, Origen pursued a fresh course of study in heathen literature and philosophy, and became a hearer of Ammonius Saccas. To that teacher's influence we may certainly trace the large development of Origen's natural leaning to speculative thought and allegorical interpretation. To see the divinely implanted germs of truth and goodness in the universal mind and heart of man; to trace the inspiration of the divine Word in those words which embody the best thoughts and feelings of every age; and to discover in the successive revelations of God's will meanings which should include the whole mysteries of the natural and spiritual creation, their source, their purpose, and their final end;—such was the aim of Origen's philosophy, and the spirit which guided his interpretation of Scripture. Both for good and evil—for the result shows a wonderful mixture of the two—this contact of the most earnest Christian study with Neo-Platonism is one of the most momentous facts in the history of Christian doctrine.

§ 7. The respite from persecution under Caracalla enabled Origen to visit Rome, where, probably, he heard the preaching of Hippolitus (A.D. 211).[3] Returning to the school at Alexandria, he devoted himself to the training of those who could follow him into the depths of interpretation, leaving the instruction of the less advanced classes to his pupil Heraclas. In short, he seems now to have given himself more entirely to those biblical studies which made his lasting work and fame. He sought the fountain-head of scriptural knowledge in the study of Hebrew, which had been much neglected by the Christian teachers at Alexandria. To Origen it was especially attractive for the mysteries which he found in Old Testament names.[4]

[1] Matt. xix. 12; Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 14. The rule of the Church, which Demetrius afterwards enforced against Origen, seems to prove that his was no solitary case of this fanaticism. Origen himself (in his Commentary on Matthew) condemns the act as an example of the too literal interpretation of Scripture. [2] Euseb. *l. c.* [3] See below, § 15. [4] Hieron. *Vir. Illust.* 54.

To his vast literary labours for the settlement and exposition of the sacred text Origen is said to have been urged on by Ambrose, a rich man whom his teaching had converted from Gnosticism, and who devoted his wealth to his master's great work. Ambrose furnished Origen with a costly library, seven short-hand writers[1] to take down his lectures and dictations, and a number of copyists (some of whom were young Christian women) to transcribe the great work, which was the first complete exposition of the whole Bible, all previous commentaries having been confined to separate books.[2]

§ 8. Origen was more than once called from his post by high personages, who sought his instruction. Julia Mamæa, the mother of Alexander Severus, invited him to Antioch, that she might confer with him upon religion.[3] Some years earlier he had been sent for by the Roman governor of Arabia (as it seems), for a like purpose.[4] Shortly afterwards, he was driven from Alexandria by one of the massacres which were not unfrequent in that turbulent city.[5] But the seeds of a greater trouble were sown by the very welcome he received in Palestine from his old fellow-student, Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, and from Theoctistus, Bishop of Cæsarea. They desired Origen, who was not yet ordained, to preach in their churches; and, though they showed examples of a layman preaching with the sanction and in the presence of a bishop, Demetrius, the Bishop of Alexandria, summoned Origen back in anger. Some years later the breach became complete. Origen, having been invited to Greece to confute some heretics who were troubling the churches, passed again through Palestine, and was there ordained a presbyter, at the age of 43, by the same Bishops o Jerusalem and Cæsarea (A.D. 228).[6]

[1] Photius describes them as ταχύγραφοι, which means *literally* only swift writers (or rather, writers on a swift method); but we have other evidence of the ancient use of stenographic abbreviations. The *transcribers* are called γράφοντες εἰς τὸ κάλλος, a phrase implying that exquisite regard for calligraphy in the earliest MSS. of the Bible, for which the critic has still to be thankful.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 23.

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 21. Some writers place this visit in A.D. 217 or 218, before Alexander was emperor; others after his accession. Clinton's date is A.D. 226.

[4] Euseb. *H.E.* vi. 19 : παρὰ τοῦ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἡγουμένου : but some suppose this personage to have been a native prince. Clinton places the visit in A.D. 215.

[5] See Gibbon, vol. i. p. 144.

[6] Euseb. *H.E.* vi. 23. "In explanation of this it has been supposed that the bishops wished him to address their flocks, as on the former visit; that Origen reminded them of the objections then made by Demetrius; that by way of guarding against further complaints, they offered to ordain him; and that he accepted the offer, in the belief that Demetrius, though determined not to raise him to the presbyterate, like his predecessors, Pantænus and Clement, would allow him to rank among the Alexandrian

Upon this, Demetrius not only remonstrated, but informed the bishops of the rash act of self-mutilation by which Origen was disqualified for ordination. The conduct of Demetrius is plainly ascribed by Jerome to envy of Origen's genius and fame; and even the bishop's defenders admit his unjustifiable violence and harshness. Besides the irregularity of his ordination, Origen was charged with corrupting Christianity by foreign speculations. His two years' absence would of course strengthen his adversaries—"the absent are always in the wrong"—and, on his return from the successful accomplishment of his mission to restore peace in the Greek churches, he found none for himself at home (230). His withdrawal to Cæsarea was followed by two synods, summoned by Demetrius, which deposed him from his offices of catechist and presbyter, and excommunicated him as a heretic (A.D. 231-232). As the decision of one church, in such cases, was usually accepted by the rest, the sentence was ratified at Rome and through the West; but it was rejected by the churches where Origen was better known and valued, in Palestine, Arabia, Phœnicia, and Achaia.[1] Though Demetrius died a year later (A.D. 233), and was succeeded by Origen's pupil, Heraclas, the sentence was not only left to stand, but there is even a story that, on Origen's revisiting Alexandria, the unsoundness of his teaching obliged the bishop to eject him.[2]

§ 9. Origen himself bore the persecution with Christian meekness, writing thus of his adversaries: "We must pity them rather than hate them; pray for them rather than curse them; for we are made for blessing, and not for cursing." Under the protection of the friendly bishops of Palestine, he pursued his studies and gave instruction as an independent teacher at Cæsarea, where there was no established school like that of Alexandria. Among the many heathens who attended his lectures and became his converts, was Theodore, a native of Pontus, who took at his baptism the name of Gregory, and laboured with such success, as Bishop of Neocæsarea in Pontus, that he was said to have found there only seventeen Christians and to have left at his death only seventeen heathens. From the miracles attributed to him, Gregory is famous in ecclesiastical

presbyters, if the order were conferred on him elsewhere by bishops of eminent station and character." (Robertson, vol. i. p. 105). The state of Origen is pronounced a bar to ordination by one of the so-called *Apostolic Canons* (Can. 21; Hard. i. 13), and it was afterwards condemned by the first Nicene Canon; but it may be doubted whether such a canon yet existed, at least as a written rule, and, even if it did, whether it was known to Origen.

[1] Phot. *Biblioth. Cod.* 118; Hieron. *Epist.* 33.

[2] Photius, cited by Fontani, *Novæ Eruditorum Deliciæ*, i. 69–73, Florent. 1785. Robertson, vol. i. p. 106.

literature by the surname of *Thaumaturgus*, the "wonder-worker."[1]

After five or six years of such labour at Cæsarea, Origen sought refuge from the persecution of Maximin with his pupil, Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia (about 236). When the persecution reached that city, he was sheltered in the house of a rich Christian maiden, named Juliana; and there Origen found a new treasure for his biblical work in the Greek version of the Old Testament by Symmachus, an Ebionite, whose library had come by inheritance to Juliana.[2]

On the death of Maximin (238), Origen returned to his home in Palestine, after paying a visit to Greece. His religious counsel was sought by the Emperor Philip and his wife, with whom Origen exchanged letters. Though he had been driven out as a heretic, he was invited to a synod held at Bostra in Arabia, to judge the heresy of Beryllus, the bishop of that city, whom the synod could only condemn, while Origen convinced and reclaimed him.[3] All this time he was steadily prosecuting his great biblical work, a large part of which was written during his journeys, besides many other tracts and treatises.

§ 10. In the furious persecution of Decius, Origen's stedfast friend Alexander of Jerusalem suffered martyrdom, and he himself was thrown into prison, cruelly tortured, and condemned to the stake. The fall of the emperor in battle restored Origen to life and liberty (A.D. 251), but with his emaciated body so shattered by his cruel sufferings, that he died a few years later at Tyre, about the age of sixty-nine,[4] obtaining the honours of a confessor, and almost of a martyr. But the opinions, for which he was branded with heresy while he lived, were solemnly condemned by a local council at Constantinople, in A.D. 544, after a long "Origenist Controversy," which proved his abiding influence in the churches of Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor. The Church of Rome has refused to him, as to his great contemporaries, Clement and Tertullian, the titles of Saint and Father; but her best divines have shown deep respect for the sincerity and modesty with which he put forth the views which he honestly deduced from Scripture, in an age when the standard of Church doctrine was still far from definite on all points—an age when, it has been well said,

[1] Gregory wrote a *Panegyric of Origen*, and his own life was written by his namesake, Gregory of Nyssa.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 17.

[3] Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 33; Hieron. *Vir. Illust.* 60. For another instance, in which he was summoned to combat the opinions of an Arabian sect of heretics, see Euseb. vi. 37.

[4] Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 39; vii. 1. His death is placed variously from A.D. 253 to 256. Clinton's date is A.D. 254.

"such a man might hold heretical opinions without being a heretic." His character is thus summed up by Professor Schaff:[1]—

"Origen was the greatest scholar of his age, and the most learned and genial of all the ante-Nicene Fathers. Even heathens and heretics admired or feared his brilliant talents. His knowledge embraced all departments of the philology, philosophy, and theology of his day. With this he united profound and fertile thought, keen penetration, and glowing imagination. As a true divine, he consecrated all his studies by prayer, and turned them, according to his best convictions, to the service of truth and piety. He was a guide from the heathen philosophy and the heretical Gnosis to the Christian Faith. He exerted an immeasurable influence in stimulating the development of the Catholic theology and forming the great Nicene Fathers, Athanasius, Basil, the two Gregories, Hilary and Ambrose, who, consequently, in spite of all his deviations, set great value on his services. But his leaning to idealism, his predilection for Plato, and his noble effort to reconcile Christianity with reason, and to commend it even to educated heathens and Gnostics, led him into many grand and fascinating errors. Among these are his extremely ascetic and almost Docetic conception of corporeity, his doctrine of the pre-existence and pre-temporal fall of souls, of eternal creation, of the extension of the work of redemption to the inhabitants of the stars and to all creatures, and of the final restoration of all men and angels, including Satan himself. Also in regard to the dogma of the divinity of Christ, though he powerfully supported it, and was the first to teach expressly the eternal generation of the Son, yet he may be almost as justly considered a forerunner of the Arian *heterousion*, or at least of the semi-Arian *homoiousion*, as of the Athanasian *homoousion*."[2]

§ 11. But his errors of opinion are altogether insignificant in comparison with his one great service as the founder of a scientific treatment and exegesis of the sacred text. As his pupil Gregory Thaumaturgus said, "He had received from God the greatest gift, to be an interpreter of the Word of God to man." This praise is justified by Origen's comprehensive and systematic exposition of the whole Bible, in spite of his errors in the two opposite extremes, now of a capricious fancy for mystic and allegorical senses, and

[1] Vol. i. p. 505, with some abbreviations. Schaff draws a close parallel between Origen and Schleiermacher, as deeply Christian, though unorthodox, philosophers and teachers.

[2] Such a *tendency* (at least) cannot be denied; yet, when the Arians claimed Origen as their forerunner, Athanasius spoke of him with respect, explained his language, and vindicated him from misconstruction. (Robertson, vol. i. p. 110.)

again, of a carnal literalism in support of his ascetic standard of morality; in spite also of the errors involved, at least in the universal application of his principle, that Scripture has a threefold sense, the *literal*, the *moral*, and the *mystical*, answering respectively to the body, soul, and spirit in man.[1] Of these three, he gave to the literal sense the lowest and least essential place, as the usual, but not indispensable, and often even the unreal, vehicle of the other two. "As at the marriage of Cana some waterpots contained two firkins, and some three, so (he taught) Scripture, in every jot and tittle, has the moral and the mystical senses, and in most parts it has the literal sense also.[2] The Holy Spirit, it was said, made use of the literal history where it was suitable for conveying the mystic sense; where this was not the case, He invented the story with a view to that purpose; and in the Law, while He laid down some things to be literally observed, other precepts were in their letter impossible or absurd. Thus, much of the letter of Scripture was rejected; but such passages, both in the Old and in the New Testament, were, according to Origen, set by the Holy Spirit as stumbling-blocks in the way, that the discerning reader, by seeing the insufficiency of the letter, might be incited to seek after the understanding of their spiritual meaning.[2] Such portions of Scripture were not the less divine for their 'mean and despicable form;' it was the fault of human weakness if men would not penetrate through this veil to the treasure which was hidden below. As, therefore, Origen denounced the Gnostic impiety of supposing the various parts of the Bible to have come from different sources, so he held it no less necessary to guard against the error of many Christians, who, while they acknowledged the same God in the Old and in the New Testament, yet ascribed to Him actions unworthy of the most cruel and unjust of men. It was (he said) through a carnal understanding of the letter that the Jews were led to crucify our Lord, and still to continue in their unbelief. Those who would insist on the letter were like the Philistines, who filled up with earth the wells which Abraham's servants had digged; the mystical interpreter was, like Isaac, to open the wells. In justice to Origen, we must remember that the literal system of interpretation, as understood in his day, was something very different from the grammatical and historical exposition of modern times. It made no attempt to overcome difficulties or to harmonize seeming discrepancies; and, when applied to the explanation of prophecy, it embarrassed the advocates of orthodox Christianity, and gave great advantages to their opponents. To get rid of it was therefore desirable, with a view to the

[1] *De Principiis*, iv. 11; *in Levitic.* Hom. v. 5.
[2] *De Princip.* iv. 12, 20; *in Exod.* Hom. i. 4. [3] *De Princip.* iv. 15–18.

controversies with Jews and Montanists. . . . . The literal sense might be understood by any attentive reader; the moral required higher intelligence; the mystical was only to be apprehended through the grace of the Holy Spirit, which was to be obtained by prayer; nor did Origen himself pretend to possess this grace in such a degree as would entitle him to claim any authority for his comments.

"Of the mystical sense he held that there were two kinds,—the *allegorical*, where the Old Testament prefigured the history of Christ and His Church, and the *analogical*, where the narrative typified the things of a higher world. For, as St. Paul speaks of a 'Jerusalem which is above,' Origen held the existence of a spiritual world, in which everything of this earth has its antitype. And thus passages of Scripture, which in their letter he supposed to be fictitious, were to be regarded as shadowing forth realities of the higher world which earthly things could not sufficiently typify."[1]

§ 12. Origen's literary work embraced not only Scripture criticism and exposition, but all the theology of his day; and its amount was marvellous. Jerome says that he wrote more than other men could; and his opponent Epiphanius states the number of his works at 6000, doubtless reckoning separately all his tracts, homilies, and letters. Many of his lectures were published (as in later ages) by reporters on their own account, and even against his will. Besides his works in Greek, several are extant only in a Latin version, amended and interpolated in favour of orthodoxy. They may be described under the following heads:

I. First in number and value are the BIBLICAL works, which are *critical*, *exegetical*, and *hortatory*. 1. At the head of these stands the first *Polyglott Bible* ever compiled, called, from the number of the parallel texts, *Hexapla* (*τὰ ἑξαπλᾶ sc. βίβλια*), that is, "sixfold." Origen undertook this great work, not in the purely scientific spirit of modern textual critics, but with the practical object of maintaining the authority of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament against the Jews, who had disparaged this ancient standard of their own since its adoption by the Christians, and set up later versions against it. These later versions were shown in parallel columns beside the Septuagint and the original, thus:

[1] Robertson, vol. i. pp. 108–110. There is manifestly much truth in the charge, that Origen's principles of exposition, though put forth by himself in a devout spirit and with many cautions and safeguards as to their application, have a tendency to subvert belief in the historical truth of Scripture. But a true judgment can only be formed by the study of his own writings, with special regard to the sense in which he uses the terms *literal* and *fictitious*. This book is meant as an introduction to, not a substitute for, such study of Christian antiquity.

(Col. 1). The *Hebrew text*. (2). The same in *Greek letters*. (3). The LXX. (4). The Greek version of *Aquila*. (5). That of *Symmachus*. (6). That of *Theodotion*.[1] Other copies, without the two columns of the Hebrew text, were called *Tetrapla* (τὰ τετραπλᾶ), "fourfold;" and others, in which Origen added portions of two or three imperfect anonymous versions, were called *Octapla* (τὰ ὀκταπλᾶ), "eightfold."

Origen was engaged on the work for twenty-eight years; and it was only finished shortly before his death.[2] The great collection was laid up in the Library at Cæsarea, and it was still used in Jerome's time. The part containing the LXX. was transcribed by Pamphilus, Eusebius, and others, and this became the standard recension of the Greek Old Testament; and copies were made of the other Greek versions. But no transcript seems to have been made of the *Hexapla* as a whole; and we possess only some fragments of the great work, which appears to have perished in the burning of the great Library of Cæsarea by the Saracens in 653.[3] The great *Complutensian Polyglott* of Cardinal Ximenes, and the *Polyglott* of our countryman Walton, apply the arrangement of the Hexapla to a greater variety of versions; and from them we can form some idea of what must have been Origen's labour when printing was unknown.[4]

2. Origen's *Exegetical* works consisted of expositions of almost all the books of the Old and New Testaments, in the threefold form of *Scholia* (σημειώσεις), or short notes on difficult passages for beginners; *Commentaries* (τόμοι), or whole books explained for higher study; and *Homilies* (ὁμιλίαι), or practical applications of Scripture

[1] The history, description, and critical estimate of these versions belongs to the province of biblical criticism. (See the article "Versions" in the *Dictionary of the Bible*.) To aid the comparison, Origen marked the words and phrases, in which the later versions differed from the LXX. by the sign of an *asterisk* (※) and *obelos* (÷).

[2] It is to be observed that, even when all the three minor versions appear, making nine columns, the work is still called τὰ ὀκταπλᾶ, never ἐννεαπλᾶ.

[3] This carries back its beginning to between A.D. 225 and 230, while Origen was still at Alexandria. It should have been said that the death of his friend Ambrose deprived Origen of his aid for the work, besides reducing him to poverty in his later years.

[4] The most complete edition of these fragments is that of the learned Benedictine, Montfaucon, *Hexaplorum Origenis quæ supersunt*, Paris, 1714, 2 vols. fol. A new edition, by Mr. Field, has lately issued from the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2 vols. 4to. 1875.

[5] Closely connected with Origen's biblical labours is the *Lexicon of Hebrew Names* of PHILO JUDÆUS (*Hebraicorum Nominum S. Scripturæ et Mensurarum interpretatio*), which Origen revised, and enlarged by the addition of the New Testament names. When Origen's name fell under the ban of heresy, that of Cyril of Alexandria was prefixed in some MSS. to this work, which we possess in a Latin translation by Jerome.

for the congregation. The *Scholia* are entirely lost; we have many of the *Commentaries* in the original Greek; but the *Homilies*, which would have been most interesting for the history of pulpit oratory, are only extant in part in the greatly altered translations of Jerome and Rufinus.

II. Of Origen's *Apologetic* and *Polemical* writings we possess only one, his *Answer to Celsus*,[1] in eight books; but this is among the best, both of Origen's works, and of the whole mass of Christian apologetic literature. It was written towards the close of his life, when the reign of the emperor Philip held out a hope of the public recognition of Christianity (about A.D. 249).[2] We have the book in the original, besides large extracts in the work entitled *Philocalia* (Φιλοκαλία) a sort of 'Elegant Extracts,' compiled by Basil the Great and Gregory Nazianzen, chiefly from the writings of Origen.[3] The great mass of *polemical* works, which Origen wrote against heretics, are wholly lost.

III. Of Origen's *Dogmatic* writings we only possess the inaccurate translation by Rufinus[4] of the work on the First Principles of the Christian Faith, commonly called *De Principiis* (περὶ ἀρχῶν), the earliest attempt in Christian literature towards a complete exposition of religious doctrines. It was written at Alexandria in his earlier years,[5] and exhibits the Platonic and semi-Gnostic views for which he was charged with heresy. It is most necessary to remember that the work was a juvenile production, and that many views put forth in it were retracted by Origen in later years. It was divided into four books: the first treats of God, of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit; of the Fall, of rational natures and their final restoration to happiness; of corporeal and incorporeal beings, and of angels. The second book treats of the world and the things in it, of the identity of the God of the Old Dispensation and of the New, of the incarnation of Christ, of the resurrection, and of the punishment of the wicked. The third book treats of the freedom of the will, of the agency of Satan, of the temptations of man, of the origin of the world in time, and of its end; the fourth, of the

[1] Κατὰ Κέλσου τόμοι η', *Contra Celsum Libr. VIII.*, first printed in the Latin version of Christophorus Persona, Rome, 1481, fol., and in Greek by David Haeschelius, 4to. Augsb. 1605.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 36.

[3] The *Philocalia*, in twenty-seven books, is often wrongly reckoned as Origen's own work. It was first printed in Latin in the edition of Origen by Gilbertus Genebrardus, Paris, 1754, and in Greek by Joannes Tarinus, 4to. Paris, 1618.

[4] But some important extracts from the original Greek are preserved in the *Philocalia* and elsewhere. Respecting the wilful unfaithfulness of Rufinus's version, see the next paragraph.

[5] Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 24.

divine origin of the Holy Scriptures, and the proper way to study them. This outline shows the comprehensive scheme framed by Origen, thus early in the third century, of those deep subjects of enquiry, which have ever since formed the sphere and the battle-ground of dogmatic theology.

The discussion of Origen's theological views would be out of place here; and any attempt even to state them would be unsatisfactory: they must be read in the book itself. But from the strictly historical point of view, we must mark the fact, that this first attempt to frame a theological system caused an outbreak of controversy and charges of heresy. In the next generation, Marcellus of Ancyra traced the errors of Origen to the influence of Greek philosophy, and especially of Plato. Eusebius[1] replied by denying Origen's Platonism, and Pamphilus defended Origen's orthodoxy in a special treatise.[2] Didymus of Alexandria wrote *Scholia* upon the *De Principiis*, to repel the charge which fathered Arianism upon Origen; but, when the orthodox view on the question of the Trinity was more strictly defined, Rufinus abandoned this ground, and excluded the passages objected to from his translation, as being interpolations made by heretics, while he is said to have rather exaggerated the questionable views of Origen as to other doctrines.[3] Jerome therefore made a new and more exact translation, with the twofold purpose (as he himself tells us) of exposing both the heterodoxy of the writer and the unfaithfulness of the translator.[4] All this shows how imperfectly Origen's opinions can be judged from the version of Rufinus.

Among the lost theological works of Origen was a juvenile essay *On the Resurrection*, quoted by himself in the *De Principiis* and by other writers; and a treatise on *Free Will*, mentioned in his Commentary on the Romans. His ten books of *Stromata* (Στρωματεῖς, Στρωμάτεων λόγοι ι') in imitation of the work of Clement, were philosophical, doctrinal, exegetical, and miscellaneous.

IV. Of his extant *Practical* works, the most important are the treatise *On Prayer* (Περὶ Εὐχῆς, *De Oratione*),[5] and the *Exhortation to Martyrdom*,[6] addressed to his friend Ambrose and to Protoctetus of Cæsarea, during the persecution of Maximin (A.D. 235–238).

[1] *Contra Marcellum.* [2] *Apologia pro Origene.*

[3] Hieron. *c. Rufin.* i. 7. Tillemont observes that Rufinus might have spared himself the alteration, had he known how much less we should care about his views than those of the original.

[4] Only a few fragments of Jerome's version are extant.

[5] The *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer* (Σχόλια εἰς εὐχὴν κυριακήν) is ranked by the Benedictine editors among the works wrongly ascribed to Origen.

[6] Εἰς μαρτύριον προτρεπτικὸς λόγος, *Exhortatio ad Martyrium*, or Περὶ μαρτυρίου, *De Martyrio.*

V. Of his *Letters*, of which Eusebius collected all that he could find, to the number of above 100, we possess only a few entire, and some fragments.[1]

VI. Two important works have been wrongly ascribed to Origen: 1. A *Dialogue against the Marcionites* was accepted as his within a century after his death, apparently through a confusion of the name of the chief speaker (and probably the author), *Adamantius*, with the title given to Origen.

2. The *Philosophumena*, formerly included among the works of Origen, in spite of decisive internal evidence,[2] is known from a recent discovery to be the work of Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus (see below, § 16).

§ 13. The Greek churches of the third century possessed several eminent teachers, the disciples or followers of Origen, who are classed with him in the Alexandrian school. Such were his pupil and successor HERACLAS (spoken of above), who like his master studied under Ammonius Saccas, and died Bishop of Alexandria in A.D. 248; and his other successors in the catechetical school, PIERIUS (called "the younger Origen") and THEOGNOSTUS.[3] But the most eminent, rather in doctrine than exegesis, was DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, surnamed the Great, a rhetorician converted by Origen, and successively catechist (233) and Bishop of Alexandria (248–265, when he died), in which office he wrote to comfort Origen under his sufferings as a confessor. Dionysius was eminent for the moderate and conciliatory part he took in all the great controversies of the age; and he carefully studied the writings of the heretics that he might be the better fitted to reclaim them. Valuable fragments of his numerous writings are preserved by Eusebius and Athanasius.[4] GREGORIUS THAUMATURGUS (already spoken of) was Bishop of Neocæsarea in Pontus from 244 to his death in 270. It was in the

[1] The most important editions of Origen's collected works are—(1) The beginning of a projected complete edition by Huet (afterwards Bishop of Avranches), *Origenis Opera Exegetica*, Rouen, 1668, 2 vols. fol., with a valuable dissertation on Origen's Life, Works, and Opinions, entitled *Origeniana*; (2) The standard edition by the Benedictines Delarue (uncle and nephew), Paris, 1733–1759, 4 vols. fol.; (3) A reprint from Delarue's edition, without notes, by Oberthür, Würzburg, 1785 and foll., 15 vols. 8vo.; (4) Another reprint by Lammatzsch, Berlin, 1831–46, 24 vols. 8vo.; (5) Additions from MSS. discovered subsequently are printed in Gallandi's *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and Cardinal Mai's *Script. Vet. Nova Collectio*, Rome, 1825, &c., and *Class. Auct. e Vatican. Codd. edit.* Romæ, 1837.

[2] In the *Proœmium*, the author claims the dignity of a bishop, which Origen never held. The arguments in defence of Origen's authorship by Jac. Gronovius, who first printed the work (in his *Thesaurus Antiq. Græc.* vol. x. pp. 249, *seqq.*) are now quite out of date. [3] Euseb. *H.E.* vii. 32.

[4] Printed in Gallandi's *Biblioth. Patr.* vol. iii. pp. 481, *seqq.*

6th century that he was first made a worker of miracles, like those of Moses, for the conversion of the heathen.

The worthiest follower of Origen's exegetical labours was PAMPHILUS, a presbyter of Cæsarea in Palestine. In that city, where Origen had taught during his last years, Pamphilus founded a school which rivalled that of Alexandria, and he collected the earliest great Christian library (though its nucleus may have been formed by Origen), which supplied the materials of study to Eusebius, Jerome, and other lights of Christian learning.[1] His gratuitous distribution of the Bible proved him equally zealous to enlighten the unlearned. He died a martyr in the last great persecution (309), having begun in his prison the *Defence of Origen*, which was completed by his friend, Eusebius,[2] with whose aid, also, Pamphilus transcribed the LXX. version from Origen's Hexapla. The close union of these friends is commemorated by the surname borne by the famous survivor, EUSEBIUS PAMPHILI.

Another follower of Origen in the same field was HESYCHIUS, an Egyptian bishop, martyred in 311, who led the way in the critical discussion of the Septuagint text; for such discussion had formed no part of Origen's labours, though his work brought together the materials.

Among the doctrinal adversaries of Origen in this century (for the opposition of Demetrius must be regarded as personal) was METHODIUS, Bishop of Tyre, martyred in or before the year 311. He showed learning and ability in attacking Origen's views of the creation and the resurrection of the body, in three dialogues.[3] He adopted also the title, as well as the form, of a famous work of Plato, in his *Banquet of the Virgins*,[4] an inflated and not always delicate eulogy of virginity. Methodius also wrote the earliest reply to Porphyry; but this is lost.

[1] A library of smaller extent was founded at Jerusalem by Origen's friend, the bishop Alexander. (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 20.)

[2] Only the first six books are extant. (For Eusebius, see Ch. XII. § 22.)

[3] Περὶ τοῦ αὐτεξουσίου, *De libero Arbitrio*; περὶ τῶν γενετῶν, *De Creatis*; περὶ Ἀναστάσεως, *De Resurrectione*.

[4] Συμπόσιον τῶν δέκα παρθένων περὶ ἁγνείας. This work is still extant, and fragments of it and of the other dialogues are preserved by Epiphanius and Photius. Eusebius does not deign to mention this opponent of Origen. The remains of Methodius are printed by Combefisius, Par. 1644, fol.; in Gallandi's *Biblioth. Patr.* iii. 670–832, and Mai's *Nova Collectio* VII. i. 49, 92, 102. Some writers reckoned to the Alexandrian school, in a wider sense, are: ANATOLIUS, Bishop of Laodicea in Syria (from A.D. 270), one of the earliest Christian teachers of the Aristotelian philosophy (Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 32); ALEXANDER, Bishop of Lycopolis in Egypt (about 280), one of the earliest opponents of Manicheism (in his Πρὸς τὰς Μανιχαίου δόξας, Combefis. ii. 3; Galland. iv. 73); and HIERAX (or Hieracas), of Leontopolis in Egypt, between the third and fourth centuries, whom Epiphanius reckons as a Manichean—a singular phenomenon of varied learning, allegorical exegesis, and eccentric asceticism. (Epiphan. *Hæres.* 67: Schaff, vol. i. p. 510.)

II.—GREEK WRITERS OF THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH.

§ 14. The divines of the Eastern Church, who are classed as the *School of Antioch*, exhibit a marked distinction from the theology and exegetical methods of the Alexandrian school. To this school belongs SEXTUS JULIUS AFRICANUS, an older friend of Origen (probably a presbyter (though late writers say bishop) of Emmaus (Nicopolis) in Palestine (ob. A.D. 232).[1] Africanus travelled to Alexandria, and attended the lectures of Heraclas. He is classed with Clement and Origen,[2] and was esteemed the most learned of the early Christian writers. His knowledge of Hebrew may be inferred from his letter to Origen against the authority of the Book of Susannah, which is still extant, with Origen's answer in defence of the book. We have also some extracts of his letter to Aristides on the genealogies of Christ in Matthew and Luke;[3] but the rest of his highly esteemed Scripture criticisms are lost. He is still famous as the compiler of the first of those chronological works by which Christian scholars aimed at exhibiting the annals of the world in a connected series, parallel with the Scripture history. His *Five Books of Chronology*, from the Creation, which he placed at B.C. 5499, to the fourth year of Elagabalus (A.D. 221), formed the basis of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius.[4] There is also attributed to Africanus a sort of commonplace book of his varied learning on all manner of subjects, to which he gave the fanciful title of Κεστοί (*Cesti*), "Embroidered Girdles," from Homer's famous *cestus* of Aphrodite, in imitation of the *Stromata* of Clement and Origen. Extracts from it have been published, relating to mathematics, agriculture, and the art of war; and other parts are said to exist in manuscript. Such an example proves that the time had come when the widest range of knowledge was embraced in the studies of Christian teachers.

The school of Antioch is considered to have received its final distinctive character from the presbyters DOROTHEUS (died about A.D. 290) and LUCIAN (martyred A.D. 311): the latter prepared a critical edition of the Septuagint, and perhaps also of the Greek Testament. The sober and careful biblical criticism of this school reached its

[1] Jerome names Emmaus as his birthplace (*Vir. Illust.* 63); but Suidas calls him a Libyan. It was through his intercession, as ambassador to Elagabalus, that Emmaus was restored, after being burnt down, and named Nicopolis.

[2] Socrates, *H. E.* ii. 35. [3] Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 23; Phot. *Bibl.* 34.

[4] As the work of Africanus was incorporated with that of Eusebius, it was not preserved as a whole; but many fragments of it are quoted in the *Chronicles* of Syncellus and Cedrenus, and the *Chronicon Paschale*. They are collected in Gallandi's *Bibliotheca* and Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*.

climax in Chrysostom and Theodoret; but the same school produced the heresiarchs Arius and Nestorius.

§ 15. Connected by origin with the school of Antioch, but by his labours with the Western Church, is an eminent writer, whose place in Christian literature, and even his personal identity, have only been established in our own time, though his name is still beset with doubtful questions. The name of HIPPOLYTUS, Bishop of Portus,[1] may be introduced by the words of Professor Schaff:—"The life and labours of Hippolytus had long been shrouded in a mysterious twilight, until a happy literary discovery in 1851 shed clearer light upon them. Hippolytus was undoubtedly one of the most learned and eminent scholars and theologians of his time. The Roman Church placed him in the number of her saints and martyrs, little suspecting that he would come forward in the nineteenth century as an accuser against her."

Hippolytus is first mentioned by Eusebius[2] simply as a bishop; the *Paschal Chronicle* (about 306) adds that his see was the Portus Romanus; while, in an old catalogue of the Popes,[3] he is named as a presbyter. His own statement, in a fragment preserved by Photius, that he was a hearer of Irenæus at Lyon, connects him with that branch of the Eastern Church[4] which was settled in Gaul, and we shall see that his relation to the Roman Church was that of strong antagonism. His zeal for strict discipline in opposition to the laxity of the Roman bishops, Zephyrinus and Callistus, seems to have been the ground of the charge that he followed the heresy of Novatian,[5] who did not appear at Rome till Hippolytus had been dead ten years.

[1] That is, the *Portus Romanus* (now *Porto*), the new port of Rome, at the mouth of the Tiber, opposite to the old port of Ostia. The mention of Hippolytus in connection with Beryllus, Bishop of Bostra (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 50) has led Cave and others into the manifest error of making his see the Arabian Portus Romanus (now *Aden*). [2] *H. E.* vi. 20, 22; Hieron. *Vir. Ill.* 61.

[3] The *Catalogus Liberianus*, about A.D. 354. Perhaps the Roman suburban bishops (*cardinales episcopi*) were also members of the Roman college of presbyters; but another explanation is that he was a schismatic bishop, set up in opposition to Callistus, Bishop of Rome, against whom Hippolytus bears very strong testimony. (Döllinger, *Hippolytos und Kallistos*, pp. 73, 101–4.)

[4] It is stated by Jerome, on the authority of Hippolytus himself, that he had Origen among his hearers when preaching; but this may have been when Origen visited Rome. The assertion of Peter Damiani, Bishop of Ostia in the eleventh century, that Hippolytus was at first a bishop in the neighbourhood of Antioch, his birthplace, whence he removed to Rome, may preserve a true tradition respecting his native country; and this is confirmed by the honours paid to him, as a martyr, in the East. (Pet. Damian. *Epist. ad Nicolaum*, 2.)

[5] So says the Spanish Christian poet, Prudentius (about A.D. 400), adding that Hippolytus, in prospect of death, repented of his schism, and exhorted his followers to return to the Catholic Church. See the poem on his martyrdom in the Περὶ Στεφάνων (*De Coronis*), Hymn ix.

According to the Papal Catalogue quoted above, Hippolytus was banished in the persecution of Maximin (about A.D. 235) to the unhealthy Island of Sardinia, where it seems to be implied that he died. But Prudentius says that he was martyred near Rome, being torn to pieces by wild horses, in mockery of his name and of the fate of his mythical namesake, the son of Theseus.[1] His death at or near Rome, whether preceded by a banishment or not, seems certain, as Prudentius saw there his subterranean grave-chapel, where his martyrdom was represented.

§ 16. We now come to the first of the two modern discoveries which, at an interval of three centuries, have set the memory of Hippolytus in a new light. In 1551, there was dug up, from the ruins of a chapel in the cemetery of the basilica of St. Lawrence (whose name is connected with that of St. Hippolytus in the Martyrologies) a mutilated marble statue, now in the Vatican. It represents a venerable man seated in a chair, and clothed with the Greek pallium and Roman toga. It matters little whether it was carved as a likeness of Hippolytus (a thing highly improbable in that age), or whether it was a statue converted to his honour.[2] The identification is distinctly made by the inscription on the back of the chair of the name of Hippolytus, with his *Paschal Canon* for seven cycles of sixteen years, from the first year of Alexander Severus (222), and a list of his writings. Among these is a treatise *On the All* (Περὶ τοῦ Παντος), which the author of the *Philosophumena* (wrongly ascribed to Origen) refers to as his own work. The inference as to the authorship of the *Philosophumena* has been recently confirmed by a second discovery.

That work, as handed down from ancient times, bore a manifestly imperfect title, which marked it as only the first book of a refutation of all heresies, to which its subject—an account of the system of heathen philosophy—was clearly but an introduction.[3] The

[1] Ἱππόλυτος signifies "torn asunder, or broken to pieces, by horses." We might suspect that the fate of the bishop (in the mouth of a poet) was as much an etymological myth as that of the hero, but the officers of the savage Thracian usurper may have indulged in such a cruel mockery on the martyr's name. In either case, Prudentius may be glancing at a retribution for a schismatic life. Another tradition made his martyrdom by drowning in a ditch, or in a pit full of water, or in the mouth of the Tiber (Pet. Damian. *l. c.*). Hippolytus is enrolled as a saint and martyr in the *Martyrologies* of the Roman, Greek, Coptic and Abyssinian churches.

[2] As to this practice (for example, the adaptation of a statue of, and inscribed to, Apollo, as that of Apollos) see Conyers Middleton's *Letter from Rome.*

[3] The title is Φιλοσοφούμενα, ἢ τοῦ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἐλέγχου, βιβλίον α′ (*Philosophumena*, s. *Adversus omnes Hæreses, Liber primus*). It is easily seen how this book would be preserved as a contribution, complete in itself, to the history of philosophy. It was first published, with a Latin

work as a whole, though still incomplete (for the second and third books are unfortunately lost) was discovered by M. Emmanuel Miller, of Paris, among a treasure of MSS. brought from the Greek convent of Mount Athos in 1842, and it was published at Oxford in 1851.[1] Abundant internal evidence marks this work as the treatise *Against all Heresies*, which the ancient writers ascribe to Hippolytus.[2]

The contents of the work, which is still called *Philosophumena*, though the wider title *Against all Heretics* is more accurate, are thus described by Professor Schaff:—"The *Philosophumena*, at least next to the anti-Gnostic work of Irenæus, is the leading polemical theological production of the ante-Nicene Church, and sheds much new light, not only upon the ancient heresies and the development of the Church doctrine, but also upon the history of philosophy, and the condition of the Roman Church in the beginning of the third century. It furthermore affords valuable testimony to the genuineness of the Gospel of John, both from the mouth of the author himself, and through his quotations from the much earlier Gnostic Basilides, who was a later contemporary of John (about A.D. 125). The *first* of the ten books gives an outline of the heathen philosophies. The *second* and *third* books, which are wanting, treated probably of the heathen mysteries, and mathematical and astrological theories. The *fourth* is occupied likewise with the heathen astrology and magic, which must have exercised great influence, particularly in Rome. In the *fifth* book, the author comes to his proper theme, the refutation of all the heresies from the times of the Apostles to his own. He takes up thirty-two in all, most of which, however, are merely different branches of

translation, and notes vindicating Origen's title to the authorship, by Jac. Gronovius, in his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Græcarum*, vol. x. pp. 249 *et seqq.*

[1] "Φιλοσοφούμενα, ἢ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχος, e. Cod. Parisino, nunc primum edidit Emmanuel Miller, Oxon. 1851." There is a later and improved edition: "Hippolyti Episcopi Refutationis omnium Hæresium Librorum decem quæ supersunt," with a Latin version and notes by Duncker and Schneidewin: Gotting. 1856–59.

[2] The work of Hippolytus, Πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις, *Adversus omnes Hæreses*, is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, and is described by Photius as directed against thirty-two heresies, beginning with the Dositheans, and ending with Noëtus, the contemporary of Hippolytus. The fragments quoted from his various books against particular heresies were probably derived from this great work. The objection, that the *Philosophumena* is not mentioned in the list inscribed on the statue, cannot outweigh the evidence for the authorship of Hippolytus, even though the reply may be scarcely satisfactory, that it is the work "Against the Greeks" named in that list as Πρὸς Ἕλληνας καὶ πρὸς Πλάτωνα, ἢ καὶ περὶ τοῦ παντός. A fragment of his work against the Jews (Ἀποδεικτικὴ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους, *Demonstratio adversus Judæos*) is also extant. It is reasonable to suppose that his apologetic and polemical books were gathered into one work, and received their collective title after the inscription of the list on the statue.

Gnosticism and Ebionism. He simply states the heretical opinions from writings now lost, without introducing his own reflections ; and refers them to the Greek philosophy, mysticism, and magic—thinking them sufficiently refuted by being traced to those heathen sources. The *ninth* book, in refuting the doctrine of the Noëtians and Callistians, makes remarkable disclosures of events in the Roman Church. The *tenth* book, made use of by Theodoret, contains a brief recapitulation and the author's own confession of faith, as a positive refutation of the heresies. The composition falls some years after the death of Callistus ; therefore, between the years 223 and 225."[1]

The autobiographical statements in the ninth book give us the following interesting information about Hippolytus :—"The author appears as one of the most prominent of the clergy in or near Rome in the beginning of the third century ; probably a bishop, since he reckons himself among the successors of the Apostles and the guardians of the doctrines of the Church. He took an active part in all the doctrinal and ritual controversies of his time, but fell into ill savour with the Roman bishops Zephyrinus and Callistus, on account of their Patripassian leanings and their loose penitential discipline. The latter especially, who had given public offence by his former mode of life, he attacked with earnestness and not without passion. He was, therefore, though not exactly a schismatical counter-pope (as Döllinger supposes), yet the head of a disaffected party, orthodox in doctrine, rigorous in discipline, and thus very nearly allied to the Montanists before him, and to the later schism of Novatian.[2] . . . . Hippolytus is rather a learned and judicious compiler, than an original author. In the philosophical parts of his work, he borrows largely from Sextus Empiricus, word for word, without acknowledgment, and in the theological part from Irenæus. In doctrine, he agrees, for the most part, with Irenæus, even to his Chiliasm, but he is not that father's equal in discernment, depth, and moderation. He repudiates philosophy, almost with Tertullian's vehemence, as the source of all heresies ; yet he employs it to establish his own views. On the subject of the Trinity, he assails Monarchianism,[3] and advocates the Hypostasian theory with a zeal which brought down upon him the charge of di-theism."[4] In exegesis, like Origen, he pursued the allegorical method. Judging from the time when he was a hearer of Irenæus, his active life must have extended from the last years of the second century to about B.C. 236.[5]

[1] Schaff, vol. i. p. 494.

[2] Though in this respect quite of the same spirit as Tertullian, he places the Montanists among the heretics, with only a brief notice.

[3] The view, in substance, now called *Unitarian*. [4] Schaff, *l. c.*

[5] On the main questions of the life of Hippolytus and the authorship of

III.—THE WESTERN CHURCH.

LATIN WRITERS OF THE AFRICAN SCHOOL.[1]

§ 17. We have seen that the earliest Fathers of the Western Church were rather of the Greek than the Latin type—Clement of Rome by the language in which he wrote, Irenæus both by his Greek language and his Eastern origin. But at the end of the second century there sprang up a vigorous Latin Christian literature, which, like that of the East in Egypt, had its chief home on the continent of Africa, in the flourishing Roman province specially so called, which had been of old the territory of Carthage. From that city sprang the two great lights of the early Western Church; TERTULLIAN and CYPRIAN, and the succession was afterwards continued in the great Augustine. As Professor Schaff remarks, the literary career of the Western Church begins very characteristically, not with a converted philosopher, but with two vigorous practical lawyers and politicians. It does not gradually unfold itself, but appears at once under a fixed, clear stamp, and with a strong realistic tendency.

TERTULLIAN, or, to give his name in full, Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus, the father of Latin theology, was born about the year 160, at Carthage, where his father was commander of a Roman legion. His works show the fruit of his education, both in Greek and Roman learning, and the training of a forensic advocate, a profession which he seems to have followed either at Rome or Carthage. His "accurate acquaintance with the Roman laws," to which Eusebius testifies, helped to qualify him for his future work as an Apologist.[2]

the *Philosophumena*, see Bunsen, *Hippolytus and his Age*, in his *Christianity and Mankind*, vol. i.; Wordsworth's *St. Hippolytus and his Age*, Lond. 1853; Döllinger's *Hippolytos und Kallistos*, Regensburg, 1853; Cruice, *Études sur de nouveaux Documents historiques*, Paris, 1853; Milman's *Latin Christianity*, vol. i. p. 41; Churton's Preface to Pearson's *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, p. xxvii. (in the Anglo-Catholic Library); Pressensé, *Histoire des trois premiers Siècles de l' Eglise Chrétienne*, vol. iii. pp. 498–504.—Many exegetical and controversial works of Hippolytus are mentioned by Eusebius, Jerome, and others. The most important, of which fragments have been preserved, are: Περὶ τοῦ Πάσχα: Ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην Εὐαγγελίου καὶ Ἀποκαλύψεως: Περὶ τῶν χαρισμάτων. The fragments, and the works still extant which are very doubtfully ascribed to Hippolytus, were collected by J. A. Fabricius, *S. Hippolyti Episcopi et Martyris Opera*, Hamb. 1716–18, 2 vols. folio, and reprinted by Gallandi, *Bibl. Patr.* vol. ii. Venet. 1766, fol.

[1] The word "African" here refers to the Roman Province of *Africa* or *Africa Propria*.

[2] Some suppose him to be the Tertullianus, or Tertyllus, who was the author of several fragments in the Pandects.

The saying of Tertullian, "Fiunt, non nascuntur Christiani," was true at least in his own case. It was not till his thirtieth or fortieth year that he embraced Christianity, casting off a dissolute life, the reaction from which is seen in his stern ascetism. The deep conviction which produced the change was proved by the ardent zeal with which he devoted his life to the defence of the faith against heathens, Jews, and heretics. He was already married, and we owe to him one of the most glowing pictures of family life, "the happiness of a marriage which the Church ratifies, the oblation (of the Lord's supper) confirms, the benediction seals, angels announce, the Father declares valid."[1] But while distinctly opposing the Gnostics for "forbidding to marry," he praised celibacy as a higher grade of holiness,[2] and urged his wife, if he should die before her, to remain a widow, or at least not to marry a heathen. Afterwards, when he had joined the Montanists, Tertullian became the vehement opponent of second marriage, as only a specious form of adultery.[3] Jerome[4] says that Tertullian was a presbyter, though his own writings are silent on the point. His labours were divided between Carthage and Rome, where he spent some time.[5]

§ 18. It is to the envy and insult with which he was treated by the Roman clergy, that Jerome ascribes Tertullian's falling away to the heresy of the Montanists,[6] about A.D. 202. But to refer the change to personal resentment would show an ignorant want of sympathy with the ardent nature of Tertullian. The disgust which he felt towards the Roman Church is explained by the revelations of Hippolytus respecting the characters of Zephyrinus and Callistus, the lax discipline observed at Rome, and the favour shown there for a time to the Patripassian error, which had been brought to Rome by Praxeas, an opponent of the Montanists. Of this man Tertullian says: "He has executed in Rome two works of the devil: he has driven out prophecy (the Montanistic) and brought in error (the Patripassian); he has turned off the Holy Ghost, and crucified the Father."[7] The opposition of this party at Rome towards the Montanists would dispose Tertullian's ardent and just nature to take their part; and there was much to attract his sympathy in their contempt for the world, their asceticism and severe discipline, their spirit of martyrdom, and their millennarian enthusiasm. They were not at variance with the Catholic Church on

[1] *Ad Uxorem*, ii. 8.
[2] On the ground of 1 Cor. vii. 9.
[3] Ὁ δεύτερος γάμος εὐπρεπὴς ἐστι μοιχεία, *Legat.* 33; and so in his *De Monogamia* and *De Exhortatione Castitatis*.
[4] *Vir. Illust.* 53.
[5] Tertull. *De Cultu Femin.* 7; Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 2.
[6] *Vir. Illust. l. c.* Jerome wrote feelingly, from the treatment which he had himself received at Rome. See Chap. XIII. § 16.
[7] *Adv. Praxean*, 1; Schaff, vol. i. p. 514.

those great Christian doctrines which Tertullian firmly held; and his acceptance of the prophetic powers, the claim to which constituted their heresy, was the honest belief of a spiritual mind in the continuance of the voice of prophecy, which the Church seemed to him much to need. His enthusiastic sense of the supernatural life made Tertullian the dupe of an imposture in which he had no conscious part.[1]

Montanism, though branded by the orthodox Church as a heresy, on account of its fanatical spirit, exclusive pretensions, and practical evils, must not be confounded with the heresies which were so called in the more usual sense of false doctrine. As Schaff observes, it "was not originally a departure from the Faith, but a morbid overstraining of the practical morality of the early Church." Like most of the early corruptions of Christianity, it had its roots in heathenism, and in its severe asceticism we may trace a reaction from those Eastern orgies, which were at the same time the source of its extravagant enthusiasm. For its first home was in Phrygia, the seat of the sensuous and mystic worship of the Mother of the Gods; and MONTANUS is said to have been at first a priest of Cybele. In the ecstasies of somnambulism, he believed or pretended to believe himself the organ of the promised Paraclete, sent according to Christ's promise to comfort His Church in her time of distress.[2] For it was in the persecution of Marcus Aurelius that Montanus and his two attendant prophetesses, Priscilla and Maximilla, came forward to proclaim the instant coming of the Holy Ghost and the millennial reign of Christ. The chosen scene was to be at the Phrygian village of Pepuza, where men would soon see in reality, as John had seen in vision, the New Jerusalem coming down from heaven. Their enthusiasm infected many followers, who were called by the various names of *Montanists*, *Priscillianists*, *Cataphrygians*, and *Pepuzians*.

The course of such an outbreak would depend much on the wisdom or unwise zeal shown in dealing with it. The Christians of that age had the exaggerated belief in Satanic power over men's minds, which led them to regard these manifestations, like the heathen orgies, as the promptings of demons. The Montanists were excommunicated by most of the churches of Asia, and were opposed by writers such as Claudius Apollinaris, Miltiades, and Clement of Alexandria. In the Roman Church—for Montanism soon spread to the West—it

[1] Among parallel cases in the history of the Church there is none more striking than that of the late Edward Irving, whose fervent piety and unrivalled gift of preaching did not save him also from excommunication as a heretic.

[2] His use of the first person led some of the Fathers to suppose that Montanus claimed to be the Paraclete himself, or even God the Father.

was received with some favour, till its condemnation was obtained by the presbyter Caius, and by Praxeas, who came from Asia Minor with the fame of a confessor, and spread the Patripassian heresy at Rome, under the bishops Zephyrinus and Callistus (177-202). Hence we have seen Tertullian the defender at once of the Montanist heresy and of doctrinal orthodoxy against Praxeas and the Romans.[1] On the other hand, Irenæus and the Gallic churches had a decided sympathy with the millenarian views of the Montanists and their eagerness for martyrdom, and that sympathy was still stronger in Africa, where even the Roman settlers had imbibed much of the old Punic gravity and moroseness.[2]

Tertullian joined the sect in A.D. 202, and strenuously defended their views as alone truly *spiritual*, against the *psychicals*, as he calls the Catholic party. He is, in fact, their only theological exponent; and his powerful mind and writings gave them an influence in the Church far beyond their own importance. He reduced their extravagant pretensions to a more rational form; and he may be regarded as occupying a middle place between the Catholic Church and the fanaticism of the first Montanists. Hence his followers (though still called also Montanists) were distinguished by the special name of *Tertullianists* for two centuries after his death. That his divergence on this point rather quickened than impaired his zeal for essential Christian truth, is proved by his strenuous opposition to the Gnostic and other heresies, as well as by his great apologetic work, written just at the time of his lapse into Montanism. He laboured as a Montanist presbyter at Carthage till he died, worn out by old age, about A.D. 220, though some place his death as late as 240. It is remarkable how, in times of persecution, some of the greatest enthusiasts for martyrdom, whose courage even challenged it, were appointed by Divine Providence to a natural death, while those who have shrunk from the trial are called to give this last proof of their faith. A Tertullian and a Luther die in their beds, while a Cyprian and a Cranmer seal their testimony on the scaffold and at the stake.

The character and views of the great African are admirably delineated by Professor Schaff:[3]—"Tertullian was a rare genius, perfectly original and fresh, but angular, boisterous, and eccentric;

[1] The doctrinal orthodoxy of the Montanists is distinctly testified by the Fathers. "The Cataphrygians (says Epiphanius) receive the entire Scripture of the Old and New Testament, and agree with the Holy Catholic Church in their views on the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit."

[2] The ἦθος πικρόν, σκυθρωπόν, σκληρόν, which Plutarch contrasts with the cheerfulness and excitability of the Athenians.

[3] Vol. i. pp. 515–517.

full of glowing fantasy, pointed wit, keen discernment, polemic dexterity, and moral earnestness; but wanting in logical clearness, calm consideration, and symmetrical development. His vehement temper was never fully subdued, although he struggled sincerely against it.[1] He reminds one in many respects of Luther, though the reformer had nothing of the ascetic gloom and rigour of the African father. Tertullian dwells enthusiastically on the divine foolishness of the Gospel, and has a noble contempt for the world, for its science and its art, and for his own; and yet are his writings a mine of antiquarian knowledge, and novel, striking, and fruitful ideas. He calls the Grecian philosophers the patriarchs of all heresies, and scornfully asks, 'What has the Academy to do with the Church? What has Christ to do with Plato—Jerusalem with Athens?' And yet reason does him invaluable service against his antagonists. He vindicates the principle of Church authority and tradition with great force and ingenuity against all heresy; yet, when a Montanist, he claimed the right of private judgment and of individual protest. He has a vivid sense of the corruption of human nature and of the absolute need of moral regeneration; yet he declares the soul to be born Christian, and unable to find rest except in faith. 'The testimonies of the soul,' says he, are as true as they are simple; as simple as they are popular; as popular as they are natural; as natural as they are divine.' He is just the opposite of the equally genial, less vigorous, but more learned and comprehensive Origen. He adopts the strictest supernatural principles, and shrinks not from the 'credo quia absurdum est.' At the same time he is a most decided realist, and attributes body, that is, as it were, a corporeal tangible substantiality, even to God and to the soul; while the idealist Alexandrian cannot speak spiritually enough of God, and can conceive the human soul without and before the existence of the body. Tertullian's theology revolves about the great Pauline antithesis of sin and grace, and breaks the road to the Latin anthropology and soteriology, afterwards developed by his like-minded, but clearer, calmer, and more considerate countryman, Augustine. For his opponents, be they heathens, Jews, heretics, or Catholics, he has as little indulgence and regard as Luther. With the adroitness of a special pleader he entangles them in self-contradictions, pursues them into every nook and corner, overwhelms them with arguments, sophisms, apophthegms, and sarcasms, drives them before him with unmerciful lashings, and almost always makes them ridiculous and contemptible. His style is exceedingly characteristic, and corresponds

[1] Compare his own painful confession, in *De Patient.* c. 1: "Miserrimus ego semper æger caloribus impatientiæ."

with his thought. It is extremely condensed, abrupt, laconic, sententious, nervous, figurative; full of hyperbole, sudden turns, legal technicalities, African provincialisms, or rather antiquated Latinisms, Latinised Greek words, and new expressions; therefore abounding also in roughnesses, angles, and obscurities; sometimes, like a great volcanic eruption, belching precious stones and dross in strange confusion; or like the foaming torrent tumbling over the precipice of rocks, and sweeping all before it. His mighty spirit wrestles with the form, and breaks its way through the primeval forest of nature's thinking. He had to create the Church language of the Latin tongue."

§ 19. The writings of Tertullian were very numerous, and related to nearly every department of the Christian life. Most of them were short treatises, evidently designed for popular reading; and they give a vivid picture of the Church in his time. Nearly all of them were written in the first quarter of the third century; and by far the greater number after he fell away to Montanism. His earliest works, which were in Greek, are either lost, or are extant only in Latin versions. The whole may be divided into four classes:—the first, *apologetic;* the second, *polemical*, against various heresies; the third, *ethical* or *practical;* in the fourth are placed apart his *Montanistic tracts* against the Catholics. Their chronological order is very difficult to determine.[1]

I. Supreme among the works of the first class, of other writers as well as his own, is the *Apologeticus*, in which Tertullian defends the religion of Christ against its heathen adversaries, and demands for Christians both liberty of worship and equal rights with their fellow-citizens. This noble work is the earliest plea for universal toleration. It abounds in varied learning and powerful argument,

[1] Bishop Kaye has framed a rough chronological arrangement of Tertullian's works in four classes, in their relation to his adoption of Montanism:—

I. Those written while he was a Catholic:—*De Poenitentia; De Oratione; De Baptismo; Ad Uxorem; Ad Martyras* or *Martyres; De Patientia; Adversus Judæos; De Præscriptione Hæreticorum.*

II. Those certainly written after he became a Montanist:—*Adv. Marcionem*, lib. v.; *De Anima; De Carne Christi; De Resurrectione Carnis; Adv. Praxean; Scorpiace* (i.e. an antidote to the poison of the Gnostic heresy); *De Corona Militis; De Virginibus Velandis; De Exhortatione Castitatis; De Fuga in Persecutione; De Monogamia; De Jejuniis; De Pudicitia.*

III. Those probably belonging to the Montanistic period.—*Adv. Valentinianos; Ad Scapulam; De Spectaculis; De Idololatria; De Cultu Feminarum, Lib.* II.

IV. Those of which it is doubtful to which period they belong.—The Apologeticus (probably to the Catholic period); *Ad Nationes; De Testimonio Animæ; De Pallio* (probably Montanistic); *Adv. Hermogenem.*

set forth with a rhetorical skill which is sometimes over-ingenious and refined, and with a fervid enthusiasm often lacking in sound judgment. This Apology was probably written in the time of the persecution of Alexander Severus (about A.D. 200–202).

II. Tertullian's *Polemic Works* are chiefly against the Gnostic heresies, and in particular those of Marcion and Valentinian. One of his tracts is remarkable for the high ground of Catholic orthodoxy which he takes up against all heretics.[1] They have no right, he argues, to appeal to the Scriptures, which belong to the Catholic Church alone, as the legitimate guardian of Christianity. He puts this, by the very title of the tract, as a forensic plea, derived from the legal doctrine of prescriptive custom and possession. But when his lapse into Montanism laid him open to the same disability, he renounces the doctrine and claims an unbarred appeal to Scripture and truth alone.[2]

III. Tertullian's *Practical Works* set forth, in an interesting light, the morality of the primitive Church in contrast with the vices of the heathen world; while the need for warning the Christians against participation in heathen licence is proved by his admonitions to keep free from all share in the worship of idols,[3] and to abstain from theatrical entertainments, which he classes among the pomps of the devil.[4] This antagonism is less seen in his tracts on the Christian practices of "Prayer," "Penance," and "Patience," and in his consolations addressed to the martyrs and confessors in prison.[5]

IV. The stern asceticism which breathes more or less through all his practical, as also through his other works, passes into fanatical rigour in those belonging to his Montanistic period. Thus he vehemently condemns flight in persecutions,[6] the restoration of the lapsed,[7] second marriage,[8] the display of dress by Christian women,[9] and other customs of the "psychicals," as he calls the Catholics; and he enjoins severe fasts,[10] and other ascetic practices. One interesting tract discusses the difficult question of military service under a heathen emperor, justifying a Christian soldier who had been discharged for refusing to crown his head.[11]

[1] *De Præscriptione Hæreticorum.* The legal term *præscriptio* signifies a sort of "demurrer," a plea put in before entering on the merits of a case, against the right of the adverse party to be heard.

[2] To this polemic class belong most of the tracts on special points of doctrine enumerated in the above list; such as those on Baptism, the Soul, the Resurrection, and the Person of Christ.

[3] *De Idololatria.* [4] *De Spectaculis.*

[5] *Ad Martyres.* [6] *De Fuga.*

[7] *De Pudicitia.* [8] *De Monogamia* and *De Exhortatione Castitatis.*

[9] *De Cultu Feminarum.* [10] *De Jejuniis.*

[11] *De Corona Militis.* Tertullian's works have been edited by Beatus

§ 20. Jerome assigns a prominent place, between Tertullian and Cyprian,[1] to the jurist MARCUS MINUCIUS FELIX, who, like them, embraced Christianity in mature life; but he seems to have belonged to the Roman rather than the African Church. His *Octavius* is one of the most valuable works in Christian apologetic literature. It is in the form of a dialogue between two friends, Cæcilius Natalis and Januarius Octavius, who are both jurists. Each pleads the case, the one for heathenism and the other for Christianity, with able and interesting arguments, enlivened with pungent raillery; but at last the Christian Octavius convinces and converts his heathen friend. This attractive dialogue well repays perusal. We trace in it the influence of Tertullian's *Apology*, and its influence, in turn, in Cyprian's work against Idolatry.[2]

§ 21. The second great master of the African school, though in many points, a great contrast to the first, is still his true successor and complement. Cyprian supplied the organizing and administrative talent, which added order to the enthusiasm roused by Tertullian. Perhaps we may call the one the prophet, and the other the priest, of the early Latin Church. Tertullian was the moving genius which could not be confined within the bounds of ecclesiastical order; Cyprian is well described as "the impersonation of the Catholic Church of the middle of the third century." He had the same pre-eminence as a bishop, that Origen held as a teacher.

THASCIUS, afterwards called (from his spiritual father) CÆCILIUS,

Rhenanus, Basil. 1521; Pamelius, Antverp. 1579; Rigaltius, Paris, 1634, and Venet. 1744; Semler, Halle, 1770–73, 6 vols.; Oberthür, 1784; Leopold, in Gersdorf's *Biblioth. Patrum Latin. selecta* (vols. iv.–vii.), Lips. 1839–41; Migne, Paris, 1844. The best edition is that of Franc. Oehler, Lips. 1853–4, 3 vols. There are numerous separate editions and translations of the *Apologeticus*.

The most important works on Tertullian's life and writings are: Neander, *Antignosticus Geist des Tertullianus und Einleitung in dessen Schriften*, Berlin, 1825; 2nd edit. 1849; Bishop Kaye, *The Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from the Writings of Tertullian*, 3rd ed. Lond. 1845; Hesselberg, *Tertullians Lehre aus seinen Schriften entwickelt*, Dorpat, 1848; Uhlhorn, *Fundamenta Chronologiæ Tertullianæ*, Gottg. 1852; Münter, *Primordia Ecclesiæ Africanæ*, Havn. 1829.

[1] He is so placed by Jerome, *Vir. Ill.* 58. Some, however, put him earlier, as the first Christian writer in Latin; while others make him later than Cyprian. On the whole question of his age and nationality, see the Introduction to Dr. Holden's *Minucius Felix*, 1855.

[2] The *Octavius* has been edited by Balduinus, 1660; Gronovius, 1709; Davis, Cambridge, 1712; Lindner, Langensalza, 1773; Lübkert, 1836; De Muralto (with literary and historical essays by ab Hoven), Zürich, 1836; Oehler, in Gersdorf's *Biblioth. Pat. Latin.* vol. xiii. Lips. 1847; and Dr. H. H. Holden, London, 1853: see also Meier, *De Minucio Felice*, Zürich, 1824.

CYPRIANUS,[1] was born at Carthage about A.D. 200. Sprung from a noble and wealthy family, he lived to mature age in splendid luxury, and, as he confesses, in the vicious licence of heathenism.[2] But he was a man of great intellectual culture and legal knowledge, and he reached the highest fame as a teacher of rhetoric.[3] A presbyter, named Cæcilius, persuaded Cyprian to read the Bible, and convinced him, after long resistance, of the truth of Christianity. He at once proved his faith, while he was still a catechumen, by selling his estates for the benefit of the poor,[4] and his full devotion by taking a vow of chastity. He was baptized (A.D. 245 or 246) by the name of Cæcilius, to whom he gave a home in his own house, and who at his death committed his wife and children to Cyprian's care.

In retirement and ascetic discipline, Cyprian pursued the study of the Scriptures and of the Christian writers, amongst whom he used daily to call for Tertullian, saying, "*Da magistrum*," "Give me the master."[5] Professor Schaff remarks that "the influence of Tertullian on Cyprian's theological formation is unmistakable, and appears at once, for example, on comparing the tracts of the two on Prayer and on Patience, or the work of the one on the Vanity of Idols with the Apology of the other. It is therefore rather strange that in his own writings we find no acknowledgment of his indebtedness, and, as far as I recollect, no express allusion whatever to Tertullian and the Montanists."

§ 22. Cyprian's retirement could not conceal, but rather added to the fame of his piety; and within three years from his baptism, the acclamations of the people called him to the bishopric of Carthage (about A.D. 248). This hasty election of a neophyte, who

[1] Both his names seem to point to an Eastern rather than a Roman origin; and the cognomen suggests (though of course it is only a verbal hint) the island of Cyprus as the origin of the family.

[2] The story that he had practised magic is very doubtful. The belief in dreams and visions, which Cyprian shared with Tertullian, after his conversion, was far too common in that age to be regarded as a remnant of magical superstition.

[3] Hieron. *Vir. Ill.* 67. "Cyprianus Afer primum gloriose rhetoricam docuit." Pontius, a deacon under Cyprian, and the author of an unsatisfactory life of the bishop, prefixed to the editions of Cyprian's works, dismisses his early life as unworthy of notice in comparison with his subsequent eminence in the Church.

[4] "Inter fidei prima rudimenta" (Pontius): according to Matthew xix. 21. "Cyprian's gardens, however, together with a villa, were afterwards restored to him, 'Dei indulgentia,' that is, very probably, through the liberality of his Christian friends." (Schaff, vol. i. p. 520.)

[5] Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* c. 53) had heard the story from an old man, who received it in his youth from the "notarius beati Cypriani." As Tertullian lived to A.D. 220 (some say 240) he might very well have been known personally to Cyprian.

was still a layman, was not only made in spite of Cyprian's own remonstrance, but it was contrary to the letter of the ecclesiastical law.[1] Five presbyters objected to Cyprian's election, and some reckon this protest as the beginning of the Novatian schism; but it is doubtful whether Novatus was one of the five. Cyprian himself tells us that, among his efforts to reform the licence which prevailed in the Church, proceedings had been begun against Novatus, when the Decian persecution broke out.

We have seen that the leaders of the Church were marked as the special victims of the Emperor's policy, as well as of the fury of the heathen populace, who demanded that Cyprian should be thrown to the lions. He fled, not through fear of martyrdom, but that his life might be preserved for his flock, and (as he believed) in obedience to a Divine warning.[2] He was concealed for fourteen months, not far from the city, and kept up a constant communication with his flock, which was agitated by the controversy, which arose during the persecution, about the restoration of penitents who had lapsed into idolatry through fear of death, to the fellowship of the Church. Cyprian had originally held the stern views of Tertullian against any such restoration; but when he saw the great multitude of those who had fallen away in the persecution, he thought it right to allow the restoration of penitents on the point of death. But even this modified severity was condemned by his opponents, who taunted him with his own flight from the persecution. They were supported by the powerful voice of the confessors; and one of these, named Lucian, wrote to Cyprian, in the name of the rest, declaring that they granted restoration to all the apostates. This privilege was claimed by Lucian as the bequest of a martyr named Paul; for a custom had grown up for some time in the Church of showing reverence for martyrs by allowing them, while in prison under sentence of death, to recommend the restoration of persons who were under ecclesiastical censure.[3] The privilege was now abused to such a degree, that indulgences were granted to the lapsed, in the form of tickets, available not only for the person named, but for an indefinite number of others. As a natural result, the disorderly party in the Church was reinforced by a multitude of the lapsed, whose peni-

[1] In the *Apostolic Canons*, based on 1 Tim. iii. 6 ("A bishop must be . . . . not a novice"—*a neophyte*, *νεόφυτος*, "newly planted" in the Church). The same law was again set aside in the elections of Ambrose, as Bishop of Milan, and of Augustine, as Bishop of Hippo, by a sort of popular inspiration, which was justified by the result. (See Ch. XI. § 8, Ch. XIV. § 5.)

[2] Feb. A.D. 250. See Chap. V. § 6.

[3] Tertull. *ad Martyres*, 6; *de Pudicit.* 22.

tence was more than doubtful. Cyprian, on his return (April 251), called a council of African bishops at Carthage, which decided in favour of restoring those of the *libellatici* (those named in the tickets) who were truly penitent, but postponing the restoration of those who had sacrificed under fear of death. Even this limitation was removed by Cyprian himself during the persecution of Gallus, in the next year, on the twofold ground of necessity taught by experience, that the lapsed might not be driven to despair, and of conformity to the practice of the Roman Church.

The resentment of the lapsed added strength to the schism which was stirred up by a turbulent presbyter Novatus (whom Cyprian accuses of robbery, and of cruelty to his wife and father), on the ground of the bishop's irregular election. Novatus associated with himself a wealthy but disreputable member of the Church, named Felicissimus, whom he either took on himself to appoint, or induced some bishop to ordain, as a deacon. After some time, Novatus went to Rome, where he supported the schism of Novatian, though on directly opposite principles to those which he had maintained at Carthage respecting the lapsed.[1] Felicissimus set up Fortunatus, one of the five protesting presbyters, as Bishop of Carthage, and obtained his ordination by five bishops, all of whom had been deposed, either as heretics or lapsed (May 252). But Felicissimus attempted in vain to obtain the recognition of Fortunatus by the Roman Church, and the schism soon died out.

§ 23. Another controversy in which Cyprian took a decided part, and which brought him into conflict with the claims of the Bishop of Rome, was that respecting the validity of heretical baptism. In this, as in the former dispute, his course was based on the doctrine, that the Catholic Church was the sole depositary and medium of spiritual life and power, that salvation is only found in her fellowship, and sacramental grace can only be given through her ordained ministry. Hence he held, with Tertullian, that no valid baptism could be given by heretics, and that those who came from them into the Catholic Church must be baptized (not *re*-baptized, for their first baptism was none). But Cyprian also held the doctrine, that the efficacy of the sacrament depended on the personal holiness, as well as the valid ordination, of the minister. "How," he asks, "can one consecrate water who is himself unholy and has not the Holy Ghost?" Councils held by him at Carthage, in 255 and 256, rejected heretical baptism. The same position was taken by the churches of Asia Minor; and one of their bishops, Firmilian of Cappadocia, a disciple of Origen, joined with Cyprian in defending it against the opposite practice of the Roman Church.

[1] See note (A), *Novatian and his Schism.*

That practice was maintained by Stephen, the Bishop of Rome (253–257), as a point of authority, and on the ground that the efficacy of the sacrament depends on its institution by Christ, not on the spiritual state of either the minister or the recipient. It was valid if only it were administered in proper form, in the name of the Holy Trinity, or of Christ alone; and hence, those who had been baptized by heretics needed only confirmation (the baptism by the Holy Ghost) in order to their admission into the Catholic Church. "Heresy," he said, "brings forth children, and exposes them; the Church takes up the exposed children, and nourishes them as her own, though she herself has not brought them forth."

This more liberal view, however, was upheld by Stephen in a spirit of arrogance, in which we trace the growing germs of the claim to papal supremacy. He refused to receive the envoys who brought him the decrees of the African synod; he applied to the great and pious Cyprian the solemn denunciations of Christ and his Apostle, as a "false Christ, false apostle, and deceitful worker;"[1] and broke off communion both with the African and Asiatic churches. The quarrel was only ended by the martyrdom of both bishops in the Valerian persecution. The Roman practice gradually prevailed and was made the law of the Church by the Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325).[2]

§ 24. In these controversies we see Cyprian in the twofold aspect of the firm asserter of Church exclusiveness and episcopal authority, from a conviction of their divine appointment, and the equally firm opponent of the like claims when made in the spirit of personal arrogance. His conduct expressed both his principles and his character. "He was born to be a prince in the Church, and in executive talent he even surpassed all the popes of his time; and he bore himself towards them as 'frater' and 'collega,' in the spirit of full equality. Augustine calls him, by eminence, 'the Catholic bishop and Catholic martyr;' and Vincentius of Lirinum, 'the light of all saints, all martyrs, and all bishops.' His stamp of character was more that of Peter than either of Paul or John. His peculiar importance lies not so much in the field of theology, where he lacks originality and depth, as in church organization and discipline. While Tertullian dealt mainly with heretics, Cyprian directed his polemics against schismatics, among whom he had to condemn, though he never does so in fact, his venerated teacher, who died a Montanist. Yet his own conduct was not perfectly consistent with his position; for in the controversy on heretical

[1] "Pseudo-christum, pseudo-apostolum, dolosum operarium" (from Matt. xxiv. 24, and 2 Cor. xi. 13), Firmil. *Ad Cyprian.* sub fin.

[2] It was confirmed, for the Roman Catholic Church, by a decree of the Council of Trent.

baptism he himself exhibited his master's spirit of opposition to Rome. He set a limit to his own exclusive Catholic principle of tradition by the truly Protestant maxims, 'Consuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris est,' and, 'Non est de consuetudine præscribendum, sed ratione vincendum.' In him the idea of the old Catholic hierarchy and episcopal autocracy, both in its affinity and in its conflict with the idea of the papacy, was personally embodied, so to speak, and became flesh and blood. The unity of the Church, as the vehicle and medium of all salvation, was the thought of his life and the passion of his heart. But he contended with the same zeal for an independent episcopate as for a Roman primacy; and the authority of his name has been therefore as often employed against the Papacy as in its favour. On both sides he is the faithful organ of the churchly spirit of his age.

"It were great injustice to attribute his high churchly principles to pride and ambition. It was the deep conviction of the divine authority and the heavy responsibility of the episcopate, which lay at the bottom both of his first '*nolo episcopari*' and of his subsequent hierarchical feelings. He was as conscientious in discharging the duties, as he was jealous in maintaining the rights, of his office. Notwithstanding his high conception of the dignity of a bishop, he took counsel of his presbyters in everything, and respected the rights of his people. He knew how to combine strictness and moderation, dignity and gentleness, and to inspire love and confidence as well as esteem and veneration. He took upon himself, like a father, the care of the widows and orphans, the poor and the sick. During the great pestilence of A.D. 252, he showed the most self-sacrificing fidelity to his flock, and love for his enemies. He forsook his congregation, indeed, in the Decian persecution, but only, as he expressly assured them, in pursuance of a divine admonition, and in order to direct them during his fourteen months of exile by pastoral epistles. In the Valerian persecution, he completely washed away the stain of that flight with the blood of his dignified and cheerful martyrdom. He exercised rigid discipline, though at a later period—not in perfect consistency—he moderated his disciplinary principles in prudent accommodation to the exigencies of the times. With Tertullian, he prohibited all display of female dress, which only deformed the work of the Creator, and he warmly opposed all participation in heathen amusements—even refusing a converted play-actor permission to give instruction in declamation and pantomime. He lived in a simple ascetic way, under a sense of the perishableness of all earthly things, and in view of the solemn eternity in which alone the questions and strifes of the Church militant would be

perfectly settled. 'Only above,' says he,[1] 'are true peace, sure repose, constant, firm, and eternal security; there is our dwelling, there our home. Who would not fain hasten to reach it? There a great multitude of beloved awaits us; the numerous host of fathers, brethren, and children. There is the glorious choir of Apostles; there the number of exulting prophets; there the countless multitude of martyrs, crowned with victory after warfare and suffering; there triumphing virgins; there the merciful enjoying their reward. Thither let us hasten with longing desire; let us wish to be soon with them, with Christ. After the earthly comes the heavenly; after the small, follows the great; after perishableness, eternity.'

"As an author Cyprian is far less original, fertile, and vigorous, than Tertullian; but he is clearer, more moderate, and more elegant and rhetorical in his style."[2]

§ 25. Whatever doubts may have been raised by Cyprian's flight from the Decian persecution, his constancy was proved by his martyrdom under Valerian. The submission of so eminent a leader seems to have been desired more than his death. When brought before the proconsul, Paternus, Cyprian made a plain confession in answer to the questions whether he was a Christian and a bishop. (Aug. 30, A.D. 257.) But when asked the names of his clergy, he appealed to the laws against informers, and said that his brethren would be found in their places. He declared that the Christians served one only God, and that they prayed daily for themselves, for all men, and for the emperors. As no persuasion could make him sacrifice, he was banished to Curubis, about forty miles from Carthage. From the *Life of Cyprian* by Pontius, his deacon and companion in exile, we learn that he had a pleasant abode, and was cheered by the visits of his friends; and he retained the means of sending relief, besides his letters of sympathy, to the confessors who were kept in cruel slavery in the mines.[3]

At the end of a year, Galerius, the new proconsul of Africa, recalled Cyprian, ordering him to remain at his gardens near Carthage. This was only a preface to his execution under the second and severer edict of Valerian. On the 13th of September, 258,[4] he

[1] In his tract *De Mortalitate*, which he composed during the pestilence.

[2] Schaff, vol. i. pp. 522–4.

[3] Gibbon's eulogy of Cyprian's mild treatment (vol. i. p. 558-560) is well answered by Mackintosh and Guizot. (Note, *Ibid*). Besides, as Canon Robertson observes (vol. i. p. 128), "It is very clear, even from the narrative of Pontius, that the case of Cyprian was not what Gibbon professes to consider it—an average specimen of the treatment of the victims."

[4] The mistake by which "St. Cyprian, Archbishop of Carthage and Martyr," is placed at Sept. 26 in our Calendar, is explained by Robertson, vol. i. p. 117, note *o*.

was arrested and taken to the residence of the proconsul, about four miles from Carthage, whither he was followed by numbers of his people. On the next day the Bishop was brought before the Proconsul, who called on him to sacrifice in the name of the Emperors. Cyprian refused, and when the Proconsul urged him to comply from regard for his safety, he only answered:—"Do as thou art commanded: in so righteous a cause there is no room for consideration." Galerius reluctantly pronounced the sentence of decapitation, which Cyprian received with thanks to God, while the Christian spectators cried,—"Let us go and be beheaded with him!" He was at once led forth to a level space surmounted by trees, the branches of which were soon laden with Christians, who climbed up (says his biographer) like Zacchæus, to witness their bishop's triumph over death. He knelt down, and, after praying for a short time, bound his own eyes, and ordered a present to be given to the executioner. As the sword struck off his head, his blood was caught in handkerchiefs, which were kept as relics. His body was laid, for the time, in a neighbouring spot, "because of the curiosity of the heathen," but it was afterwards removed by torch-light and buried with great ceremony.

§ 26. Cyprian's chief works relate to church discipline and government. His views on these subjects are set forth, reiterated, and applied to the varying conditions and controversies of the churches of his time, in his *Eighty-one Epistles* (several being of great length) to the bishops, clergy, and churches of Africa and Rome, to the confessors, to the lapsed, and to various others. With these we have several letters to Cyprian, such as those from Firmilian of Cæsarea and Cornelius of Rome. The familiar epistolary form throws a far more clear and vivid light on the ecclesiastical questions of the age than any formal treatise. But Cyprian has also left us such a work, in his tract *On the Unity of the Church*,[1] which has been called the *Magna Charta* of the old Catholic high-church spirit. It was written about A.D. 251, when the Novatian schism was at its height, and is the full exponent of that striving after Catholic unity about a visible centre, which was felt to be the only refuge from the heresies and schisms that distracted the Church. Cyprian teaches that "the Church was founded from the first by Christ on Peter alone, that, with all the equality of power among the Apostles, unity might still be kept prominent as essential to her being. She has ever since remained one, in unbroken episcopal succession; as there is only one sun, though his rays are everywhere diffused. Try once to separate the ray from the sun: the unity of the light allows no division. Break the branch from the tree, it can bear no fruit.

[1] *De Unitate Ecclesiæ.*

Cut off the brook from the fountain, it dries up. Out of this orthodox Church, episcopally organized and centralized at Rome, Cyprian can imagine no Christianity at all;[1] not only among the Gnostics and other radical heretics, but even among the Novatians, who differed from the Catholics in no essential point of doctrine, but only elected an opposition bishop in the interest of their rigorous penitential discipline. Whoever separates himself from the Church is a foreigner, a profane person, an enemy; he condemns himself, and must be shunned. No one can have God for his Father who has not her for his mother. As well might one out of the ark of Noah have escaped the Flood, as one out of the Church be saved; because she alone is the bearer of the Holy Ghost, and of all grace. EXTRA ECCLESIAM NULLA SALUS."[2] To this class of works belongs also Cyprian's treatise *On the Lapsed* (A.D. 250).

To the department of practical religion, morality, and ascetic discipline, belong his tracts on the *Grace of God* (246); on the *Lord's Prayer* (252); on *Mortality* (252); against worldly-mindedness and pride of dress in consecrated virgins;[3] a glowing call to martyrdom; an exhortation to liberality;[4] and two tracts, written in a noble spirit of moderation and peace-making, during his controversy with Bishop Stephen.[5] Cyprian's two apologetic works were the earliest essays of his Christianity, and are far inferior to those of Tertullian and Minucius Felix, from both of whom he has borrowed largely in his refutation of heathen idolatry.[6] His *Evidences against the Jews* is a collection of scriptural proofs of the Divinity and Messiahship of Jesus Christ.[7]

[1] "Christianus non est, qui in Christi Ecclesia non est."

[2] Schaff, vol. i. pp. 436–7.

[3] *De Habitu Virginum.*

[4] *De Opere et Eleemosynis*, written between 254 and 256.

[5] *De Bono Patientiæ*, and *De Zelo et Livore.*

[6] *De Idolorum Vanitate.*

[7] *Testimonia adv. Judæos.* The collected works of Cyprian have been edited by Erasmus, Basil. 1520; Manutius, Romæ, 1563; Rigaltius, Par. 1648. The standard editions are those of Bishop Fell, Oxon. 1682, Amst. 1700 (and reprints), and of the Benedictines Baluzius and Prud. Maranus, Par. 1726, Venet. 1758. There is a convenient small edition by Goldhorn, in Gersdorf's *Biblioth. Patr. Lat.* vols. ii. and iii. Lips. 1830, *seq.* The chief works on Cyprian are: Pearson, *Annales Cyprianici*, and Dodwell, *Dissertationes Cyprianicæ* (in Fell's edition); F. W. Rethberg, *Cyprianus nach seinem Leben und Wirken*, Götting. 1831; Huther, *Cyprians Lehre von der Kirche*, Hamb. 1839; G. A. Poole, *Life and Times of Cyprian*, Oxford, 1840; Möhler's *Patrologie*, vol. i. pp. 809, *seq.*

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

(A.) NOVATIAN AND HIS SCHISM.

"THE *Novatian Schism in Rome* was prepared by the controversy between Hippolytus and Callistus. It broke out soon after the African schism of Novatus, and, like it, in consequence of the election of a bishop. But in this case the opposition party advocated the strict discipline, against the lenient practice of the dominant Church. The Novatianists considered themselves the only pure communion,* and unchurched all churches which defiled themselves by readmitting the *lapsi*, or any other gross offenders. They went much farther than Cyprian, even as far as the later Donatists. They admitted the possibility of mercy for a mortal sinner, but denied the power and the right of the Church to decide upon it, and to prevent by absolution the judgment of God on such offenders. They also, like Cyprian, rejected heretical baptism, and baptized all who came over to them from other communions not just so rigid as themselves.

"At the head of this party stood the Roman Presbyter NOVATIAN,† an earnest, learned, but gloomy man, who had come to the Faith through severe demoniacal disease and inward struggles. He fell out with Cornelius, who, after the Decian persecution in 251, was nominated Bishop of Rome, and who at once, to the grief of many, showed great indulgence towards the *lapsi*. Among Novatian's adherents, Novatus of Carthage was particularly busy, either from a mere spirit of opposition to existing authority, or from having changed his former lax principles on his removal to Rome. Novatian, against his will, was chosen bishop by the opposition. Cornelius excommunicated him. Both parties courted the recognition of the churches abroad. Fabian, Bishop of Antioch, sympathised with the rigorists. Dionysius of Alexandria, on the contrary, accused them of blaspheming the most gracious Lord Jesus Christ, by calling Him unmerciful. And especially Cyprian, from his zeal for ecclesiastical unity and his aversion to Novatus, took sides with Cornelius, whom he regarded as the legitimate Bishop of Rome.

"In spite of this strong opposition, the Novatian sect, by virtue of its moral earnestness, propagated itself in various provinces of the west and the east down to the fifth century. In Phrygia it combined with the remnant of the Montanists. The Council of Nice recognized its ordination, and endeavoured, without success, to reconcile it with the Catholic Church. Constantine, too, at first dealt mildly with it, but afterwards prohibited its public worship."*

Novatian was a learned man and well versed in Greek philosophy. He was the only Latin writer† of any mark in the Roman Church; and we still possess his work *On the Trinity*,‡ written about A.D. 256, in opposition to the views of the Monarchians, and especially of Sabellius. In his letter on the Jewish laws of food,§ he proves, by allegorical interpretation, that those laws are no longer binding upon Christians, and that Christ has substituted temperance and abstinence for the prohibition of unclean animals, with the exception of meat offered to idols, which is forbidden by the Apostolic Council. The circular letter to the Roman clergy, which is ascribed to him, contains his earlier and milder penitential principles.‖

(B.) MINOR LATIN WRITERS OF THE THIRD CENTURY.

1. "VICTORINUS, probably of Greek extraction, Bishop of Petavium in the present Styria, who died a martyr in 303, wrote several Commentaries on books of the Old and New Testaments, but only some inconsiderable fragments of them have come down to us. Several poems also are attributed to him, but without sufficient grounds."¶

* Καθαροί, Puritans.

† NOVATIANUS; but Eusebius and other Greeks call him Νοουάτος, and confound him with Novatus of Carthage. Like Montanus, he was a native of Phrygia; and his birth and Greek education connected him in spirit (like Hippolytus) rather with the Eastern Church than with the Western, in which his lot was cast.

* Schaff, vol. i. pp. 450, 451.

† His contemporaries, Hippolytus and the presbyter CAIUS (who died about 220), wrote in Greek. We possess a few fragments of the works of the latter against Montanism and Chiliasm. "He was perhaps the author of the corrupted Latin Canon, which Muratori has discovered" (Schaff).

‡ Hieron. *Vir. Ill.* 70. The treatise (which has also been ascribed both to Tertullian and Cyprian) has been printed in Gallandi (tom. iii.), in Rigault's *Tertullian*, and by Welchman, Oxon. 1724.

§ *De cibis Judaicis Epistola.*

‖ Schaff, vol. i. p. 526.

¶ Schaff, vol. i. p. 426.

2. "COMMODIANUS, a layman, who probably lived in Africa in the second half of the third century, was converted from heathenism by reading the Bible, and wrote, in uncouth versification and barbarous hexameters, his *Instructions for the Christian Life*,* in which he seeks to convert heathens and Jews, and gives excellent exhortations to catechumens, believers, and penitents. The poem is divided into eighty strophes, each of which is an acrostic, the initial letters of the lines composing the title or subject of the section. This book is not unimportant to the history of practical Christianity, and, under a rude dress, in connection with many superstitious notions, it reveals an humble and fervent Christian heart. Like Victorinus, and most of the ante-Nicene Fathers, except the Alexandrians, Commodian was a millenarian." †

It is convenient to add here a writer who lived at the very end of this century, and, in fact, belongs more strictly to the fourth:—

3. "ARNOBIUS, of Sicca in Numidia, a teacher of rhetoric, was for a long time a decided opponent of Christianity, and embraced it in consequence of a vision in a dream—such visions appear to have been a frequent cause of conversions, especially in Africa—and wrote, about the year 304, an apologetic and polemic work,‡ which shows more address in the refutation of heathenism than in the demonstration of Christianity. He never cites the Holy Scriptures; hardly brings out in any way the specifically Christian element; and, with many clever thoughts, propounds also erratic views, such as the destructibility of the soul and the final annihilation of the wicked, without method and in swelling rhetoric, but with a certain freshness and vigour. His own conversion he thus describes:—'O blindness! but a short time ago I was worshipping images just taken from the forge, gods shaped upon the anvil and by the hammer. . . . . When I saw a stone made smooth and smeared with oil, I prayed to it and addressed it, as if a living power dwelt in it, and implored blessings from the senseless stock, and offered grievous insults even to the gods whom I took to be such, in that I considered them wood, stone, and bone, and fancied that they dwelt in the stuff of such things.* Now that I have been led by so great a teacher into the way of truth, I know what all that is; I think worthily of the Worthy, offer no insult to the Godhead, and give every one his due.' Upon this public confession of faith, the Bishop of Sicca, who at first did not trust him, administered baptism to Arnobius. What afterwards became of him we know not."†

* *Instructiones adversus gentium Deos* or *Instructiones adversus Paganos*, in 80 chapters, edited by Rigaltius, 1650, and sometimes as an appendix to the works of Cyprian.

† Schaff, vol. i. p. 527.

‡ *Disputationum adversus Gentes* (or *adversus Nationes*) Libri VII.; edited by Canter, Antwerp, 1582; Salmasius, 1651; Orelli, 1816; and Oehler, in Gersdorf's *Biblioth. Patr. Latin*, vol. xii. 1846.

* This confession furnishes an answer to the excuse for idolatry (in whatever age) that the worship is not paid to the images themselves.

† Schaff, vol. i. pp. 527-8. For a fuller account of these minor Latin writers, see Möhler, *Patrologie*, vol. i. pp. 790-808, and 894-933.



Baptismal Dove. Catacomb of Pontianus; seventh century.



Baptismal Ceremony, from a Pontifical of the Ninth Century.

CHAPTER VII.

CONSTITUTION OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

Its Membership, Ministry, and Government.

CENTURIES I.–III.

§ 1. Admission into the Church—The Catechumenate—Baptism—Infant Baptism—Objections of Tertullian—Confirmation. § 2. Ministers of the Church—Clergy and Laity. § 3. Different Classes of Ministers in the Apostolic Churches. § 4. Their permanent Ministers—(1) Bishops and Presbyters or Elders—(2) Deacons and Deaconesses. § 5. Rapid Development of the Constitution of the Church in the age after the Apostles—Its state in the third century. § 6. Distinction of clergy and laity—The Priestly Order—Its three degrees—The Lesser Orders—The two classes of the People: Believers and Catechumens—Clerical separation from the world—Election of Ministers—Lay teaching in the Church. § 7. Growth of the Episcopate—Distinction of Bishops and Presbyters. § 8. The Apostolical Succession—Views of Ignatius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and Cyprian—Unity of the Episcopate—Ordination. § 9. *Chorepiscopi*, or Country Bishops. § 10. Metropolitan Churches and Bishops—Patriarchs—Meaning of *Diocese*. § 11. Claims of the Bishop of Rome—Silence of Ignatius—Views of Irenæus, Tertullian, Hippolytus and Cyprian—Line of Roman Bishops. § 12. The Catholic Church, and the idea of Catholic Unity. § 13. Origin of Synods or Councils—Their Composition and authority—The earliest, called on emergencies—Regular Councils: (1) Parochial or Diocesan; (2) Provincial or Metropolitan; (3) Primatial, or Plenary, of a Patriarchate; (4) Œcumenical or Universal.

§ 1. THE proper idea of the Church, as the whole body of believers, was preserved during the first three centuries. But still there was a rising tendency to that exaltation of the clergy above the laity, which afterwards caused the former to be spoken of as "church-men" in some special sense.

Admission to the fellowship of the Church was made by the rite of *Baptism*, both in the case of new converts and of the children of Christian parents. Instead, however, of its being administered, as in apostolic times, at once upon the profession of faith, the new convert was required to pass through a course of instruction in the Christian doctrines and of moral discipline, as a *Catechumen*.[1] This stage seems to have grown up in the second century as an extension of the earlier practice of prayer and fasting before baptism;[2] and the Catechumens were solemnly admitted to their course of training with prayer, the sign of the cross, and the imposition of hands. They were called *Christians*, though the name belonged in its full sense only to the baptized. The catechumenate varied in length, the usual course being from two to three years; but it was shortened under special circumstances, and a Catechumen in danger of death was baptized without delay.

Solemnity was added to the final act of admission into the Church by the administration of baptism at special seasons, especially those of Easter and Whitsunday,[3] as the feasts commemorating that resurrection to a new life and that reception of the Holy Ghost, which were signified by baptism, and, according to the belief which soon became general in the Church, were actually conferred in the rite.[4] But the ordinance was not confined to those seasons. "Every hour, every time, is fitting for baptism," says Tertullian; "if there be a difference as to solemnity, there is none as to grace."

After the example of the Apostles, a confession of faith was required at baptism; and such confessions, embodying the heads of the doctrinal instruction given to the catechumens, came to be cast into the mould of formal *Creeds*.[5] The convert renounced the devil; and a form of exorcism was introduced in the third if not the

[1] See Chap. VI. § 1.

[2] Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 67.

[3] It was on the *vigil* of these feasts that baptism was usually administered.

[4] The full sacramental efficacy of the rite is taught by the fathers of the third century, but not in the absolute sense denoted by the phrase *opus operatum*.

[5] "The name given to these forms"—*symbola*—"seems either to have meant simply that they were tokens of Christian brotherhood, or to have been borrowed from the analogy of military service, in which the *watch-words* or *passwords* were so called."—Robertson, vol. i. p. 167.

second century.[1] About the same time, probably, were added various symbolical ceremonies—the sign of the cross on the forehead; the kiss of peace, in token of admission into spiritual fellowship; white robes, figurative of the cleansing from sin; and the tasting of milk and honey, which were intended to typify the blessings of the heavenly Canaan. The regular mode of baptism was by immersion; but it was administered by sprinkling or affusion to persons who lay sick or dying; and when performed in such cases it was called *clinical baptism*.[2]

The infant children of Christian parents were received into the Church by baptism, as the Christian rite answering to circumcision.[3] This is implied by Justin Martyr, when he speaks of the capacity of *all* for spiritual circumcision by baptism; but the first positive witness to the practice is Irenæus, who connects it with the spiritual new birth. He says that Christ passed through all the stages of life to sanctify them all, and came to redeem, through himself, "all who through Him are *born again* unto God, *sucklings, children*, boys, youths, and adults.[4] Origen, who was himself baptized soon after his birth, derives the practice from the Apostles.

Tertullian, who stands alone in his opposition to infant baptism, is one of the clearest witnesses both to the practice and to its high sacramental significance in his time. "He condemns the hastening of *the innocent age*[5] to the forgiveness of sins, and intrusting it with divine gifts, while we would not commit to it earthly property. He meets it, not as an innovation, but as a prevalent custom; and he meets it not with exegetical nor historical argument, but only with considerations of religious prudence. His

[1] It is first distinctly mentioned in the Acts of Cyprian's Council at Carthage, in A.D. 256.

[2] "St. Cyprian (*Epist.* 69) strongly asserts the sufficiency of this clinical baptism; but a stigma was justly attached to persons who put off their baptism until the supposed approach of death should enable them (as it was thought) to secure the benefits of the sacrament without incurring its obligation to newness of life. In opposition to this error, Tertullian, Origen, and Cyprian earnestly insist on the principle that right dispositions of mind are necessary in order to partake of the baptismal gifts, and warn against trusting to the virtue of an ordinance received in circumstances where it was hardly possible to conceive that such dispositions could exist."—Robertson, vol. i. p. 168.

[3] Comp. Coloss. ii. 11; but the discussion of the arguments from Scripture on infant baptism does not lie within our province.

[4] *Adv. Hær.* ii. 22, § 4.

[5] "*Quid festinat innocens ætas ad remissionem peccatorum?* The *innocens* here is to be taken only in a relative sense; for Tertullian in other places teaches a *vitium originis*, or hereditary sin and guilt, although not as distinctly and clearly as Augustine."—Schaff, vol. i. p. 403.

opposition to it is founded on his erroneous view of the impossibility of having mortal sins forgiven in the Church after baptism, as this ordinance cannot be repeated, and washes out only the guilt contracted before its reception. On the same ground he advises healthy adults, especially the unmarried, to postpone this sacrament, until they shall be no longer in danger of forfeiting for ever the grace of baptism by committing adultery, murder, apostasy, or any other of the seven crimes which he calls mortal sins. On the same principle his advice applies only to healthy children."

How little weight his remonstrance had with the African church is seen from the earnestness with which Cyprian insists on a very early baptism. In preference to the eighth day after birth (as in the case of Jewish circumcision), a council of sixty-six bishops held by him decided for the second or third day (A.D. 253). The difference between Tertullian and Cyprian sprang out of their essential agreement on the efficacy of the sacrament; the one hastening to secure the forgiveness of past sins, the other dreading the danger of a future fall. Tertullian testifies to the use of *sponsors* in baptism. They appeared at the font, not only on behalf of infants, who are unable to take the baptismal vows for themselves, but as sureties for adult converts, that they would keep their vows.

In the case of infants, the *catechumenate* necessarily followed baptism; nor was *confirmation* delayed till that stage was complete. This rite was originally performed by the presbyters immediately after baptism, by the imposition of hands and anointing with the holy oil (*chrism*). In the second century it became the practice to reserve the power of confirmation for bishops; but in the East it was still sometimes administered by presbyters. It was bestowed on infants, as well as on baptized persons of mature age; and in some churches the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered to infants, as early as the middle of the third century.[1]

§ 2. Throughout the Acts and the Apostolic Epistles, each Christian church (whether it be a single congregation, or the union of more than one such in a single city) is recognized as a self-governing body,[2] but with duly appointed officers ordained

[1] This arose from a belief (founded on John vi. 53) that the sacrament was in all cases necessary to salvation. Waterland, however, in his tract on Infant Communion, maintains "that they gave not the communion to *mere infants*, but to *children*, perhaps five, six, seven, or ten years old; and that under a notion of prudent precaution, rather than that of strict necessity, so far as appears" (*Works*, vi. 65; Robertson, vol. i. p. 170).

[2] See especially Paul's directions to the whole Church of Corinth respect-

to the work of preaching and teaching, government and administration. Such officers are called by the general name of *Ministers*[1] (διάκονοι, that is, *servants*) of Christ, of His Gospel, and of His Church. But with the humility and self-abnegation, of which He set the example by applying the title to Himself and His Apostles,[2] there is inseparably connected the dignity, authority, and responsibility of those who have a trust so solemn and awful[3] as the "ambassadors for Christ"[4] to reconcile men to God. The office, therefore, required spiritual and moral qualifications, and the internal conviction of a special call and entire devotion to it, which could come only from the Holy Spirit;[5] but all this must be recognized by the Church, and ratified by a solemn dedication to the ministry. This act was performed by the laying-on of the hands of the Apostles, and of the elders (that is, those already appointed to the ministry), with prayer.[6]

But these sacred functions and this solemn dedication imparted no special sanctity like that belonging to a sacerdotal caste. The Church of the New Testament has no sacrificing priest, save the "great High Priest who offered up Himself," nor does it know the distinction between *clergy* and *laity*. All true Christians, as redeemed and sanctified by Christ, are "*prophets*, *priests*, and *kings* to God,"[7] "a *royal priesthood*, a holy nation,"[8] "the *clergy*" (i.e. partakers of the sacred inheritance) over whom the presbyters are warned not to play the lord.[9] Such language—which is the more significant for the later Church as coming from the lips of Peter—

ing the exercise of discipline, the orderly celebration of the Lord's Supper, the reception of Christian brethren sent to them, the collection of alms, and the management of their affairs in general.

[1] Here is a most interesting example of the use—to which our English language especially lends itself—of words quite different in form, though of identical or cognate meaning, to express the common or special senses arising out of the same original idea. The Greek **διάκονος** and the Latin *minister* alike mean *servant;* and the former word is used indifferently, in the Greek Testament, for a *servant*, in the common and generic sense, for a *minister* of the Gospel, of Christ, of the Church, and for a *deacon*. The student's most indispensable guide in such cases is a *Greek Concordance* to the New Testament.

[2] Matt. xx. 26–28; Mark x. 45, and other passages; comp. 1 Cor. iii. 5.

[3] See especially 1 Cor. iv. 1; 2 Cor. ii. 13, iii. 6, &c. [4] 2 Cor. v. 20.

[5] 1 Cor. ix. 16; Acts xx. 28, &c.

[6] Acts vi. 6; 1 Tim. iv. 14, v. 22; 2 Tim. i. 6. The distinction between the special supernatural gifts actually imparted by the laying-on of the Apostles' hands and the ordinary spiritual qualifications for the office, of which the imposition of hands is the permanent sign, is a subject to be pursued by further study.

[7] Rev. i. 6, v. 10. [8] 1 Peter ii. 9.

[9] 1 Peter v 3: μηδ' ὡς κατακυριεύοντες τῶν κλήρων

clearly signifies that the special privileges, which had pertained to the tribe of Levi, as set apart to the priesthood and as having their *lot* or *inheritance* (whence the word *clergy*) among the other tribes, belonged to all Christians as a "peculiar people," fulfilling the prophetic prayer of Moses, "I would that *all* the Lord's people were *holy!*"

§ 3. It is not our present business to discuss the several offices mentioned in the New Testament, but rather to trace, from the purely historical point of view, their development in the Post-Apostolic Church. A word, therefore, must suffice to point out the distinction between the special offices appointed by Christ, and inspired by the Holy Ghost, for the first work of founding the Church[1]—*Apostles*, *Prophets*, and *Evangelists*—and those who are distinctly recognized, especially in the Pastoral Epistles, as permanent ministers—*Bishops* or *Presbyters*, *Deacons* and *Deaconesses*. The *Angels* of the Seven Churches of Asia appear to be only another title for such ministers; but the precise application of the title is hardly clear from these few examples.[2]

§ 4. Turning to the permanent officers of the Apostolic Churches, we find two distinctly and frequently mentioned in the New Testament, and more particularly described in the Pastoral Epistles.[3]

[1] Ephes. ii. 20; where the converted Gentiles, received into the universal Church, are called "*fellow-citizens* of the saints, *members of the household* of God (*i. e.* the Church), *built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets.*" So, in Rev. xxi. 14, the foundations of the New Jerusalem bear the names of the Twelve Apostles of the Lamb.

[2] Upon the office of Angels, Professor Schaff observes (vol. i. p. 135): "These probably represent the whole corps of officers in the respective churches of Asia, as the responsible *messengers* of God to them. If regarded as single persons, they cannot be mere members of a presbytery, but must be somewhat like the bishops of the second century, though still materially different from them in the extent of their charges, and in their subordination to the still living apostle John. We might call them congregational bishops, as distinct from the Apostles and from diocesan bishops of later times."

[3] In Ephes. iv. 11 we have an incidental enumeration of the offices established by Christ, when he left the earth, for the work of the ministry, namely the *Apostles* and the *Prophets* and the *Evangelists*, and the *Pastors* and *Teachers*, the last two names being grouped together (τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας καὶ διδασκάλους) and evidently describing the work of the bishops and presbyters and (to some extent) of the deacons. The term *pastor* (*i. e. shepherd*) was already familiar in the Old Testament for those who had the oversight of the *flock*, the people of God (frequently so in Jeremiah). It is applied by Christ to himself as "the good Shepherd," and to Peter in the commission, "Feed my sheep;" and Peter, in his turn, bids the elders (*presbyters*) to feed the *flock of God* (1 Pet. v. 1, 2); besides other frequent uses of the figure. See especially Acts, xx. 28, where Paul bids the *elders* (πρεσβυτέρους) of Ephesus to "take heed to all the *flock* over which the Holy Ghost hath made you *overseers* (ἐπισκόπους, which Wiclif translates

(1.) BISHOPS and PRESBYTERS, literally OVERSEERS and ELDERS, are universally admitted to be terms equivalent to a considerable extent, and often, at least, applied to the same officers.[1] Here, again, obscurity is apt to arise from the severance which our language makes between the common meaning and the special title, which the Greek expresses by the same word, ἐπίσκοπος.[2]

The name of *Elder*, which we find in all nations from the earliest time transferred from the sense of *age* to councillors, rulers, and other dignitaries, was already familiar as a title of rank and office, in the Jewish church.[3] It was therefore naturally adopted in the Christian churches of Judea, and those elsewhere formed on the model of the Jewish congregation, for the ministers who were teachers and pastors, the leaders of public worship, who presided over the councils of the churches and administered discipline. It is the title universally employed in the Acts of the Apostles, where we never read of bishops.[4] In how general a sense it was applied to Christian ministers is seen from Peter's exhortation to the *elders* as being himself their *fellow elder*.[5]

bischopys), to be *pastors* (ποιμαίνειν) to the *church* of the Lord." The very interesting enumeration of functions in the church in 1 Cor. xii. 28-30 does not, when carefully examined, imply any other *permanent offices*, but it bears important testimony to a great freedom and diversity in the exercise of spiritual gifts.

[1] Some explain the title ἐπίσκοπος as denoting the *duties* of the office, πρεσβύτερος its dignity.

[2] In the *generic* sense we have the verb ἐπισκοπέω in Heb. xii. 15, the abstract noun ἐπισκοπή ("visitation") in Luke xix. 44 and 1 Pet. ii. 12, and applied to the *apostolic* office in Acts i. 20; and ἐπίσκοπος partaking of the two senses in Acts xx. 28, and *figuratively* for Christ, "the bishop of souls."

[3] זָקֵן, from Genesis l. 7, through the Old Testament, and especially for the Seventy Elders, whom Moses associated with himself in the government of the congregation. In this sense it is constantly used throughout the Gospels and in many passages of the Acts.

[4] The following are all the cases in which the word occurs as clearly a title of office: Acts xi. 30, xiv. 23, xv. 2, 4, 6, 22, 23, xvi. 4, xx. 17, xxi. 18; 1 Tim. v. 17; Titus i. 5; James v. 14; 1 Pet. v. 1, 5. The passage in Acts xv. 23 is noteworthy as the earliest description of a *church with its officers* as "the elders and brethren." In 1 Tim. v. 1 πρεσβυτέρῳ *may* be official, but the simple sense of venerable age seems preferable from the πρεσβυτέρας in the next verse (like the πρεσβύτας and πρεσβυτίδας of Titus ii. 2, 3). The passage in 1 Tim. v. 19 looks more like a formal trial of an office-bearer. In one passage only (1 Tim. iv. 14) have we the substantive πρεσβυτέριον, "presbytery," to denote the body of elders in a church, or, as some would say, the college of presbyters. This word is used for the Jewish elders (apparently the Sanhedrin) in Luke xxii. 66, and Acts xxii. 5.

[5] 1 Peter v. 1. Πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐν ὑμῖν παρακαλῶ, ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος, where the context shows that the former word, at least, is used in the official sense. John also calls himself "The Elder" (ὁ πρεσ-

As this title came from a Jewish source, so the Greek element in the Churches of Macedonia, Asia, and Crete,[1] and the use of the Greek language, supplied the term *ἐπίσκοπος*, of which *bishop* is a mere abbreviation.[2] But it has seldom been observed in how few instances (three only) this word is used; while at the same time, the word *elder* is retained as its equivalent, as we plainly see, especially in the Pastoral Epistles.[3] It is most important to observe that both the *bishops* and the *elders*, not only of a region (as Crete), but of single churches, as at Jerusalem, Ephesus, and Philippi, are always mentioned in the *plural*.[4] This proves, on the one hand, that the office of teaching and governing a congregation was not intrusted to

βύτερος) in the superscription of both his personal Epistles (2 John 1; 3 John 1); but this may refer to his venerable age, rather than to his ministry, especially as it stands in place of his name. Some find a parallel in Philemon 9, *τοιοῦτος ὢν, ὡς Παῦλος πρεσβύτης*, especially as "Paul the aged" is of doubtful exactness to the fact. But the context shows that the true parallel is with his description of himself as "an *ambassador* in bonds," on behalf of Christ (Eph. vi. 20, *ὑπὲρ οὗ πρεσβεύω ἐν ἁλύσει*: comp. 2 Cor. v. 20, *ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ οὖν πρεσβεύομεν*).

[1] This is stated specifically, because these are the only churches in which *ἐπίσκοποι* are mentioned, and that in *only three passages* (except that already noticed in Acts xx. 28), namely, the superscription to "the saints at Philippi, with the *bishops* and deacons" (Philipp. i. 1), and the statement of the qualifications for a bishop in 1 Tim. iii. 2, Titus i. 7. In the former passage (and no other) we have *ἐπισκοπή* for the *office of a bishop*.

[2] This, like our ecclesiastical terms in general, was introduced into England by Augustine (of course in the Latin form, *episcopus*), and adopted into the English language, where we find it from the earliest times in the forms *bisceop* and *biscop*, and then softened into *bishop*. It occurs also as a proper name, not only that of Bede's great contemporary, Biscop, surnamed Benedict, but earlier still in the regal genealogies of the Lindisfare.

[3] The evidence is this: (1) The two offices are never coupled together, as the bishops and deacons are in Philipp. i. 1; but in some churches there are *elders*, as at Jerusalem and Ephesus; in others, *bishops*, as at Philippi. (2) In the Pastoral Epistles, the qualifications of *bishops* and *deacons* stand side by side with the mention of *elders*, for whom no separate qualifications are laid down (comp. 1 Tim. iii. 2, foll. with 1 Tim. v. 17, 19); and, what is of itself decisive, Paul directs Titus to ordain as *elders* men of certain qualifications, for (he adds) "a *bishop* must be blameless, &c."—stating the same qualifications more fully (Tit. i. 5, 7). The interpretation of 1 Tim. v. 17, *Οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι*, as referring to an office of "ruling elders," as distinct from those whose office was to teach, is inconsistent with the general description of the office; and besides, the phrase seems clearly to include the teachers and preachers mentioned in the ensuing words (*μάλιστα οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ*). The *καλῶς προεστῶτες* denotes the right discharge of the office, and is not a definition of the office itself. The terms are still used interchangeably in the second century, by Clement of Rome, Polycarp, and even by so high an asserter of episcopal authority as Irenæus.

[4] See Acts xiv. 23, xv. 2, 4, xx. 17; Philipp. i. 1; 1 Tim. iv. 4.

one person; while, on the other hand, so far at least as the positive evidence goes, there was no one superior to his colleagues in office. But some one of the whole body would almost necessarily act as a president; and the twofold name would naturally lead to his being designated as *the Bishop* of the church.

(2.) The appointment of seven men in the Church of Jerusalem, to make a just division of the funds for the relief of the poor and sick, was clearly the origin of the *Deacons* (διάκονοι, *servants* or *attendants*),[1] who, in the Epistles, are joined with the presbyters and bishops as officers of the churches.[2] But the examples of Stephen and Philip, and the qualifications which Paul lays down, suffice to prove that the Deacons had no small part in the functions of teaching the flock and defending the faith against adversaries. Whether the "good degree," which was the reward of the faithful and efficient deacon,[3] was an advancement to the presbytery, or a reputation such as that gained by Stephen, it would be a bold attempt to decide.

Phœbe, a *Deaconess* of the church at Cenchreæ, is mentioned in one passage;[4] and it has been supposed that a like office was held by Tryphena, Tryphosa, and Persis, whom Paul praises for their labours in the Lord in the church at Rome.[5] "This office was the more needful on account of the rigid separation of the sexes at that day, especially among the Greeks. It opened to pious women and virgins, and especially to widows, a most suitable field for the regular official exercise of their peculiar gifts of self-denying love and devotion to the welfare of the Church. Through it they could carry the light and comfort of the Gospel into the most delicate relations of domestic life, without overstepping their natural sphere."[6]

[1] See Acts vi. for the appointment of the "seven men of honest repute," and Acts xxi. 8, "Philip the evangelist, which was *one of the seven*," who are not yet called *Deacons*. That title occurs only in Philipp. i. 1, and in Paul's description of the qualifications of the deacons (1 Tim. iii. 8, foll.).

[2] The idea of hard servile labour has been attached to the word from a false etymology, as if it meant "toiling and running in the *dust*" (κόνις). But διάκονος or διήκονος seems rather to come from an old verb διάκω, or διήκω (*run*, *hasten*, cognate with διώκω, *pursue*), so that its primitive sense would be akin to that of ἄγγελος. The essential idea contained in the word is that of willing and *helpful service*.

[3] 1 Tim. iii. 13: οἱ γὰρ καλῶς διακονήσαντες βαθμὸν ἑαυτοῖς καλὸν περιποιοῦνται, καὶ πολλὴν παρρησίαν ἐν πίστει τῇ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.

[4] Rom. xvi. 1: Φοίβην . . . . οὖσαν διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς. The ecclesiastical forms of the name are ἡ διάκονος, διακόνισσα, *Diacona*, *Diaconissa*.

[5] *Ibid.* 12.

[6] Schaff, vol. i. p. 135. See an article on *Deaconesses* in the *Quarterly Review* for October, 1860, vol. cviii. p. 343.

§ 5. These indications of the constitution of the Apostolic Church are so general as to include the first principles on which it must always rest, but to exclude the idea of a fixed model for all time and for all states of society. The very nature of the Church, as Christ's body, necessitates an ever-living growth and development and its composition of members who are still imperfect, and subject to sin, involves the development of error and corruption, as well as of truth and holiness. The impartial historian, who has faith in God's promises and man's high destiny in Christ, will trace the twofold process without attempting prematurely to "root out the tares from the wheat," or to award praise and blame, but in the full assurance that all things work together "for the edifying of the body of Christ, till we all come, in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."[1]

When we find ourselves on the hither side of that gulf which (as we have before said) separates the Apostolic from the next age, we are almost startled by the rapid development which we can then trace onward through the second and third centuries. "The distinction between clergy and laity becomes prominent and fixed; subordinate church offices are multiplied; the episcopate arises; the beginnings of the Roman primacy appear; and the exclusive unity of the Catholic Church developes itself in opposition to heretics and schismatics. The Apostolical organization of the first century gives place to the old catholic episcopal system, which, in its turn, passes into the metropolitan, and after the fourth century into the patriarchal. With this the Greek Church stops, while the Latin goes yet a step further, and produces in the Middle Ages the absolute Papacy. The germs of this Papacy likewise betray themselves even in our present period, particularly in Cyprian."[2]

§ 6. This constitutional development is to be traced in the distinction established between the clergy and the laity, and in the gradations of dignity and office within the clerical body. It seems that the Jewish idea of a special priesthood, which in the New Testament is made the type of the holiness and privileges of all Christians, soon came to be taken as the pattern of the Christian ministry and its relation to the people. Even Clement of Rome draws such a parallel between the Christian presidents of churches and the Levitical priesthood, with whom he contrasts the "layman,"[3] that is, "man of the people." Already in the genuine Epistles of Ignatius we find this distinction, as well as the three

[1] Ephes. iv. 12, 13.
[2] Schaff, vol. i. pp. 407–8.
[3] Λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος, *Ep.* 1 *ad Corinth.* 40–44.

orders of the ministry and the dignity of the episcopal office, completely developed, at least in principle.[1] "Whoever" (says he) "is within the sanctuary is pure; but he who does anything without bishop and presbytery, and deacon, is not pure in conscience."[2]

By the beginning of the third century we find the term *Priest*[3] applied especially to the bishop, but also the presbyters; the body of ministers form a special "order" in the Church,[4] sometimes called the "priestly order," and commonly the "clergy,"[5] as having an office *allotted* to them by God, distinct from the Christian "people" or "laity."[6] Hence the admission into the sacred order, by laying-on of hands, was called by the name of *ordination*.[7] In this order there were the three degrees, those of *deacon, presbyter, and bishop*, called "greater orders" (*ordines majores*), in contradistinction to the "lesser orders" (*ordines minores*), from sub-deacon down to door-keeper.[8]

[1] The difference in the testimony of Ignatius, dependent on the genuineness of the several Epistles ascribed to him, is only in *degree*, but still it is immense.

[2] *Ad Trall.* c. 7.

[3] Ἱερεύς, *sacerdos*, and even ἀρχιερεύς and *summus sacerdos* (Tertull. *De Baptism.* 7; *Apost. Const. passim*). Tertullian calls the episcopate *ordo sacerdotalis* (*De Exhort. Cast.* 7); but it seems to be only in irony that he styles the Bishop of Rome *Pontifex Maximus* (*De Pudicit.* 1). Hippolytus calls his office ἀρχιερατεία and διδασκαλία (*Ref. Hær.* I. Procem.). Cyprian often calls the bishop *sacerdos* and his colleagues *consacerdotales*. These Greek and Latin terms are properly expressed by the English word *priest* in its full and usual sense, although etymologically it is merely a contraction of *presbyter*.

[4] Τάξις, *ordo, ordo ecclesiasticus* or *ecclesiæ* (Tertull. *De Monog.* 11; *De Idolol.* 7); *ordo sacerdotalis* (*De Exhort. Cast.* 7).

[5] Κλῆρος, *clerus*, κληρικοί, *clerici*, whence our *clerk*.

[6] Λαός, λαϊκοί, *plebs*.

[7] *Ordinatio*. The word is used in our English Bible as the translation of Greek words signifying *appointment to*, or *establishment in*, the office of a minister.

[8] "The first mention of any inferior office is in Tertullian, who speaks of *Readers* (*De Præscr.* 41). The fuller organization of the lesser orders comes before us in the Epistles of St. Cyprian, and in one of his contemporaries, Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, who states that the Roman Church then numbered 46 Presbyters, 7 Deacons, 7 Subdeacons, 42 Acolyths, and 52 Exorcists, Readers, and Door-keepers (*ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43). The business of the *Subdeacons* was to take care of the sacred vessels, and to assist the deacons in their secular duties; the *Acolyths* lighted the lamps and attended at the celebration of the sacraments; the *Exorcists* had the charge of the *energumens*, or persons who were supposed to be possessed by evil spirits; the *Readers* were employed to read the Scriptures in the services of the church."—Robertson, vol. i. pp. 162–3.

The description of the orders is, however, varied. Tertullian mentions the "order of widows" (*ordo viduarum*) among the *ordines ecclesiastici* (*De Monog.* 12); and Jerome (*In Jes.* v. 19) makes "five orders of the church,"

The body of the people were divided into two classes, the "believers" or "faithful,"[1] those fully established in church fellowship, and the "catechumens." The full place which these held within the church (not like the Jewish and heathen people outside the sanctuary) is recognized by Jerome's enumeration of them among the ecclesiastical orders. Each congregation of persons living in the same place was regarded as the church of a *neighbourhood*, under the Greek name from which we get our word *parish*.[2]

As the clergy became a distinct order, they were more and more separated from secular business, and supported from the church treasury, which was supplied by voluntary contributions and weekly collections on the Sunday.[3] This passed, after the third century, into a positive prohibition from worldly business and even from accepting trusteeships. Moreover, partly from the same principle of separation from the world, and partly on the ground of ascetic purity, the celibacy of the clergy began to be advocated, though not yet laid down as a duty or enforced as a law.

The election of ministers was either made directly by the people, or approved by them if the designation were made by the bishop or the clergy. The consent of the whole congregation was required, from the almost Apostolic age of Clement of Rome[4] down to and beyond the development of clerical authority in the time of Cyprian, who calls this "an apostolic and almost universal regulation."[5] In

namely the three of the clergy and the two of the laity: "Quinque ecclesiæ ordines, *episcopos, presbyteros, diaconos, fideles, catechumenos*."

The idea of the priesthood of all Christians still survived (see Irenæus *adv. Hæres.* iv. 8, § 3), especially among the Montanists, who allowed even women to teach in the church. Tertullian asks, "Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus?" quoting the passage, "He hath made us kings and priests;" and he says that, where there are no ministers, any Christian administered the sacrament and baptized, as "a priest to himself alone." Jerome speaks of the "sacerdotium laici, id est, baptisma," with reference to the custom of requiring the newly baptized person to say the Lord's Prayer in the presence of the congregation.

[1] *Fideles*, from the term πιστοί, which is one of the commonest designations of Christians (those holding the πίστις) in the New Testament.

[2] Παροικία, from πάροικος, *dwelling near*, and (as a substantive) *a neighbour*. There seems to have been originally little, if any, distinction between παροικία and διοίκησις, *a diocese*.

[3] These weekly collections date from apostolic times (1 Cor. xvi. 2), and Paul lays down the principle, as ordained by the Lord himself, that "they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel" (1 Cor. ix. 7–14; Gal. vi. 6; 1 Tim. v. 17; comp. Matt. x. 10, Luke x. 7); but rather as their right than a law binding them, for he himself set the example of sparing the people and preserving his independence in maintaining himself by his own labour (1 Cor. ix. 12-19).

[4] *Epist.* 1 ad Cor. 44: συνευδοκάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης.

[5] *Epist.* lx. 3-4.

the election of a bishop the "*suffragium*" of the people accompanied and often preceded the "*judicium*" of the clergy of the diocese; and elections by a spontaneous outburst of the popular voice were held valid in the cases of Cyprian, and afterwards of Athanasius and Ambrose. But the rite of ordination was necessary for all grades of the ministry.[1]

The exercise of the functions of teaching by laymen survived for some time the separation between laity and clergy. We have seen Origen expounding the Scriptures in the churches of Jerusalem and Cæsarea at the request of their bishops. The "Apostolical Constitutions" ascribe to the Apostle Paul a direction, that, "Though a man be a layman, if experienced in the delivery of instruction, and morally worthy, he may teach; for 'they shall all be taught of God.'" Even the decree of the Fourth Council of Carthage (398), prohibiting laymen from teaching in the presence of clergymen and without their consent, implies that such consent might be given to the act.

§ 7. In this more definite organization of the Church, the most striking feature is the increase in the authority of the bishops, and the introduction of distinctions of rank among them. Whether or no the offices of *bishop* and *presbyter* were at first identical, it is agreed by all that, as most Christian churches had a plurality of presbyters, some one of these obtained, whether from age, character, or ability, the position of a president, and to him the title of *Bishop* was applied in a special sense, while his colleagues retained that of *Presbyter*.[2] Further, we have seen reason to believe that more congregations than one were united in fellowship and government as a church; and, as such congregations became stronger, they might become churches still under the oversight of the bishop of the mother church. The process would doubtless be modified by

[1] The order of Exorcists formed, in some cases at least, an exception to this rule. "The Apostolical Constitutions (which represent the *eastern* system as it was about the end of the third century) declare that this office is not to be conferred by ordination, as being a special gift of divine grace, and a voluntary exercise of benevolence."—Robertson, vol. i. p. 162.

[2] We have the testimony of Jerome that originally, before divisions arose through Satan's instigation, the churches were governed by the common council of the presbyters, and not till a later period was one of the presbyters placed at the head, to watch over the church and suppress schisms; and he distinctly says that the precedence of the bishops and the subjection of the presbyters was *magis consuetudine quam dispositionis Dominicæ veritatis* (*Ad Titum*, i. 7; *Epist.* 83, 85). The Roman deacon Hilary (Ambrosiaster) says, "*Hic enim episcopus est, qui inter presbyteros primus est*" (*Ad* 1 *Tim.* iii. 10). In the relation of the Church to the Jewish Synagogue, the presiding bishop has been compared to the ἀρχισυνάγωγος of Mark v. 35, 36, 38, Luke viii. 41, 49, Acts xviii. 8, 17 (Schaff, vol. i. pp. 419-420).

national character and institutions; so that while among the politically-minded Greeks each city had its own church under its own bishop, and while the same state of things existed in North Africa, we find for a long time no bishop in Palestine except at Jerusalem, and afterwards at the Roman capital of Cæsarea; and Egypt had only one bishop, namely, of Alexandria, down to Demetrius (A.D. 190–235). In the last case we are expressly told by Jerome that, "from Mark the Evangelist down to the Bishops Heraclas and Dionysius, the twelve presbyters always placed in a higher rank one chosen from among themselves, whom they named *Bishop*, like an army making an Imperator, or the deacons elect from their own number one known for his diligence, whom they call Archdeacon."[1]

§ 8. But this would not be a full account of the institution; for while, on one side, the Episcopate was thus developed from the presbyterate, it must be regarded, from another side, as a sort of continuation of the Apostolic office. The discussion of this "Apostolical Succession," as a doctrine, lies beyond our province; but its existence, from very early times, must be recognized as an historical fact, and as the basis of the high authority claimed for the Episcopate, not indeed so much over the presbytery as over the flock. Thus the genuine epistles of Ignatius consist, for the most part, of earnest exhortations to obey the bishop and maintain the unity of the Church against the judaistic and docetic heretics. But it should be observed that these exhortations are addressed to single churches, over each of which the bishop is set, not as the representative of the whole Church nor even as the successor of the Apostles, but as the *Vicar of Christ*, and the centre of unity as representing the authority of God himself.[2] The people should therefore obey him, and do nothing without his will. "Blessed are they who are one with the bishop, as the Church is with Christ, and Christ with the Father." High as was the view of the office thus held at the very beginning of the second century, there is no suggestion in Ignatius of diocesan, much less of a universal episcopacy; and his *Epistle to the Romans* is distinguished from the rest by its silence about bishops.

The language of Irenæus furnishes another landmark, at the be-

[1] Hieron. *Epist. ad Evangelum* (Opp. iv. p. 802, ed. Martinay); Eutychii Patriarch. Alex. I. *Annales*, p. 331. Eutychius, who was patriarch of Alexandria in the tenth century, adds that the newly elected bishop (*patriarcha*) was ordained by the other eleven presbyters—a case of non-episcopal ordination to the episcopate.

[2] Ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τόπον θεοῦ προκαθήμενος. In the very strength of the language of Ignatius some see a sign that the episcopate, in this very exalted view of it, was "as yet a young institution, greatly needing commendation."—Schaff, vol. i. p. 422.

ginning of the third century. This father, the great opponent of Gnosticism, unites with Ignatius in upholding the episcopate as a centre of unity against heretics, but his idea of the office is at once lower and higher. "He represents the institution as an office of the whole Church, and as the continuation of the Apostolate, as the vehicle of the Catholic tradition, and the support of doctrinal unity in opposition to heretical vagaries. He exalts the bishops of the original apostolic churches, above all of the Church of Rome, and speaks with great emphasis of an unbroken episcopal succession."[1] Equally strong is the language of Tertullian before his lapse to Montanism; but after that change he insists on the priesthood of the laity, as opposed to the claims of bishops to represent the Church.

By the middle of the third century, episcopal authority has reached its full development in the writings of Cyprian. In his view the bishops are the channel through which the Holy Ghost, given by Christ to the Apostles, is bestowed in an unbroken succession, for the life of the Church and the efficacy of her ordinances. "The Bishop"—says he—"is in the Church, and the Church is in the Bishop, and if any one is not with the Bishop, he is not in the Church."[2] Cyprian, moreover, regards the whole Episcopacy as one office, having (in the technical phrase) a *solidarity* answering to that of the Church.[3] Thus the growing idea of a *visible unity* in the Church is embodied in the unity of its first order of ministers. As—says Cyprian—the Church is one body, divided by Christ into many members through the whole world, so one episcopate is diffused through the concordant numbers of many bishops.[4] And just because each bishop is but a member of the episcopate, he represents, in his own diocese, the authority of the whole. But his authority is not independent of the presbyters; and Cyprian himself undertook nothing of importance without their advice. As late as the end of the fourth century, the fourth Council of Carthage declared the sentence of a bishop without the concurrence of his clergy to be void (A.D. 398). The same Council decreed that, in the ordination of a presbyter, all the presbyters present should join with the bishop in the imposition of hands.

§ 9. The smaller bodies of Christians scattered about country districts were brought under episcopal supervision either by itinerant visitors (*περιοδευταί, visitatores*), or by means of resident assistants to the bishop, called "country bishops" (*Chorepiscopi*),[5]

[1] *Adv. Hær.* iii. 3, §§ 1, 2, iv. 33, § 8; Schaff, vol. i. p. 423.

[2] Cyprian, *Epist.* lxvi. 3.

[3] "Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis *in solidum* pars tenetur."

[4] *Epist.* lv. 20.

[5] The *χωρεπίσκοπος* is also called *vicarius episcopi, villanus episcopus, vicanus episcopus*, as opposed to the *cathedralis episcopus*.

who ranked between the bishop and the presbyters. They first appear in Asia Minor, in the latter part of the third century.

§ 10. As the several churches became thus more fully organized, they tended to union in larger masses. From the earliest times, the pastors of neighbouring churches met for consultation as occasions arose; and the custom of holding such "synods"[1] regularly, once or twice a year, was established by the end of the second century.[2] Such meetings were naturally held at the chief city of each province or district, and the church of this *Metropolis* came to be regarded as a sort of *Mother Church* to those around it. Its bishop was naturally the president of the assembled clergy, and their representative in communicating with other churches. This occasional position grew, of course, into a sort of permanent dignity and precedence. In accordance with the tendency for the growing organization of the Church to follow that of the Empire, the bishops of such churches were called *Metropolitans* (Μητροπολίται). A superior dignity attached also to the "apostolic" or "mother churches,"[3] as planted by the Apostles themselves, and therefore the surest depositaries of apostolic doctrine and practice. Both causes of precedence were united in the Churches of *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, and *Rome*, which were the capitals of the three great divisions of the Empire (ἐπαρχίαι). Their Metropolitans appropriated the title of *Archbishop*, which had before been given to all Metropolitans, and afterwards that of *Patriarch*, which had been an honorary title of all bishops, especially in the East. The same title was given to the Bishop of Jerusalem, the mother Church of Christendom, and afterwards to the Bishop of Constantinople, the new capital of the Empire. It was first applied in this special sense by the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451).

The sphere in which a bishop presided, whether it were a city, a district, or a province, was originally called simply his "neighbourhood" or parish (παροικία).[4] But when Constantine, in remodelling the empire, applied the name of *diocese* (διοίκησις) to the larger divisions, each of which contained several provinces (ἐπαρχίαι), the same name was adopted in an ecclesiastical sense for the sphere of a Patriarch, or, as the chief bishop of a diocese was also called, an exarch. But (perhaps from the literal meaning of the word),[5] it was soon restricted to the sense which it has since retained, the province of every bishop.

[1] Σύνοδος, *a meeting*. [2] *Can. Apost.* 36; Robertson, vol. i. p. 163.
[3] *Sedes apostolicæ*, *matrices ecclesiæ*. [4] See above, p. 181.
[5] Διοίκησις signified originally the *management of a household*, and hence *any kind of administration*, and in this sense it was used as equivalent to the Roman *provincia* (which has the same sense), and it was applied especially to the smaller administrative districts. Its ultimate use in eccle-

§ 11. The claims which ripened into the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome over the Western Church had already been put forward, and to a great extent admitted, during the first three centuries. Arising naturally out of the civil supremacy of the capital, the pretensions of Rome were supported by the fiction of Peter's bishopric there, and also by the equally groundless statement, that the Church was founded by Paul.[1] Such a claim has been vainly sought in the exhortations which Clement addresses, not in his own name, but in that of the Roman Church, to the sister Church of Corinth. Ignatius, in writing to the Church of Rome, assigns to it a precedence, not in authority but in *love*,[2] and, curiously enough, he neither addresses nor names its bishop.

At the end of the second century we first find a "precedence" assigned by Irenæus, not to the *Bishop* of Rome, as the successor of Peter, but to the *Church* of Rome, as the chief centre of the apostolical tradition derived from Peter and Paul. It is just because that apostolical tradition is preserved by all the churches everywhere, that these churches—he does not say *ought to submit to*—but *must needs agree with* the Church of Rome. The writer gave a practical commentary on his words when, himself "agreeing with" Bishop Victor about Easter, he rebuked him for breaking off fellowship with the Asiatic churches; and those churches answered the

siastical language may be connected with the idea of a bishop's "behaving himself in the house of God, which is the church" (1 Tim. iii. 15). We find it, indeed, applied to every kind of ecclesiastical division, the province of a patriarch, or a metropolitan, or a bishop, down to the district of a single church.

The term *seat* (*καθέδρα*) or *see*, for the place which is the centre of a bishop's diocese, was derived from the actual seat, or, as it came to be called, *throne*, occupied by the bishop in his church (*βῆμα καὶ θρόνος ὕψηλος*, Euseb. *H. E.* vii. 30, in contradistinction to the *δεύτεροι θρόνοι* of the presbyters). In this sense Eusebius speaks of the *ἀποστολικὸς θρόνος* of St. James at Jerusalem (vii. 19, 32); and St. Mark's chair was shown at Alexandria. But the word is found in the secondary sense of *see* as early as Tertullian, who uses the phrase *Cathedræ Apostolorum* for the apostolical succession of bishops in the *Ecclesiæ Apostolorum*.

[1] In the famous passage of Irenæus, which claims the agreement of the whole Church with the Church of Rome, which has the precedence as founded by the two most illustrious Apostles, Peter and Paul, it is also absurdly called the *oldest* church (*Adv. Hær.* iii. 3, § 2). The passage is found only in the Latin version, the reading of which is somewhat doubtful: "Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potentiorem (Massuet conjectures *potiorem*) principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est eos qui sunt undique fideles, in quâ semper ab his qui sunt undique conservata est ab apostolis traditio."

[2] *Προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης.* Compare Paul's language about the *faith* of the Roman Church (Rom. i. 8). Some Roman Catholic divines arbitrarily put on *τῆς ἀγάπης* a concrete sense, as if it meant the Church united in love.

Roman Bishop's dictation by appealing to their own "apostolical tradition." The same kind of precedence, and on the same grounds, is maintained by Tertullian in his earlier writings; but the bitter irony with which, after his lapse to Montanism, he calls the Roman Bishop "pontifex maximus" and "episcopus episcoporum," furnishes some evidence of the growth of the claim to supremacy. The evidence derived from Hippolytus, the vehement opponent of the Bishops Zephyrinus and Callistus for their lax discipline, goes no further than the claim of the Bishop of Rome to supremacy in his own diocese, and to exemption from being deposed, even for mortal sin.

Cyprian is the first eminent advocate of the superiority of the Bishop of Rome as the successor of Peter, on whom Christ founded His Church,[1] and to whom He gave the commission, "Feed my sheep." He calls the Church of Rome "the chair of Peter and the chief Church, whence the unity of the priesthood had its source"—"the root and mother of the Catholic Church."[2] In this view *unity* is still the prevalent idea; and, just as Cyprian regards Christ's commission to Peter as the bond of unity among the Apostles, who were like him endowed fully with their Master's authority, so he claims equality and independence for all bishops, as all equally the successors of the Apostles. He addresses the Bishop of Rome, not as *Father* (*Papa*, Pope), but as his *brother* and *colleague*; and, in the controversy about heretical baptism, he does not scruple to charge Bishop Stephen with error and abuse of power. So, too, the Cappadocian Bishop, Firmilian, the disciple of Origen, while acknowledging the Bishop of Rome's precedence, turns the ground of it into a rebuke, telling him that "he ought to abide on the rock foundation, instead of laying a new one by recognizing heretical baptism."

"From this testimony it is clear that the growing influence of the Roman see was rooted in public opinion, and in the need of unity in the ancient Church. It is not to be explained at all by the talents and ambition of the incumbents. On the contrary, the personality of the thirty Popes[3] of the first three centuries falls

[1] So early, and indeed much earlier, is the great misinterpretation of the text, which is blazoned round the dome of St. Peter's at Rome (Matt. xvi. 18). Concerning the true sense—that the *Rock*, of which Peter's name was but the symbol, is Christ himself—see the *N. T. Hist.* chap. ix. § 14. It is worthy of notice that the text is not found in the Gospel of Mark, which is believed to have been written under the direction of Peter himself.

[2] "Petri cathedram atque ecclesiam principalem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est" (*Epist.* lix. 19, ed. Goldhorn): "ecclesiæ catholicæ radicem et matricem" (*Epist.* xl. 2).

[3] This retrospective use of the title, in accordance with Roman Catholic custom, is apt to mislead. The "onomatopoetic" word *pāpa* or *pappa*,

quite remarkably into the background; though they are all canonized saints, and, according to a later, but very doubtful tradition, were also, with two exceptions, martyrs."[1] After remarking on the absence from the list of the great names among the fathers,[2] Professor Schaff adds:—"It is further worthy of remark that just the oldest links in the chain of Roman bishops are veiled in impenetrable darkness. While Tertullian and most of the Latins (and the pseudo-Clementines) make Clement the first successor of Peter, Irenæus, Eusebius, and other Greeks (with Jerome and the Roman catalogue) give him the third place, and put Linus and Anacletus between him and Peter."

§ 12. The growing organization of the Christian Churches is connected at every step with the attempt to embody the idea of the unity of the Church Universal—the body of Christ, of which both individual Christians and the several churches formed by their union for worship and fellowship are the members—in the "Holy Catholic Church"[3] of the Apostles' Creed, or, as it is called more fully in the Nicene, the "one Holy Catholic Apostolic Church."[4]

This idea is common to the great teachers of the second and third centuries, as a plain matter of fact, without reference to any distinction between the visible and invisible Church. Springing from the sentiment of mutual love and common brotherhood in Christ, it assumed a more definite and harder form through the conflict with heresy; and it was only in accordance with human nature that the antagonistic element should prevail, and that the comprehensive term "Catholic" was used specially to exclude all that was deemed "heretical" and "schismatic." The development of this doctrine of Catholic unity, like that of the episcopate which is closely

which, from the very construction of the organs of speech, is one of the first uttered by infant lips, is found as early as Homer for *father* (*Od.* vi. 57, *πάππα φίλ'*, in the vocative; and in *Il.* v. 408, the derived verb, *μιν παῖδες παππάζουσιν*, "children call him papa"). In early ecclesiastical Latin it was applied to bishops in general, like *πατριάρχης* in Greek (Tertull. *De Pudic.* 13). But, curiously enough, the common and special senses of the two words got transposed in the two churches; and at the present day every Romish priest is called "father" (*pater*) and every Greek priest "pope" (*papa*). The use of *Papa* (Pope), as the pre-eminent title of the Bishop of Rome, is first clearly found in Ennodius of Pavia, about A.D. 500 (Robertson, vol. i. p. 560).

[1] Schaff, vol. i. pp. 430–1.

[2] Jerome's list of 136 "Illustrious Men" of the first four centuries contains only four Roman bishops, Clement, Victor, Cornelius, and Damasus; and they wrote only a few Epistles.

[3] *Sancta Ecclesia Catholica.*

[4] The clause belongs to the addition to the Nicene Creed made by the Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381). Its form should be noticed—"Credo unam sanctam catholicam ecclesiam"—not "credo in (*εἰς*)," as in the clauses declaring faith in the Divine Persons.

connected with it, may be traced through the writings of Ignatius, Irenæus, and Cyprian, in whose work 'On the Unity of the Church' it culminates. Nor is it taught less plainly by Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, though they were themselves accused of departure from Catholic truth. It was Tertullian that first made the famous comparison of the Church to Noah's Ark, to signify that "Out of the church there is no salvation." "The Church," says Irenæus, "is the dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost on earth; where the Church is, there is also the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and all grace."[1]

§ 13. The Catholic unity of the Church was exhibited and upheld, and its voice found utterance, in those *Synods* or *Councils*, which we have had occasion to mention.[2] Whether such assemblies were larger or smaller, each, if duly convened and constituted, was complete in itself, and could speak with authority; for, when a matter of dispute arose between brethren, Christ had bidden them to "tell it to the Church;" and He had given the promise, "Where two or three are *gathered together in my Name*, there am I in the midst of them."[3] To this principle a precedent was added from the meeting at Jerusalem to decide on the differences in the Church of Antioch; and the same divine guidance was recognized in their decisions.[4] That precedent was also followed in the constitution of the primitive councils. In the time of Cyprian, not only the bishops and presbyters, but confessors and some chosen laymen, took part in the proceedings, though with unequal powers of voting;[5] and, as the

[1] *Adv. Hær.* iii. 24.

[2] See above, § 10. The word *Concilium* is first used in the ecclesiastical sense by Tertullian (*De Jejun.* 13; *De Pudicit.* 10); Σύνοδος, first in the *Apost. Constit.* v. 20, and *Canons*, c. 36 or 38; also in Euseb. *H. E.* v. 23, &c. The Latin and Greek words were at first equivalent; but in medieval times *Council* was used for *provincial*, *Synod* for *diocesan* assemblies.

[3] Matt. xviii. 20.

[4] Acts. xv. The ἔδοξε τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι καὶ ἡμῖν (of verse 28) is echoed (for example) in the "Placuit nobis Sancto Spiritu suggerente" of the Council of Carthage, A.D. 252 (Cyprian. *Epist.* liv.).

[5] The Council of Carthage, upon Heretical Baptism (about 256), was attended by 87 bishops, very many priests and deacons, and most of the common people (*maxima pars plebis*); but in its Acts the bishops only appear as voters (Cyprian. *Opp.* pp. 329-338). The Acts of other early councils, however, are signed by the presbyters and deacons after the bishops. So to the councils upon the Lapsed, Cyprian summoned the bishops and clergy, the confessors and *laicos stantes* (*i.e.* laymen in good standing, whatever that may mean), and the Roman clergy write to Cyprian about a synodical consultation of the bishops with the priests, deacons, confessors, and *laicis stantibus* (Cyp. *Epist.* 31). The like order is found in synods of the third century in Syria and Spain.

councils were held in public, the voice of the whole community was heard, sometimes not without an influence on the decision. In course of time, not only the laity, but the inferior clergy, were excluded. After the Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325) the bishops alone sat and voted, and that not as the representatives of their churches, but as the successors of the Apostles.

The earliest councils were convened for dealing with a controversy or heresy as the emergencies arose, and they were composed of as many representatives of churches as could be gathered from neighbouring places and provinces. The first of this kind known were those in Greece, mentioned by Tertullian;[1] those convened in Asia Minor against the Montanists about the middle of the second century;[2] and those held both in the East and West on the question of Easter in the latter part of the same century.[3]

The more regular Councils are of four kinds, according to the extent of the district represented in each. (1) It was in Greece, where the people were accustomed both to civic organization and to united council in their amphictyonies (which survived down to this time), that the custom began of holding stated meetings once or twice a year, in the "parish" of each bishop, on the model already explained. Such synods are first expressly mentioned in the third century, when they had no doubt been long established as a matter of convenience. They correspond to the *Diocesan Councils* of later times. (2) *Provincial Councils* were held for consultation among the churches of a whole province, under the Metropolitan, whose presence was essential to constitute a "perfect synod."[4] These also had probably become a regular part of the organization of the Church some time before they are first mentioned, in the middle of the third century, by Cyprian in the West and by Firmilian in the East, where they met in Asia regularly and of course (*necessario*) once a year for purposes of discipline.[5] (3) The councils of a patriarchate, primacy or exarchate (that is, of a *diocese* in the old sense), do not appear as regular annual assemblies till the latter part of the fourth century, though their type is seen in the early councils held on special emergencies. They were called national (*regionis*), plenary, universal, or general;[6] and Tertullian speaks of such a council as a representation of the whole Christian name.[7] (4) But

[1] *De Jejun.* 13. [2] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 16. [3] *Ibid.* 24.

[4] Σύνοδος τελεία, *Concil. Antioch.* Can. 16 (A.D. 341).

[5] "Councils of the Churches" are already named by Tertullian as if they were an ordinary institution (*De Pudicit.* 10).

[6] *Plenarium, Universale, Generale.* The regular name of the primatial council of Africa was *Universale Anniversarium.*

[7] *Repræsentatio totius Christiani nominis* (Tertull. *l. c.*).

this universality had a practical limit, till the central authority of the Empire became Christian. Then for the first time Constantine assembled a Council of the whole Church throughout the Roman Empire, and, as far as possible, throughout the whole world. This Council, held at Nicæa in Bithynia, in A.D. 325, was the first of those called ŒCUMENICAL,[1] or *General*, *Universal*, and *Plenary* in the widest sense. The decrees of such a Council were regarded as having the certainty derived from "the consent of the universal Church."[2]

[1] The phrase ἡ οἰκουμένη (sc. γῆ), literally "the inhabited earth," was used to denote the whole civilized world, and also the Roman Empire. In the time of Constantine the latter sense corresponded very nearly (though not exclusively) to the extension of the Church, and it described, of course, the regions from which bishops could be assembled at the call and under the protection of the Emperor. But that the ecclesiastical sense of "Œcumenical" was not limited to the Empire is proved by the phrases used by Augustin and Sulpicius Severus, *totius orbis, ex toto orbe, plenarium universæ ecclesiæ, plenarium ex universo orbe Christiano.*

[2] "Universalis ecclesiæ consensio" (Augustin. *De Bapt. c. Donat.* vii. 53).

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

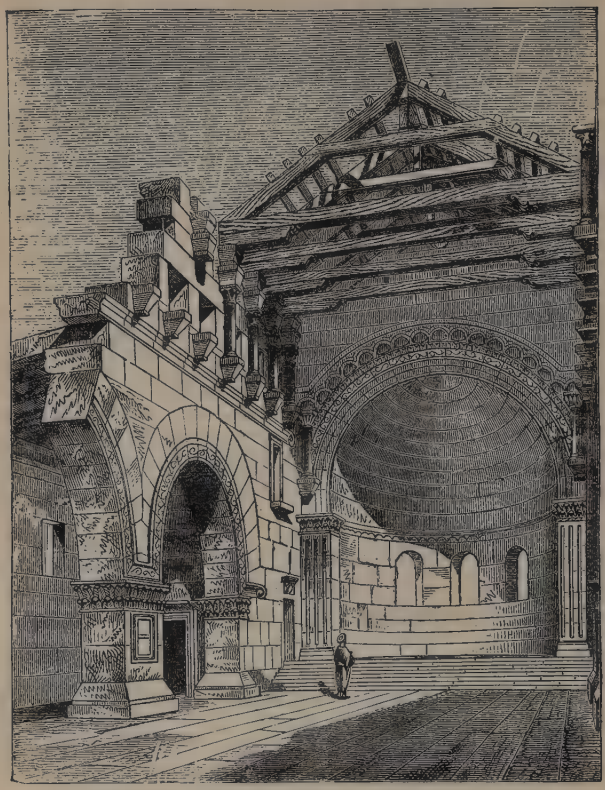
ŒCUMENICAL COUNCILS.

THE General or Universal Councils, the authority of which is acknowledged both by the Greek and Latin Churches, are :—

	A.D.
1. The *First* of NICÆA	325
2. The *First* of CONSTANTINOPLE	381
3. The Council of EPHESUS	431
4. The Council of CHALCEDON	451
5. The *Second* of CONSTANTINOPLE	553
6. The *Third* of CONSTANTINOPLE	680
7. The *Second* of NICÆA	787

Thus *Nicæa* both opens and closes the list. Respecting the difference between the Greek and Latin Churches as to the *Eighth General Council*, see Chap XX. §§ 15, 16.

There are several Roman Catholic Councils which claim to be General. The two latest are that of *Trent*, 1545, and that of Rome, 1869–70.



Ancient Syrian Church of the Sixth Century, at Kalb Louzeh.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE WORSHIP AND SACRAMENTS AND FESTIVALS OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

CENTURIES I.–III.

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§ 1. DURING the second and third centuries we trace the gradual transition from the meetings in private houses and retired places,[1] which alone were possible for the poor and persecuted sect, to their possession of regular places of public worship. But, apart from such necessity, the Apologists constantly avow the indifference of the Christians for sacred places; and they glory in the taunt of their heathen adversaries that they had neither temples nor altars. Thus Justin Martyr said to the Roman prefect, "The Christians assemble wherever it is convenient, because their God is not, like the gods of the heathens, enclosed in space, but is invisibly present everywhere." To the like taunt of Celsus, Origen answers, "The humanity of Christ is the highest temple and the most beautiful image of God, and true Christians are living statues of the Holy Ghost, with which no Jupiter of Phidias can compare."

Their meetings in private houses were commonly held in the oblong dining-hall (*triclinium*), which had often a semicircular niche, like the choir in the later churches.[2] "An elevated seat[3] was used for reading the Scriptures and preaching, a basin of water for baptism, and a simple table[4] for the Holy Communion."[5] Before the time of Tertullian, that is, in the second century, the table had come to be commonly called also by the name of *altar*.[6]

[1] Such as deserts, the tombs of the martyrs, and the catacombs.

[2] *Chorus*, βῆμα.

[3] Ἄμβων, *suggestus*, *pulpitum*. Cyprian says, "pulpitum, id est *tribunal ecclesiæ*."

[4] Τράπεζα, *mensa sacra*. [5] Schaff, vol. i. p. 371; Robertson, vol. i. p. 166.

[6] *Ara*, *altare*; on the whole subject, see the *Dict. of Ch. Ant.*, Art. ALTAR.

§ 2. This use of the word *altar* was probably connected with the definite fixing of the table (as well as the pulpit and other arrangements) in the *churches*,[1] which we find in common use (whether as special buildings, or merely adapted to Christian worship) by the end of the second century. Thus, Tertullian speaks of "going to church, to the house of God;"[2] and we have mentioned the grant of a site for a church by Alexander Severus, in spite of the protest of the tavern-keepers.[3] During the forty years of repose, which nearly coincide with the second half of the third century, the growing numbers of the Christians required, as Eusebius tells us, everywhere more numerous and larger churches, which were often built with architectural splendour, and were furnished with vessels of gold and silver.[4] An example—perhaps the grandest of all—is presented by the church at the eastern capital of Nicomedia, which, Lactantius tells us, towered above the palace of Diocletian, whose persecution began with the destruction of this edifice. "In these churches a portion was separated from the rest by railings, which were intended to exclude the laity. Within this enclosure were the holy table, or altar, which was usually made of wood, the pulpit or reading-desk, and the seats of the clergy."[5]

§ 3. As to the form of worship in the primitive Christian assemblies, we have singularly precise and interesting testimony. The account derived by Pliny from the accused Christians[6] is almost re-echoed in the 'Apology' of Justin Martyr.[7] "On Sunday, a meeting is held of all who live in the cities and villages, and a section is read from the Memoirs of the Apostles (the New Testament) and the writings of the Prophets, so long as the time permits.[8] When the reader has finished, the president,[9] in a discourse (or homily)[10] gives the admonition and exhortation to imitate these noble things. After this, we all rise, and offer common prayer.[11] At the close of

[1] Ἐκκλησίαι, κυριακαί, οἶκοι θεοῦ, *ecclesiæ*, *dominicæ*, *domus Dei*. (See note at the end of Chap. I.)

[2] "In ecclesiam, in domum Dei venire."

[3] See above, Chap. V. § 2.

[4] Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 1.

[5] Robertson, vol. i. p. 166.

[6] See Chap. III. § 3.

[7] *Apol.* i. 65–67.

[8] The Scriptures were read in the common speech of the congregation, usually Greek or Latin. Where other languages prevailed, into which the Bible was not yet translated, the lessons were first read in Greek or Latin, and then translated by an interpreter.

[9] Ὁ προεστώς, the presiding presbyter, or bishop; another indication of the growth of the superior office.

[10] This name, ὁμιλία, *a conversation* or *familiar discourse*, which is also the primary meaning of the Latin *sermo* (our "sermon"), indicates the simple style which was originally preserved, as distinguished from the rhetorical speeches of heathen orators and philosophers. How human nature prevailed, in this as in other points, will be seen in the preaching of the following age.

[11] Εὐχὰς πεμπόμεν, *preces emittimus*.

the prayer, as we have before described, bread and wine and water are brought. The president offers prayers and thanks for them according to his ability,[1] and the congregation answers *Amen*. Then the consecrated elements are distributed to each one and partaken of, and are carried by the deacons to the houses of the absent. The wealthy and the willing then give contributions, according to their free will; and this collection is deposited with the president, who therewith supplies orphans and widows, the poor and needy, prisoners and strangers, and takes care of all who are in want."

§ 4. The silence of the Apologist about the hymn sung to "Christ as God," in the earlier account of Christian worship by Pliny, is amply supplied from other sources. A large part of the service consisted in singing the Psalms of the Old Testament, the few but cherished canticles of the New,[2] and the new hymns, which were composed not only as the utterance of praise, but as the means of impressing doctrine in a more vivid form on the minds of the worshippers.[3] To such hymns, for example, a writer about the close of the second century appeals against the heresy of Artemon:[4]— "How many psalms and songs of the Christians are there not, which have been written by believers from the beginning, and which in their theology praise Christ as the Word of God?" The only remains of these earliest hymns of the Church are the noble one of Clement of Alexandria, and the morning and evening hymn in the Apostolical Constitutions. The introduction of the *Antiphon*,[5] or responsive hymn sung by a double choir, is ascribed to Ignatius of Antioch. The tradition denotes the introduction in the Church of Antioch of this ancient form of Jewish psalmody,[6] which (Philo says) was used by the Essenes, and which seems to be implied in

[1] Ὅση αὐτῷ δύναμις seems to have the same force as Tertullian's *de pectore* and *ex proprio ingenio*, but some would render it *totis viribus*, "with all his might." (Comp. Otto, *Just. Mart.* i. p. 160.)

[2] As the *Magnificat*, the *Benedictus*, and the *Nunc Dimittis*, or Songs of the Virgin, of Zacharias, and of Simeon, the *Gloria in Excelsis* or *Hymnus Angelicus* (Luke i. and ii.), and the *Sanctus* of Rev. iv. 8.

[3] The heretics, as well as the orthodox, made much use of hymnology in this way. Hymns were composed by the Gnostics, the Valentinians, and Bardesanes.

[4] Euseb. *H. E.* v. 28.

[5] Ἀντίφωνον, Lat. *antiphona*: whence our old English *Antefn*, *Antem* (Chaucer), and modern *Anthem*. Two sorts of responsive singing are to be distinguished: the *Responsorial*, when one singer (or a reader), begins, and the whole choir answers, in alternate verses; and the *Antiphonal*, when the choir is divided into two parts or sides, each of which sings alternate verses. The latter is thus defined by Isidore (*Origines*, vi. 18): "*Antiphona* ex Græco interpretatur *vox reciproca*; duobus scilicet choris alternatim psallantibus ordine commutato."

[6] 1 Chron. v. 31, foll. and xxv. Several Psalms (as xxiv. and cxxxiv.) appear to be essentially antiphonal.

the "secum invicem" of Pliny's account of the hymn sung by the Christians.

§ 5. Justin's description includes the sacrament of the *Lord's Supper*, or the *Eucharist*,[1] in the ordinary Christian service of the Sunday. But in the latter part of the second century a separation was made in the public worship of the *Catechumens* and the *Believers*.[2] After the reading of the Scriptures, preaching, prayer, and singing, all the unbaptised, those under penance, and the heathens who might be present, were dismissed by the deacons, and the doors were closed or guarded, while only the full members of the Church remained for the communion and the liturgical service connected with it. This separation is first mentioned by Tertullian,[3] when he reproaches the heretics with casting their pearls (though false ones) to the dogs and swine by the opposite practice. This separation helped to invest the Eucharistic service with the character of a *mystery* of which the *initiated*[4] alone might partake, and the name of the "*Holy Communion*" came to be used to express this mystic partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ.[5]

[1] Εὐχαριστία, properly *thanksgiving*. (See Matt. xxvi. 27; Mark xiv. 22, 23; Luke xxii. 17, 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24; comp. Matt. xv. 36; John vi. 11, 23; Acts xxvii. 35, 1 Cor. xiv. 16.)

[2] Λειτουργία τῶν κατηχουμένων and λ. τῶν πιστῶν, *Missa catechumenorum* and *Missa fidelium*. The Latin phrases are first used late in the fourth century by Augustine, and in the Acts of the Council of Carthage (A.D. 398). The word *missa* (equivalent to *missio*, *dimissio*), denoting the formula of dismissal at the end of each service, and hence the whole service, came to be applied specifically to the communion service, apparently because of the previous dismissal of the catechumens and others. In the slightly altered form of *Mass* it has become so inseparably connected with the Roman Catholic view of the sacrament that to plead for its general use from its indifferent literal meaning is an absurdity of a sort only too familiar to those who study the original and derived meanings of words.

[3] *De Præscr. Hæret.* 41.

[4] Μεμυημένοι, *initiati*, is used as equivalent to πιστοί, *fideles*, and opposed to ἀμυήτοι and ἄπιστοί by the writers of the third and fourth centuries. This distinction is connected with that system of secret progressive instruction in the doctrines of Christianity which, under the name of *Disciplina Arcani*, was the subject of a famous controversy between Romanists and Protestants in the seventeenth century; the former contending that certain doctrines and practices, which cannot be proved from the writings of the early Fathers, were reserved for such teaching to the initiated. It must suffice here to say that traces of some sort of esoteric teaching are found as early as the second and third centuries. But the Fathers defend the practice, not from any analogy to the heathen mysteries, but from the necessity of guarding the holy things of Christianity from profanation by the heathen world or corruption by novices in the faith. The distinction is fully developed in the liturgies of the fourth century; but it disappears in the sixth and seventh centuries, except in the Eastern Church, where only formal traces of it are retained.

[5] This idea of a mystery was attached also to baptism, for the rite was withdrawn from the view of Jews and heathens.

All communicants received both the bread and the wine; the former being ordinary leavened bread,[1] and the wine being mixed with water at least as early as the time of Justin. The elements were carried by the deacons after the service to those who were sick or in prison. The earliest germs of the Romish practice of communion "in one kind" (that is, the bread alone) seem to have sprung from the communicants carrying home portions of the bread, to be partaken of by the family at morning prayer. This practice of "domestic communion" prevailed in North Africa, as well as that of infant communion (with wine only), which is still practised in the Greek Church.[2]

§ 6. As the Communion was instituted by Christ at the close of the Paschal Supper, so the primitive Churches celebrated it in the evening, in connection with the social meal, at which all inequalities among the brethren were forgotten in the common bond which gave it the name of a *Feast of Love*, or in Greek, more simply, *Agape* (Ἀγάπη), i.e. *Love*. This combination of the social meal with the sacred celebration seems to be referred to at the beginning of the Apostolical age:—"And all that believed . . . . breaking bread from house to house, did eat their food with gladness and singleness of heart."[3] But it is an affecting sign of the rapid progress of corruption, that the only references to this custom are rebukes of the disorders that naturally arose out of it. The test of brotherly self-denial and Christian courtesy was too much for the mixture of rank and wealth in the Church of Corinth. The meeting, of which the chief purpose was to eat the Lord's Supper, was changed into a scene of partial self-indulgence, by which the rich, who might have feasted in their own houses, insulted the poor, who, homeless or destitute at home, came modestly to share the simple feast of love. Instead of waiting for one another, each hastened to be first in eating his own supper, and one was hungry, and another full of drink.[4] The *name* of "Love-Feast" (ἀγάπη) is

[1] The Judaizing Ebionites alone used unleavened bread.

[2] The practice was based on the inference, drawn from John vi. 53, that no one, whether man, woman, or child, could have spiritual life without partaking of the Eucharist.

[3] Acts ii. 46. It is most natural to suppose that the meeting of the disciples at Troas, to break bread on the evening of the first day of the week (evidently a customary time), was also a social meal which they partook with Paul on the eve of his departure (Acts xx. 7).

[4] Μεθύει does not necessarily denote intoxication. (1 Cor. xi. 18–22, 33, 34.) The whole description is that of a feast like the civic or club banquets of the Grecian states (the ἔρανοι, συσσίτια, and φειδίτια), to which each person brought his own provisions, the rich indulging in luxury, and leaving the poor to shift for themselves. From later accounts we know that the cost of the Love-Feasts fell chiefly on the wealthier

not used here by Paul; but towards the close of the Apostolic age the "ungodly men," who had "crept in unawares," are described as "spots in your *feasts of charity* (or *Love-Feasts, ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν*), when they feast with you without fear, feeding themselves."[1] But such abuses were the exception, and "the common and harmless meal" for which the Christians came together on the evening of "a stated day" is the type of their primitive love-feasts.[2] Both for the name and the wide-spread usage in the East and West, we have witnesses in Ignatius,[3] Clement of Alexandria,[4] and Tertullian.[5]

The Love-Feast was not only a social sign of brotherhood, but a meeting for devotion and mutual encouragement and information. It began with a blessing (*εὐλογία*), pronounced by the presiding presbyter, or bishop, and the meal itself was closed,[6] after the example of Christ, by passing round the broken pieces of one loaf, after it had been blessed, and then "the cup of blessing." When they had washed their hands, and the lamps had been brought in[7] (unless the season required lights earlier), the gifted members were called on to expound the Scriptures or to exhort their brethren; a hymn was sung; intelligence was heard, and letters were read from other churches, and their members who brought letters of recommendation (*ἐπιστόλαι συστατικαί*) were received. Collections were

members of the church, whether they were paid for out of the common funds or provided by contributions of food, sent beforehand or brought at the time.

[1] Jude 12, following Tischendorf's punctuation. The reading *ἐν ταῖς ἀγάπαις* is of higher authority than *ἐν ταῖς ἀπάταις*, "in their deceivings." In the parallel passage in 2 Pet. ii. 13, however, the balance of the best MSS. is in favour of *ἀπάταις*, but there is considerable authority for *ἀγάπαις*. The two passages can hardly be separated, and the combined critical evidence, taken with the fitness of the sense, seems to justify *ἀγάπαις* in both. The word occurs in a third passage (1 Peter v. 13), "Greet one another with a kiss of charity," where "the true reading (*ἐν φιλήματι ἀγάπης*, not *ἁγίῳ*) cannot be disjoined from the fact that there was a feast known then, or very soon afterwards, by that name, at which such a salutation was part of the accustomed ceremonials" (*Dict. of Christ. Antiqq. s. v.* AGAPÆ). Compare the "holy kiss" of Rom. xvi. 16.

[2] Plin. *Epist.* as quoted above, Chap. III. § 3.

[3] *Epist. ad Smyrn.* 8. The longer recension makes a more marked separation of the "Lord's Supper" from the "Agapé" than the shorter does.

[4] *Pædagog.* ii. p. 142.

[5] *Apol.* c. 39.

[6] "Chrysostom (*Hom.* 27 and 54 on 1 Cor. xi.), followed by Theodoret and Theophylact (*in loc.*) and most liturgical writers, says 'before,' but obviously under the influence of later practice, and the belief that the Eucharist could not have been received otherwise than fasting in the time of the Apostles." (*Dict. of Christ. Antiqq.*)

[7] As in Acts xx. 8.

made for the poor or for distressed churches. Finally, they rose and "saluted one another with the holy kiss," or "kiss of love;"[1] and after prayer they dispersed quietly and orderly.

We have had occasion to notice the charges of Thyestean banquets and promiscuous intercourse, which the heathens founded on these simple feasts and pure salutations. The letter of Pliny is a sufficient vindication of the innocence of the genuine primitive *Agapæ*; but, as we have seen, the Apostles themselves bear witness to their occasional corruption. The disorders rebuked by Paul at Corinth are found again in the wealthy church of Alexandria;[2] and the protest of Clement against the use of flutes at Christian feasts seems to show that even the lighter and wilder form of secular music had usurped the place of "psalms and hymns and spiritual songs."[3] Clement, however, allows the more sober music of the harp or lyre.[4] Tertullian bears remarkable testimony both to the primitive purity and the corruption of the Love-Feasts; and the beautiful description of them in his 'Apology' justifies the belief that his later sweeping charges of luxury, and even of vice, are founded on a few exceptional cases, and exaggerated by the bitter hostility of the ascetic Montanist. Other corruptions crept in, short of positive disorder, but no less fatal to the character of the Love-Feasts. As the churches became larger, and, in the worldly sense, more prosperous, the *Agapæ* tended to degenerate into social entertainments for the wealthy, as at Alexandria, or a mere dole of food to the poor, as in Africa.[5]

Other causes tended to make the perpetuation of the Love-Feasts impossible. They were at first held in the same "upper rooms" and various resorts as the other assemblies of the Church. But when special buildings were set apart for worship, their use for banquets came to be regarded as unbecoming, if not a profanation; till the holding of *Agapæ* in churches was expressly forbidden by Councils.[6] Moreover, the growth of the doctrine of the "real presence" led to the practice of receiving the Eucharist fasting; and this was laid down as a law by the third Council of Carthage (A.D. 397). In consequence, probably, of this decision, the Eucharist

[1] Rom. xvi. 16; 1 Pet. v. 14. "We may probably think of some order like that which attends the use of a 'grace-cup' in college or civic feasts; each man kissed by his neighbour on one side, and kissing in turn him who sat on the other." (*Dict. of Christ. Antiqq.*) It is not necessary to suppose that the salutation passed between men and women, as they appear to have sat at separate tables.

[2] Clem. Alex. *Pædag.* ii. 4, p. 61.

[3] Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16.

[4] *Pædagog. ibid.* p. 71.

[5] Augustin. *c. Faustum*, xx. 20.

[6] As by those of Laodicea (365) and of Carthage (391). That the practice, however, was long continued in some places is proved by its being again prohibited by a Trullan Council, as late as A.D. 692.

was celebrated in the morning, and was separated from the evening Love-Feast, which consequently lost its sacred character, and sank more and more into a pauper meal. The ascetic spirit, too, was hostile to the institution, as we have seen in Tertullian. The Council of Gangra, about the middle of the fourth century, made an effort to keep up the *Agapæ*, by anathematizing those who despised them or refused to come to them; and an attempt was made to revive their lost significance by connecting them with the annual commemoration of the deaths of martyrs, and holding them near the martyrs' graves.[1] The *Agapæ* still flourished in Africa during the childhood of Augustine,[2] but Ambrose abolished them in Northern Italy on account of their abuses and their resemblance to the heathen *Parentalia*. When Augustine returned from Italy to Africa, he urged Aurelius, the bishop of Carthage, to follow this example.[3] From this time the *Agapæ* may be regarded as having died out, though the name and some other traces were left in usages of the Christian Church during the next two centuries at least. But the period during which the *Agapæ* were a living institution, in their original form, can hardly be extended beyond the third century.

§ 7. The germs of the great controversy about the meaning and sacramental efficacy of the Eucharist may be traced from the earliest age of the Church; but rather negatively in the simple use of certain phraseology, than positively in any attempt to define its proper meaning. IGNATIUS is the earliest writer, and the only Apostolical Father, who uses the word *Eucharist*. In answer to the Docetists, who deny "that the Eucharist is the body of our Saviour,"[4] he calls it "the flesh of our crucified and risen Lord, Jesus Christ;" and again he says that the bread "is a medicine of immortality, an antidote to death, giving eternal life in Jesus Christ."[5] Justin

[1] The *Agapæ* were classified according to their connection (1) with the martyrs' anniversaries (*Natalitia*); (2) with marriage (*Connubiales*); (3) with funerals; (4) with the dedication of churches. Cups and plates of glass have been found in the catacombs, ornamented with various devices and mottoes suited to these different celebrations; some even suggesting the idea of toasts to the memory of the martyrs. (*Dict. of Christ. Antiqq. s. vv.* AGAPE, GLASS.)

[2] Augustine describes his mother Monica as having been in the habit of going with a basket full of provisions to these *Agapæ*, which she just tasted herself and then distributed to the poor (*Confess.* vi. 2).

[3] *Epist.* xxii.

[4] *Ad Smyrn.* 7: τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κ. τ. λ. The Docetists denied the real human existence of Jesus Christ altogether.

[5] *Ad Ephes.* 20: Ὅς (*sc.* ἄρτος) ἔστιν φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ διὰ παντός. Both these passages occur in the shorter Greek recension, but are wanting in the

Martyr and Irenæus speak of the true reception of the body and blood of Christ in language the very plainness of which is a caution against a hasty literal interpretation. They speak of the descent of Christ into the consecrated elements, as like His incarnation, and of some kind of change by which the bread and wine becomes the body and blood of Christ; but this only as the nutriment which strengthens us for immortal life through a change wrought, they do not say by the act of consecration, but by the presence of the Word of God and by the power of the Holy Ghost.[1] In one very striking passage, Irenæus, while using such language as this, expressly calls the elements *antitypes*, that is, mere patterns of the real *archetype*, the body and blood of Christ.[2] The same word *antitype*, and in some cases *type*, is applied to the elements by the Greek Fathers down to the fifth century.[3]

The earliest African writers use still plainer terms of distinction between the elements and the realities they signify. Tertullian—writing, it should be observed again, in opposition to the Docetic heresy, as held by Marcion—explains the words of Christ, on which the whole controversy hangs, "Hoc est corpus meum," as equivalent to "*figura* corporis mei;" arguing thence, not the corporeal presence of Christ in the Eucharist, but the reality of His body, of which the bread of the Eucharist is a figure.[4] But he asserts the real

Syriac. The citation of the first, however, by Theodoret proves that it was known to the Syrian Church in the fifth century (*Dial. III.* p. 231).

[1] Justin. *Apol.* i. 66; Iren. *adv. Hær.* iv. 18, and *passim*. The Eucharistic doctrine of Irenæus, like that of Ignatius, is specially put forth in reply to the Docetists. In the passage of Justin we have the first mention of a *change* (or more literally *transference*) of the elements: Ἐξ ἧς (τροφῆς) αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν: "ex quo alimento sanguis et carnes nostræ per mutationem aluntur." But, as Schaff observes, "according to the context, this denotes by no means a transmutation of the elements, but either the assimilation of them to the body of the receiver, or the operation of them upon the body with reference to the future resurrection. (Comp. John vi. 54, *seq.*)"

[2] In a fragment discovered by Pfaff (Iren. *Opp.* ed. Stieren, vol. i. p. 855), it is said that the Christians, after the offering of the Eucharistic sacrifice, call upon the Holy Ghost, ὅπως ἀποφήνῃ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ τὸν ἄρτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόντες τούτων τῶν ἀντιτύπων τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ τῆς ζωῆς αἰωνίου τύχωσιν. The important word ἀποφήνῃ is by some translated *make;* but this translation is only admissible in the sense, not of making the elements to be something which they are not already, but of making effectual (literally *manifesting*) the power of the Holy Ghost, through them as *antitypes* of the body and blood of Christ, to the end that the communicants who receive them may also receive remission of their sins and eternal life.

[3] The term is especially frequent in the *Apostolical Constitutions*.

[4] Tertull. *adv. Marcion.* iv. 40.

reception of the body and blood of Christ even into the body of the communicant, and that (like the Greeks cited above) as the seed of immortal life.[1] The symbolical interpretation is also favoured by Cyprian, though less clearly; and he explains the mixing of the wine with water (as was usual from very early times) as a type of the union of Christ with his people.[2] He distinctly holds the Eucharist as necessary to salvation.[3] As might have been expected, the Alexandrians hold a still more figurative and spiritualistic view; and this is found stronger in Origen than in Clement. Clement twice expressly calls the wine a *symbol* or an *allegory* of the blood of Christ, and says that the communicant receives, not the physical, but the spiritual blood, the life of Christ, as, indeed, the blood is the life of the body. Origen distinguishes still more definitely the earthly elements from the heavenly bread of life, and makes it the whole design of the Lord's Supper to fill the soul with the divine word.[4]

§ 8. The early Fathers agree in regarding the Eucharist as, in some sense, a *sacrifice*,[5] "the true and eternal sacrifice of the New Covenant, superseding all the provisional and typical sacrifices of the Old; taking the place particularly of the Passover, or the feast of the typical redemption from Egypt. This Eucharistic sacrifice, however, the ante-Nicene Fathers conceived not as an unbloody repetition of the atoning sacrifice of Christ on the cross, but simply as a commemoration and renewed appropriation of that atonement, and, above all, a thank-offering of the whole Church for all the favours of God in creation and redemption. . . . . The writers of the second century keep strictly within the limits of the notion of a *thank*-offering. Thus Justin says expressly, prayers and thanksgivings alone are the true and acceptable sacrifices which the Christians offer. Irenæus has been brought as a witness for the Roman

[1] *De Resurr. Carnis*, 8: "Caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur." In *De Pudicit.* c. 9, explaining the fatted calf, in the parable, as the Lord's Supper, he says, "Opimitate Dominici corporis vescitur, *eucharistia* scilicet." Still more plainly in *De Orat.* 6: "Quod et corpus Christi in pane censetur," where the *censetur*, however, evidently answers to the διακρίνων of 1 Cor. xi. 29, and does not define the *manner* in which "the body of Christ is *understood*, or *discerned*, in the bread."

[2] *Epist.* 63, c. 13.

[3] This is based on a literal interpretation of John vi. 53.

[4] *Comment. ser. in Matt.* c 85 (iii. p. 898). As to the words of Christ, he expressly says, "Non enim *panem illum visibilem*, quem tenebat in manibus, *corpus suum* dicebat Deus Verbum" (the Logos), "sed *verbum*, in cujus mysterio fuerat panis ille frangendus:" and so he speaks of the wine. "Origen evidently goes not higher than the Zwinglian theory, while Clement approaches the Calvinistic view of a spiritual real fruition of Christ's life in the Eucharist." (Schaff, vol. i. p. 389.)

[5] Προσφορά, θυσία, *oblatio*, *sacrificium*.

doctrine, only on the ground of a false reading.[1] The African Fathers, in the third century, who elsewhere incline to the symbolical interpretation of the words of institution, are the first to approach on this point the later Roman idea of a *sin-offering*; especially Cyprian, the stedfast advocate of priesthood and of episcopal authority."[2]

§ 9. Strict *discipline* was a special character of the early Church, with the twofold object, already insisted on by the Apostle Paul, of the purity of the Church and the spiritual welfare of the offender. Of course it could only be maintained by moral sanctions, while the power of civil punishment was still wanting. Exclusion from the communion of the Church—in one word, *excommunication*—was the extreme penalty inflicted for gross crimes, for the denial of Christ in times of persecution, and also for heresy and schism.[3] But the exclusion from communion was intended, not as a final sentence, but as a means of bringing the offender to penitence; and restoration to communion was granted after a long probation.

The excommunicated were placed in the class of *Penitents* (*Pœnitentes*). They were only allowed to join in the worship of the catechumens, and they were required to pass through a new and severer catechumenate before they could be re-admitted to communion. They had to abstain from all sensual and worldly pleasures, to make frequent confession and prayer, and to practise fasting, almsgiving, and other good works. The penitent spirit was, indeed, insisted on as the essential thing; but the tendency of these outward exercises is already seen in the view of Tertullian, that the Church penance was a satisfaction (*satisfactio*) paid to God.

The details and duration of the penitential discipline were regulated, in the second century, by the several churches. Its administration depended very much on the discretion of the bishops, who took the penitent's whole character into consideration. For the most heinous sins—such as murder, adultery, and idolatry—

[1] "*Adv. Hær.* iv. 18, 4: *Verbum* (the *Logos*) *quod offertur Deo*; instead of which should be read, according to other MSS., *Verbum per quod offertur Deo*, which suits the connection much better. Comp. iv. 17, 6: *Per Jesum Christum offert ecclesia.* Stieren reads *Verbum quod*, but refers it not to Christ, but to the word of prayer. The passage is, at all events, too obscure and too isolated to build a dogma upon."

[2] Cyprian. *Epist.* 63; *ad Cæcil.* c. 14. Schaff, vol. i. pp. 389–391.

[3] As early as Tertullian we find the distinction between "mortal sins," which are incompatible with the regenerate state, and "venial sins" (*peccata venialia*), or sins of weakness. Mortal sins (*peccata mortalia* or *ad mortem*) were so called in allusion to 1 John v. 16. Of these, Tertullian enumerates seven, "*Homicidium, idolatria, fraus, negatio, blasphemia*, utique et *mœchia* et *fornicatio* et si qua alia violatio templi Dei." He says that these are "irremissibilia, horum ultra exorator non erit Christus" (*De Pudic.* 19). But this only applies to their commission after baptism, as, in his view, baptism washes away all former guilt.

committed after baptism, reconciliation was granted only once; and, in every case, the restored penitent was disqualified for the ministry. In some cases, the course of penance was prolonged through the whole life; in some, it was refused even at the hour of death. The question of granting reconciliation to gross offenders, or of leaving them to the judgment of God, was warmly debated. The stricter view, held by what may be called the puritanic sects—the Montanists, Novatians, and Donatists—was also adopted, for a time, by the whole African and Spanish Church. The moderate, which may be called the Catholic view—as it prevailed in the East, in Egypt, in Rome,[1] and ultimately in Africa and Spain—was that the Church should not refuse absolution and reconciliation to any penitent sinner, on his death-bed at least.[2] But all were agreed that the office and power of the Church did not extend further than the use of means for disposing the sinner to seek the mercy of God. Cyprian and Firmilian emphatically disclaim any anticipation of the judgment of God, who cannot be mocked by the false repentance which may have obtained absolution from the Church.[3]

§ 10. Early in the fourth century,[4] more definite rules were laid down for the treatment of Penitents, who were divided into four classes:—(1) The *Weepers*,[5] who appeared prostrate, in mourning garments, at the church doors, imploring restoration. (2) The *Hearers*,[6] who were admitted to hear the Scripture lessons and the sermon. (3) The *Kneelers*,[7] who were allowed to join in the public prayers, but remained upon their knees as penitents, while the other worshippers stood up in token of their resurrection from sin and death.[8] (4) The *Standers*,[9] or, as the name denotes precisely, those who *stood up with* their fellow-worshippers, but were still excluded from the Communion.[10] In the East, this discipline was

[1] The peculiarly lax penitential discipline at Rome, which we have seen so vehemently attacked by Tertullian and Hippolytus, is regarded by Professor Schaff as closely connected with the power of the priesthood, as the ministers of absolution, and with the policy which sought the extension of the Church at the expense of her purity.

[2] The chief precedent was found in the directions of Paul (1 Cor. v. 1, foll., compared with 2 Cor. ii. 5, foll.).

[3] Cyprian. *Epist.* 55; *de Lapsis*, 17; Firmilian. *ad Cyprian.* ap. Cypr. *Epist.* 75.

[4] Acts of the Council of Ancyra, A.D. 314.

[5] Προσκλαίοντες, *flentes*; also called χειμάζοντες, *hiemantes*.

[6] Ἀκροώμενοι, *audientes*, *auditores*.

[7] Γονυκλίνοντες, *genuflectentes*; also called ὑποπίπτοντες, *substrati*.

[8] Standing at prayer was practised in the Sunday worship for the reason stated. At other times the postures of standing or kneeling appear to have been regarded as equally reverential.

[9] Συνιστάμενοι, *consistentes*.

[10] These four progressive stages of penance were called πρόσκλαυσις, or *fletus*; ἀκρόασις, or *auditus*; ὑπόπτωσις, *prostratio* or *humiliatio*; σύστασις,

administered by special ministers, called Penitential Presbyters.[1] The end of the probation was marked by a formal act of reconciliation (*reconciliatio*). "The penitent made a public confession of sin, received absolution by the laying on of the hands of the ministers, and precatory or optative benediction,[2] was again greeted by the congregation with the brotherly kiss, and admitted to the celebration of the communion."

§ 11. The practice of occasional and voluntary *Fasting* was observed in the primitive Church, especially as a helpful accompaniment to prayer, after the example of the Apostolic age.[3] The early custom of "half-fasting" (*semi-jejunium*) on Wednesdays, and especially on Fridays, in commemoration of Christ's passion and crucifixion, was based on the Lord's words: "When the bridegroom shall be taken from them, then shall they fast."[4] The great *Quadragesimal Fast*,[5] before Easter, in commemoration and imitation of the forty days' fasting of Jesus in the wilderness, began in the second century. But the exact correspondence in duration was not at first insisted on. It was sometimes as short as a day, or two days, or forty hours, and sometimes a few weeks, but less than the forty days, which was finally fixed by the influence of Rome.[6] Extraordinary fasts were appointed by the bishops on special occasions. The practice of fasting as an act of voluntary asceticism was permitted, but not generally encouraged. For

consistentia. The correspondence of the last three to stages of the catechumenate seems to signify that the *first* (the kneeling at the church door) was the special sign of repentance, by which the penitent was replaced at the beginning of his Christian course.

[1] Πρεσβύτεροι ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας, *presbyteri pœnitentiarii*.

[2] "The declarative and direct indicative or judicial form of absolution seems to be of later origin." (Schaff, vol. i. p. 445.)

[3] Acts xiii. 2, xiv. 23; 2 Cor. vi. 5. [4] Matt. ix. 15.

[5] Our name of the fast, *Lent*, is of purely English origin, and, like many other sacred terms, is transferred from a common and natural sense. The old English *Lencten* means *Spring*, from the *lengthening* days (from *lengian* or *lencgan*, "to lengthen"); and the *spring-fast* is *Lencten-fæsten*, or, in brief, *Lencten*, *Lent*.

[6] The Quadragesimal Fast is first mentioned by Irenæus (ap. Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24), who says that some were in the habit of keeping one day, some two days, and some forty—whether *days* or *hours* is a disputed point, dependent chiefly on the punctuation. The length fixed in the fourth and fifth centuries was originally not forty, but more exactly thirty-six days, as *the tithe of the year*, namely the *six weeks before Easter*, excluding the Sundays, for on that day fasting was never permitted. In the Eastern Church, which kept the old Sabbath (Saturday, as the Eve of the Resurrection) as a feast, the period was reduced to twenty-eight days. In the West the thirty-six days were made up to forty by the addition of four days at the beginning (Ash Wednesday and the three days following), some say by Gregory the Great, others by Gregory II. (Bingham, xxi. i. 5; Augusti, x. 401; Robertson, vol. i. p. 364.)

example, a confessor at Lyon lived for some time on bread and water only, but gave up his austere diet on being reminded that he gave offence to other Christians by despising the gifts of God.[1] Clement of Alexandria protests against the rising tendency to regard fasting as highly meritorious, from the words of Paul: "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink"—and therefore not abstinence from flesh or wine—"but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." These views were strengthened by the excess to which fasting was carried by the ascetic sects, as the Montanists, who observed seasons of two weeks at a time, called *Xerophagiæ*[2] (i. e. *dry foods*), during which they ate only bread and salt, and drank nothing but water.

§ 12. Respecting marriage, the extreme ascetic view, that celibacy is the only pure state, was held by the stricter Gnostics. The Montanists vehemently condemned second marriages, against which, indeed, there was a prevalent aversion, especially in the case of widows, but they were permitted by the general judgment of the Church.[3] The insistance on single marriage, as opposed to polygamy and the prevalent licence of the heathens, passed easily into the praise of marriage only once; and *monogamia* is used in both senses. Marriage itself was invested with a sacred character, as the bond of a holy family life, in which the daily worship of God ought to be maintained. Thus Clement of Alexandria, enjoining upon married persons daily prayer and reading of the Scriptures,[4] says:—"The mother is the glory of her children; the wife is the glory of her husband; both are the glory of the wife; God is the glory of all together." From the earliest times the religious benediction was deemed necessary to sanctify the civil contract.[5] Thus Ignatius requires "the consent of the bishop, that it may be a marriage for God, and not for pleasure. All should be done to the glory of God."[6] And Tertullian seems to describe the usual religious ceremony in his beautiful picture of a Christian married life:—"How can I paint the happiness of a marriage which *the Church ratifies*, the *oblation* (of the Lord's Supper) confirms, the *benediction* seals, the Father declares valid."[7] The noisy and wanton rites of Jewish

[1] Schaff, vol. i. p. 325.

[2] Ξηροφαγίαι, *aridus victus*. See Tertull. *de Jejun.*; Hippol. *Refut.* viii. 19; Schaff, *l. c.*

[3] Tertullian claims for the Montanists a just mean between the two extremes (*De Monogamia*, 1): "Hæretici nuptias auferunt, psychici" (his name for the Catholics) "ingerunt: illi nec semel, isti non semel nubunt.'

[4] To these were added the singing of psalms and hymns. Tertullian, *Ad Uxorem*, ii. 8.

[5] The Montanists seem to have regarded the religious ceremony as necessary to constitute a valid marriage.

[6] *Ad Polycarp.* c. 5 (c. 2 in the Syriac).

[7] Tertull. *l. c.*

and heathen marriages were discarded, as was also the crowning of the bride (at least in the earliest times), but the ring was retained as a sign of union.[1]

The *mixed* marriages of Christians with heathens, which had been forbidden under the Jewish law and condemned by Paul,[2] and also marriages with heretics, were deemed unholy and invalid. They are classed by Tertullian with adultery, stigmatized by Cyprian as a prostitution of the members of Christ, and formally condemned by the Council of Elvira (A.D. 305). There were special reasons for strictness on this point in the loose notions of conjugal fidelity that prevailed among the heathen, and in the temptations of constant social intercourse with heathen kindred, especially for a Christian in a pagan house, with its pictures of the heathen mythology, its images, and worship of the household gods. Besides, as Tertullian asks, "What heathen will let his wife attend the nightly meetings of the Church and the slandered Supper of the Lord, take care of the sick even in the poorest hovels, kiss the chains of the martyrs in prison, rise in the night for prayer, and show hospitality to strange brethren?" It is easy to imagine the constant and manifold dangers, as well as difficulties, springing from such marriages in times of persecution. But marriages between heathens were still held valid after either party became a Christian. The Church condemned the tyrannical power which the Roman law gave to a father, and denounced the exposure of children as one of the worst of crimes.

§ 13. Among the *Holy Days and Seasons* observed by the primitive Church, the first day of the week is pre-eminent as that on which Christians met for worship from the beginning. In commemoration of Christ's resurrection it was called (as we have seen) the *Lord's Day*;[3] but the name of *Sunday* (*Dies Solis*) was also used, in spite of its heathen origin and significance.[4] "We assemble in common on Sunday," says Justin,[5] "because this is the first day, on which God created the world and light, and because Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead and appeared to His disciples." Though the analogy of the day to the ancient

[1] Schaff, vol. i. p. 332. [2] 1 Cor. vii. 12, 16. [3] Chap. I. § 13.

[4] The connection of the days of the week with the seven chief heavenly bodies (the Sun, Moon, and five chief planets) is as old as the oldest records of Babylonian astronomy; and Mr. George Smith recently found, on a tablet at Nineveh, mention of the Sunday as a holy-day and day of rest. The *order* of the days of the week was determined by the supposed dominion of each of the planets over the hours in succession; each day being named after the planet dominant over its first hour, as follows: the Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn. The two modes proposed to account for this order are explained in the *Student's Ancient History*, chap. xvii. § 14.

[5] *Apol.* c. 67.

Sabbath was recognised, and it was regarded as celebrating the completion both of the first creation and of the new creation in Christ Jesus, it was not called the Sabbath. In the primitive Church, with its Jewish converts, that name still denoted the seventh day (Saturday), and not only was the name long preserved, but many Christians kept the Jewish Sabbath as well as their own festival.[1] Tertullian, who carefully distinguishes between the two days, is the earliest witness for cessation from wordly business on the Lord's Day.[2] It was, as we have seen in the time of and immediately after the Apostles, the "appointed day" (*quodam stato die* in Pliny) on which the Christians held their weekly meetings for worship, the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and collections for the poor. As the day of Christ's resurrection and the new spiritual creation, it was a festival of joy and thanksgiving; as was marked by the attitude of *standing* at prayer, instead of kneeling, as on other days, and by the forbidding of fasting on the Lord's Day.[3]

§ 14. Among the weekly celebrations of the Lord's Day throughout the year, there was one marked as the highest festival, both as the anniversary of the resurrection itself and the continuation of the Jewish Passover. Hence the Greek form of the Hebrew name *Pascha*[4] was, and still is, used by the whole Church to denote the great festival which we also call by the old vernacular word, *Easter*.[5] Our translators have used *Easter* in one passage of the

[1] The distinction between the Lord's Day and the Jewish Sabbath is marked by Ignatius in words which seem to imply the transfer of the sacred commemorative meaning of the latter to the former (*Epist. ad Magnes.* c. 9): Μηκέτι σαββατίζοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κυριακὴν ζωὴν ζῶντες): it is also made clearly by Tertullian (*De Orat.* 23) and other early writers. (See Dr. Hessey's *Bampton Lectures on Sunday*, Lect. II.) This observance gradually ceased among the Jewish Christians, and the Latin Church made Saturday a fast-day; but the Eastern Church continued (as it still does) a certain observance of Saturday (excepting only the Easter Sabbath) by the attitude of standing in prayer, and by never fasting on that day. (Schaff, vol. i. pp. 372, 373.)

[2] *De Oratione*, c. 23.

[3] Tertull. *de Coron.* 3; Robertson, vol. i. p. 173.

[4] Τὸ πάσχα, Heb. פֶּסַח, "passover." Exod. xii. This name, which is preserved in common ecclesiastical language, has been kept as the vernacular term in the Romance languages, e. g. Ital. *Pasqua*, Fr. *Pâques*.

[5] The derivation of the Old English word *Easter*, *Eoster*, *Oster*, is disputed; but, at all events, it is connected with *Eost* (the *East*) and sunrise, and was older than its application to the festival. Bede (*De Temporum Ratione*, c. xv.) says that *the fourth month* (nearly answering to *April*) was formerly named *Eostur-monath*, "which is now interpreted the *Paschal-month*," from a goddess *Eostre*, whose festival was held in that month. In like manner, the old native name of Christmas, which we still preserve as *Yule* and *Yule-tide*, was derived from that of the heathen festival of the winter solstice, *Geol* or *Júl*.

New Testament, for the Jewish Passover.[1] The language of Paul,[2] "Christ our Passover is sacrificed for us: therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven," &c.—though manifestly a figure, leading up the mind from the type to an antitype—has been cited to confirm the probability of a continuity in the observance of the Jewish feast in its new Christian sense. Be this as it may, we find in the age of the Apostolic Fathers both the observance of the festival and the beginning of the controversy respecting its proper time, which has divided the Church ever since.[3]

§ 15. The celebration of the Paschal festival involved, of course, the attempt to fix it at the precise season of Christ's death and resurrection. But here arose a disagreement between those who tried to observe the exact time of the Jewish Passover and those who held to the first day of the week, as essentially connected with the resurrection.[4] The Paschal lamb was killed at sunset on the 14th of Nisan, the first month of the Jewish sacred year, which began at or about the vernal equinox; and, as the Jewish months were lunar, the 14th of Nisan fell at, or nearly at, the first full moon after the equinox.[5] Following the Jewish

[1] Acts xii. 4. The Jewish festival is also clearly referred to in Acts xx. 6, as is the Jewish Pentecost in Acts xx. 16, and 1 Cor. xvi. 8, and the Jewish "feast" (whatever it may be) in Acts xviii. 21.

[2] 1 Cor. v. 7, 8.

[3] The Paschal celebration included the days both of the Lord's crucifixion and of His resurrection. The day now called *Good Friday* was named the *Passover of the Crucifixion* (πάσχα σταυρώσιμον, in contrast to πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον, the *Passover of the Resurrection*), and also ἡμέρα τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἡ σωτηρία or τὰ σωτήρια, or by the Jewish name of *the preparation* (παρασκευή, John xix. 14, 31, 42, either alone or with the epithets μεγάλη or ἁγία); and in the Latin Church, *Parasceue, Feria Sexta in Parasceue, Sexta Feria Major*. It was observed as a strict fast, which was continued by those who could endure it till midnight on Easter Eve, and with other signs of mourning (*Apost. Const.* v. 18; Tertull. *de Orat.* 18). The Saturday between those days (Easter Eve) was called the *Great Sabbath* (*Sabbatum Magnum*). The fast observed in preparation for Easter has been spoken of above (§ 11).

[4] Respecting the Jewish Passover, and its connection with the death of Christ, see the *Student's O. T. Hist.* chap. xiv. appendix, sect. vi. §§ 8–10, and the *Student's N. T. Hist.* chap. xi. note B, p. 287.

[5] This statement is purposely somewhat indefinite for two reasons: (1) It appears certain that, in adapting the lunar months to the solar year, the month of Nisan might sometimes begin *before* the exact day of the equinox. (2) The lunar months of the Jews, like those of the Mohammedans at the present day, began, not from the new moon as calculated by astronomy, but from the first sight of the thin crescent after sunset. (For further details concerning the effect of this on the reckoning, see the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.* Art. EASTER, p. 587.)

reckoning, and pleading the authority of the Apostles John and Philip, the Asiatic Churches began the Paschal season with a love-feast and communion, answering to Christ's last Passover and the Lord's Supper, on the evening of the 14th of Nisan, and on the next day but one (the third day) they celebrated the Feast of Resurrection, without regard to the day of the week. Hence, in the ensuing controversy, the adherents to this practice were called the *Quartodecimanians*.[1] The Roman Church, on the other hand, holding fast to the fact that our Lord was crucified on the day called the *Preparation* (for the Sabbath), that is, on Friday, and that he rose on the Sunday, fixed Easter Day on the Sunday after the March full moon. The significance of the difference was, whether the chief stress should be laid on Jewish precedent or on the independent life of Christianity; on the death of Christ, as the true Paschal lamb, or on His resurrection, as the beginning of the new spiritual creation.

§ 16. About the year 160,[2] Polycarp went to Rome to confer with the bishop Anicetus on this and other matters. After calm discussion, it was agreed that a difference of practice might be allowed, and Anicetus showed his regard for the venerable Eastern father by asking him to celebrate the Eucharist in his place.[3]

Shortly afterwards (about A.D. 170), another phase of the controversy arose among the Asiatics themselves from a usage, which had sprung up at Laodicea, of keeping the actual Jewish Passover, that is, eating the Paschal lamb on the 14th of Nisan. This practice was resisted by the most eminent Asiatic bishops, Melito of Sardis and Apollinaris of Hierapolis, as well as by Hippolytus, on the ground that, according to the Gospel of John, our Lord's last meal with His disciples was not the legal Jewish Passover, but was eaten on its eve, and that Christ was slain as the true Passover on the following day.[4]

In this case, the Quartodeciman usage assumed the form of a Judaizing heresy; and further suspicion was thrown upon it through its adoption by the Montanists, at least in Asia. On this

[1] Τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατῖται, *Quartodecimani*. The name was not fixed upon them, as a sect, till the other practice was formally adopted by the orthodox party.

[2] The visit is variously placed at the years 158, 160, or 167. See Robertson, vol. i. p. 29.

[3] Παρεχώρησεν δ 'Ανίκητος τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ (Iren. *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* v. 24); *not* "administered the Eucharist to Polycarp" (see Robertson, vol. i. p. 30).

[4] This argument, which is still of importance as a question of Biblical criticism, is discussed in the *Student's N. T. History*, *l. c.*

ground, and from his own imperious temper, the Roman bishop, Victor, tried to secure a uniform observance of Easter throughout the churches (A.D. 196). Councils summoned in various and distant provinces—Palestine, Pontus, Osrhoëne, Greece, and Gaul—declared in favour of the Roman usage. The cause of the Asiatics was maintained by Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, as the organ of a synod which he had summoned, in a bold and well-reasoned letter to Victor. Upon this the Bishop of Rome denounced the Asiatics as heretics; but he failed to procure their condemnation by other churches, and Irenæus, though agreeing with him on the question in dispute, was foremost among the bishops who protested against making it a ground for the severance of communion. The Asiatics, in a circular letter, cleared themselves from the charge of heresy, and they were allowed to follow their own usage until the question was finally decided by the General Council of the whole Church at Nicæa (A.D. 325).

That council pronounced it unworthy of Christians to follow the usage of the unbelieving Jews, and the Quartodecimanians were henceforth branded as an heretical sect.[1] The Roman usage was made the rule of the whole Church; but the council gave no exact definition of that usage, further than that Easter should always fall *after* the Jewish Passover, and *after* the vernal equinox, which was reckoned to be on the 21st of March.[2] The question, how to adjust the observance of Easter Day on a Sunday to the epoch of the full moon, was settled in different ways by the Alexandrian astronomers and by the Romans, and this difference led to long disputes both between the Eastern and Western Churches and between various branches of the Western Church itself. The Alexandrian calculation, which was adopted at Rome in the sixth century, was substantially that which is now observed in the West, as modified by the Gregorian reformation of the calendar (or *New Style*). It is based on a cycle of 532 years, compounded of the *lunar cycle* of 19 years[3] and the *solar cycle* of 28 years,[4] in which the lunations fall in the same

[1] Epiphanius mentions three sects of such heretics: the *Quartodecimans*, who were orthodox on all other points (*Hæres.* l.), the *Alogi* (li. 1), and the *Audiani* (lxx.).

[2] This calculation was erroneous: the true vernal equinox (the apparent passage of the sun across the Equator) took place at 2 hrs. 17 min. P.M. on March 20th in A.D. 325. For further astronomical details, see the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.* Art. EASTER.

[3] This was the ancient *Metonic cycle*, so called from the astronomer Meton, who introduced it at Athens in the fifth century B.C.

[4] This is the cycle after which the days of the year *must* fall in the same order on the days of the week; for, as every common solar year has one

order both among the days of the year and of the week. The rule is that Easter falls on the Sunday *after* the first full moon succeeding the vernal equinox.[1] Under the existing rule it sometimes happens, contrary to the decree of the Nicene Council, that Easter coincides with the Jewish Passover. The refusal of the Greek Church to adopt the Gregorian correction of the calendar makes their Easter fall differently from ours, though it is computed on the same principle.

§ 17. The period of harvest-gladness, reckoned by the Jewish Church from the Passover to the *Feast of Weeks* on the 50th day (hence called *Pentecost*), was observed by the Christian Church, as early as the second century at least, in commemoration of the spiritual harvest, of which Christ's resurrection was the first-fruits, and the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost caused the ingathering.[2] The whole period of 50 days from Easter to what we now call Whitsunday was observed as a festive season, a continuous Lord's Day, by the standing posture in prayer, daily communion, and the prohibition of fasting.[3] When, however, the Ascension Day (or Holy Thursday) was specially kept, the continuous festival was restricted to the forty days from Easter to Ascension, and the Day of Pentecost (Whitsunday) was specially observed as the feast of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost and the birthday of the Church. The special observance of *Ascension Day* is not traced earlier than the third or fourth century. The feast of the *Epiphany* was first observed in the East in the latter part of the second century; and the celebration of *Christmas* cannot be clearly traced till the fourth. Nor was it till the Post-Nicene age that the veneration for martyrs led to the *Festivals of Saints.*

day more than an exact number (fifty-two) of weeks, a week is gained in seven years *from this cause;* but every leap-year adds one day more, that is, one day is gained in every four years; hence the least common multiple ($7 \times 4 = 28$ years) gives the cycle in which an exact number of weeks is gained, namely twenty-eight days for the increment of each year, and seven days for the seven leap-years, that is, five weeks in the twenty-eight years.

[1] The practical details of the calculation are prefixed to the Book of Common Prayer; but the technical mode of reckoning is such that the ecclesiastical full moon does not always coincide with the true full moon, a circumstance which has puzzled some people as to the true time of Easter in the present year (1876).

[2] Acts ii.

[3] Iren. *Frag.* vol. i. p. 828; Tertull. *de Coron.* 3, *de Jejun.* 14. "It seems, however, that some did not extend the festival season beyond the *fortieth* day after Easter." (Robertson, vol. i. p. 174.)



Church of St. George, Thessalonica.

CHAPTER IX.

DOCTRINES AND HERESIES OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

CENTURIES I.–III.

§ 1. Christian Doctrine and its History — The terms *orthodoxy* and *heterodoxy*, *Catholic* and *heretic*. § 2. Twofold source of Heresies, Jewish and heathen—Ebionism and Gnosticism. § 3. Meaning of the term *Gnostic*. — Chief sources of Gnosticism — The Gnostic use of Scripture tradition, and apocryphal writings. § 4. The leading principles of Gnosticism. § 5. Æons and Emanation — The Demiurgus or Creator.

§ 6. The Gnostic doctrine about Christ and Redemption — The three classes of human beings. § 7. The Gnostic morality and worship. § 8. Classification of the Gnostic schools: local, doctrinal, and ethical. § 9. The earliest sects of Gnostics: (1) *Simon Magus* and the *Simonians;* (2) The *Nicolaitans;* (3) *Cerinthus;* (4) The *Ophites, Sethites,* and *Cainites.* § 10. Gnostic sects of the second century: (5) *Basilides:* The mystic symbol *Abraxas;* (6) *Carpocrates;* (7) *Valentinus, Bardesanes,* and *Justin;* (8) *Marcion* — His Life and Doctrines — His Canon of Scripture — Spread of his sect; (9) *Tatian* and the *Encratites* — The *Antitactæ* and *Prodicians.* § 11. Providential uses of Gnosticism. § 12. The *Manichean Heresy* — Various accounts of MANES or MANI — Course of the heresy. § 13. The *Manichean Doctrine* — Not a form of Gnosticism — Based on Persian Dualism — Conflict of Light and Darkness — Primal Man and Spirit — Mingling of Spirit and Matter. § 14. The World and Man — Christology and Redemption — Transmigration of Souls — Spirit in the lower creatures; and practical consequences of this doctrine. § 15. Manichean treatment of Scripture — Authority of Manes — Manichean asceticism — Hierarchy and Worship of the Sect. § 16. Second class of Heresies, about the Trinity and Christ — *Monarchians:* two chief classes of them. § 17. *Dynamical* or *Rationalistic* Monarchians: (1) The *Alogians;* (2) *Theodotus;* (3) *Artemon;* (4) *Paul of Samosata.* § 18. The *Patripassian* Monarchians: (1) *Praxeas:* his relations with Pope Victor and Tertullian; (2) *Noëtus:* his followers favoured by Pope Zephyrinus; (3) *Pope Callistus* and the *Callistians;* (4) *Sabellius:* his doctrine of the Trinity and the Logos — Sabellianism and Orthodoxy. § 19. *Chiliasm* or *Millennarianism* — Its prevalence among the Fathers — Finally pronounced heretical. § 20. Scripture, Tradition, and the Rule of Faith — The "Apostles' Creed."

§ 1. A STATEMENT of Christian doctrine in its original purity belongs to the province of Dogmatic Theology, or rather of New Testament exposition; for even the dogmatic theologian must exhibit doctrines in the definite form which they assumed as the result of conflicts of opinion; and to trace the nature and steps of those conflicts is the province of the ecclesiastical historian. The history of Doctrines develops itself out of the history of Heresies, and the standard of orthodoxy is framed by opposition to each form of heterodoxy that has risen up to provoke controversy and decision. From the historical point of view, the question between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, between Catholics and heretics, is not a question between truth and error, though this distinction cannot be wholly excluded. Indeed, when heresy is first mentioned and, as we have seen, stigmatized by the Apostles, the divine authority committed to *them* stamps all opposing doctrine with error; and some similar claim is of course implied in the very term *orthodoxy* ("right opinion"). But even this term does not expressly denote the *truth*

of the opinion, but only a *definite standard* or *rule* (ὀρθός= *rectus*, "straight"), any deviation from which is called *heterodoxy* ("another opinion"). The other term, *Catholic*, denotes that the rule or standard was determined by the prevalent opinions embodied in the general consent of the Churches, especially when formulated in the Acts of a Council.

§ 2. The earliest heresies are to be traced, as we have seen, to the mixture of Jewish and heathen elements with Christian doctrine; the Judaizers clinging to the forms which were superseded by Christianity, while the heathen converts brought in portions of their superstition and still more of their philosophy. But these two elements had already greatly influenced one another before they met on the common ground of Christianity; and Judaism, in particular, had been largely affected by Gentile philosophy, as we see particularly in Philo. Hence the two classes of primitive heresies present themselves in very complex forms, as, indeed, we have already seen in the Apostolic age. The Judaizing and heathen corruptions may be roughly denoted by the general names of *Ebionism* and *Gnosticism*; but the systems had common elements from the first, and in their special developments we must recognize on the one hand a Gnostic Ebionism (as seen especially in the pseudo-Clementine literature[1]), and, on the other, a Judaizing Gnosticism. We have already spoken of the primitive forms of Ebionism:[2] the other heresies of the first three centuries may nearly all be included under the general class of *Gnosticism*.[3]

§ 3. The term *Gnosticism* has its first simple derivation from the Greek word meaning *knowledge* (γνῶσις). Sound knowledge, as opposed to unintelligent consent, is an essential foundation of Christian faith.[4] But this is quite different from the conceit of a *knowledge* superior to, or at least co-ordinate with, *faith* in the teaching of Christ and his Apostles, which appears from the first in conflict with the Gospel, side by side with Jewish exclusiveness.[5] The attempt to mould Christianity, in this spirit, into a "scientific" form, in which human philosophy claimed a place at least as high

[1] See Chap. IV. § 14. [2] See Chap. III. § 7.

[3] A most valuable account of the rise and various forms of Gnosticism is given in Dean Mansel's lectures on "The Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries," edited since his death by Canon Lightfoot, 1875.

[4] See especially 1 Cor. xii. 8, where the "word of knowledge" (λόγος γνώσεως) is coupled with the "word of wisdom" (λόγος σοφίας). Comp. 1 Cor. xiii. 2, 12; John xvii. 3.

[5] See especially the twofold type of opposition encountered by Paul at Corinth, from the Jews, and from the Greeks who "sought after *wisdom*," and esteemed the doctrine of Christ crucified as "foolishness" (1 Cor. i. 22, 23); and his contrast of the "knowledge" which "puffeth up" with the "charity" which "buildeth up" (1 Cor. viii. 1).

as divine revelation, appears already in the Apostolic age to have grown into some sort of system, against which Paul warns Timothy as "the vain babblings and oppositions (or antagonisms) of the Knowledge (*Gnosis*) falsely so called."[1] To this passage we may probably trace the application of the name of Gnostics, as a term of reproach, to the various sects which had this common element, that they exalted knowledge above faith, philosophy above revelation, prided themselves on a superior esoteric knowledge, which made them spiritual men, and corrupted the doctrines of the New Testament with heterogeneous elements from a great variety of sources.

The precise nature of those sources and of the contributions derived from each, is a wide and difficult enquiry. Some find the essential elements of Gnosticism in Greek philosophy alone, which was doubtless its chief source. But it derived much also from Oriental mysticism, and from the philosophic developments of Judaism, as exhibited in Philo and the Cabbala. It may, in fact, be regarded as an attempt to frame a new philosophical religion out of the ruins of the old systems and within the bounds of the new Church. The Gnostics did not avowedly place the foreign sources of knowledge, or their own freedom of speculation, on a level with the authority of Scripture. They claimed to be the possessors of a real, but secret, Christian tradition, in opposition to the open tradition and standards of the Catholic Church. Besides, while admitting the authority of Scripture, they dealt with it in their own fashion. The Old Testament was rejected, by some of them wholly, by others in great part. The New Testament was mutilated, and the books that were retained were regarded with different degrees of respect, preference being given to the Gospel of John above the rest. The boldest forms of allegorical interpretation were applied to discover the mysteries of Gnosticism, not only in the Scriptures, but in the works of heathen poets and philosophers, who were regarded as organs of the true spiritual knowledge. But a more definite authority was sought in the apocryphal scriptures which began to appear in great numbers in the second century, and which these heretics were the first to fabricate.[2]

§ 4. Amongst the various forms of Gnostic doctrine we may

[1] 1 Tim. vi. 20: *τὰς βεβήλους κενοφωνίας καὶ ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως.* The definite article furnishes at least the presumption of a reference to some system or systems which boasted of being founded on *γνῶσις*.

[2] Irenæus (*Hær.* i. 20, § 1) ascribes to the Valentinians alone a countless number of apocryphal and spurious writings, which, he says, they forged, and imposed upon the ignorant who did not know "the writings of the truth." We have here a hint of the causes which made the diffusion of such impostures much easier than we could now suppose.

trace three leading principles: (1) The *Dualism* and essential opposition of Spirit and Matter; (2) The idea of a *Demiurgus*, or Creator of the world, as distinct from the supreme and proper Deity; (3) The denial of the true humanity of Christ, whose body they held to be a phantasm or deceptive appearance (*φάντασμα, δόκησις*), whence this heresy was called *Docetism*.

§ 5. The term *Æon* (*αἰών*), which has so prominent a place in the New Testament as denoting the Ages of God's dispensations with man in this world and the world to come, was used by the Gnostics for all the manifestations of divine power, personal and impersonal. GOD, the eternal, self-existent, incomprehensible abyss, is also the original Æon, who includes in himself all ideas and spiritual powers, and from whom they emanate as Æons in a certain order; mind, wisdom, power, truth, life, and so forth. The whole body of Æons forms the *Pleroma* or *Fulness* of the Spiritual World (*πλήρωμα*), as they called it in contrast to the emptiness (*κένωμα*) or unsubstantial character of the Material World, which is always in opposition to God and the ideal world. For the visible matter (*ὕλη*) of the world is that in which evil reigns, and must therefore have proceeded from a principle opposed to God, who is not the author of evil. But the worlds of spirit and of matter are not destined to eternal severance. The spiritual Æons grow weaker and weaker, the further they proceed from their divine source of emanation, till the last of them, named Achamoth (that is, "the lower wisdom"),[1] passes out of the ideal world, on which it is too weak to keep its hold, and falls into the chaos of matter. But its fall is that of a spark of light, imparting to the dark chaos the germ of divine light, and still preserving in its bondage to matter a longing for redemption.

The first creature formed by the union of this fallen Æon with matter is the *Demiurgus*,[2] who, himself of material substance, makes the visible world out of matter, and rules over it, as well as over time and the sidereal spirits. His throne is in the planetary heavens; and from him proceed the mysterious influences of astrology. He is the Jehovah of the Jews, who claims to be the supreme and only God; but his relation to the true Deity is variously represented. The Judaizing Gnostics make the Demiurge the uncon-

[1] A Chaldee word equivalent to *ἡ κατὼ σοφία*. "This weakest Æon" (says Schaff) "marks the extreme point where spirit must surrender itself to matter, where the infinite must enter into the finite, and thus form a basis for the real world."

Δημιουργός, literally a "worker for the people," hence a *maker* of anything, an *artificer*, used by Plato and Xenophon for the Creator of the world.

scious servant and instrument of God; but Marcion and the other anti-Jewish sects represent him as in insolent opposition to the divine purposes.

§ 6. The germ of spiritual life and light which was merged in the chaos of matter never ceases to feel a painful longing for redemption, in which the whole world of Æons sympathizes. Its liberation from bondage is at length effected through the mediation of Christ, the most perfect of the Æons. Descending through the heavenly sphere to earth, this Saviour or redeeming Æon assumes the ethereal appearance of a body; or, as other Gnostics held, the Æon enters the human body of Jesus, the Messiah of the Jews, at his baptism, but leaves it again at his passion. The birth, life, and death of Jesus Christ, as related in the Gospels, are all deceptive scenes, through which the redeeming Æon appeared to pass, as the only means of revealing himself to the creatures of sense. The real work of this redeeming Æon on the earth consisted in communicating to a select few that true knowledge which would enable them to strive for reunion with the ideal world. The Holy Ghost is regarded by most of the Gnostics as a subordinate Æon. The completion of the work of redemption is thus described, according to the view of Valentinus:—"The heavenly Soter brings Achamoth after innumerable sufferings into the *pleroma*, and unites himself with her —the most glorious Æon with the lowest—in an eternal spirit marriage. With this, all disturbance in the heaven of Æons is allayed, and a blessed harmony and inexpressible delight are restored, in which all spiritual men, or genuine Gnostics, share. Matter is at last entirely consumed by a fire breaking out from its dark bosom."[1]

The place of man in this system corresponds with its views of spirit and matter and their conflict. There are three classes of men,—the spiritual,[2] the bodily or natural, carnal or material,[3] in whom the two opposite principles prevail; and between these the *psychical*,[4] who are under the influence of the semi-divine or demiurgic principle, hovering between the sensual and ideal worlds. The spiritual principle is represented by Christians, the carnal by the Heathen, the psychical by the Jews; but the last is in practice the condition of the great body of Christians, the higher spiritual state being reached only by the Gnostics themselves. Here, as Schaff remarks, "we have the basis of that unchristian distinction of esoteric and exoteric religion, and that pride of knowledge, in which Gnosticism runs directly counter to the Christian principle of humility and love."

[1] Schaff, vol. i. p. 230.
[2] Πνευματικοί.
[3] Σωματικοί, φυσικοί, σαρκικοί, ὑλικοί.
[4] Ψυχικοί.

§ 7. The moral principles of the Gnostics varied, as was the natural result of their dualistic views, between the two extremes of asceticism and libertinism, not seldom running into one another. The whole world of matter, including the human body, being evil and a perpetual source of corruption, every pleasure derived from it was to be avoided and resisted by the spiritual man; this was the doctrine sincerely held by some Gnostics and inconsistently professed by others. But there were some sects that drew the opposite conclusion; the pure spirit could not be defiled by gross matter, which was only fit to be put to vile uses; nay, some avowed the monstrous principle, that "the flesh must be abused in order to be conquered."[1] This is said to have been the maxim of the Nicolaitans, who appear as early as the Apostolic age.[2] There was a like variety in the Gnostic forms of religion; the more ascetic affecting extreme simplicity, or even going so far as to esteem themselves above the need of the sacraments and means of grace; while others observed a pompous symbolic ritual. This was especially the practice of the Marcosians, who are said to have been the first to use extreme unction. We have already had occasion to speak of the early Gnostic hymnology.[3]

§ 8. A system founded on the pride of knowledge, in opposition to a standard of faith, naturally branched out into many sects, which have been variously classified. *Locally*, they might be divided into three schools, which are also marked by varieties of opinion:—(1) The *Alexandrian*, which held most strongly to Platonism and the doctrine of emanations; to this belong Basilides, Valentinus, and the Ophites. (2) The *Syrian School*, of Saturninus, Bardesanes, and Tatian, was more marked by the Oriental principle of Dualism. (3) The school which sprang up in *Asia Minor*, of whose leader, Marcion, we have presently to speak.

A threefold *doctrinal* division may also be made, according as they fell off towards Paganism or Judaism—for many of the sects went so far in either direction as scarcely to deserve the Christian name—and those who may still be called Christians. To the first class belong the Simonians, Nicolaitans, Ophites, Carpocratians, Prodicians, Antitactæ, and Manicheans; to the second, Cerinthus, Basilides, Valentinus, and Justin; to the third, Saturninus, Tatian, Marcion, and the Encratites. Still another threefold division has been proposed, according to their *ethical* principles: the speculative or theosophic Gnostics—Basilides and Valentinus; the practical and ascetic—Marcion, Saturninus, and Tatian; and the antinomian

[1] Δεῖ καταχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκί, like the saying about "sowing one's wild oats." [2] Rev. ii. 6, 15. [3] Chap. VIII. § 4.

and libertine—the Simonians, Nicolaitans, Ophites, Carpocratians, and Antitactæ.

§ 9. It remains to notice the chief Gnostic leaders and sects in their historical order :—

(1) *Simon Magus*, of whom we have spoken before, is classed as the first Gnostic—the *magister* and *progenitor* of all heretics, as Irenæus calls him—from his claiming to be an emanation of the Deity.[1] His personal history and tenets are hopelessly obscured by fables; but as late as the third century the libertine Gnostic sect of the *Simonians* not only claimed him as their founder, but worshipped him as a redeeming genius. Two other Samaritan heresiarchs, Dositheus and Menander, are said to have been contemporary with Simon Magus.

(2) The *Nicolaitans*, stigmatized with abhorrence by St. John, are said by early writers to have been the followers of the deacon Nicolas,[2] who became an apostate and taught a gross doctrine of antinomian libertinism.[3]

(3) *Cerinthus*, another heresiarch of the apostolic age, who is said by Irenæus to have come into conflict with St. John, was a Judaizing Gnostic, approaching closely to the Ebionites. His chief heresy was the distinction between the man Jesus and the heavenly Christ, who descended upon him at his baptism, filling him with divine power and spiritual knowledge, but left him at his passion, to be reunited to him at the final coming of the Messianic kingdom.

(4) The sect of the *Ophites*[4] is also assigned to the first century, and by some to an origin before the Christian era. In any case, they were rather heathen than Christian; and they regarded the Old Testament and the God of the Jews with avowed animosity. They derived their name from the importance which they assigned to the serpent as the symbol of the true wisdom and mental freedom, into the possession of which they held that Adam entered by his so-called fall. His son Seth, born after that liberation from mental bondage, was regarded as the first "pneumatic" or spiritual man, by a sect who were called *Sethites;* while the *Cainites* went so far as to honour Cain and all the worst characters of the Old Testament as spiritual men, emancipated from bondage to law. In

[1] Ἡ δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ μεγάλη (Acts viii.). "He is said to have declared himself an incarnation of the creative world-spirit, and his female companion, Helena the incarnation of the receptive world-soul" (Schaff, vol. i. p. 235). See *Stud. N. T. Hist.* chap. xiii. note, p. 389.

[2] Acts vi. 5. [3] See *Stud. N. T. Hist.* chap. xx. § 19.

[4] Ὀφιανοί, in Hebrew *Naassenes*, from ὄφις and נָחָשׁ, "serpent." Some make the Ophites serpent-worshippers, but this is not clear.

the same spirit "they found the true *gnosis* in Judas Iscariot alone among the Apostles, who betrayed the psychical Messiah with good intent, to destroy the empire of the God of the Jews."[1] The Ophite sect still existed in the sixth century, when Justinian enacted laws against them (530).

§ 10. It is not, however, till the second century that we find the definite forms of Gnosticism.

(5) BASILIDES[2] of Alexandria (A.D. 125–140) taught a system which is fully explained in the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus. Here we first find the chief elements of the Gnostic system as described above; but the variations of detail among the different teachers lie beyond the limits of this work. The cosmic system of Basilides is compounded of the Egyptian astronomy and the numerical symbolism of the Pythagoreans. He was the inventor of the mystic name *Abraxas* or *Abrasax*,[3] to denote the 365 heavens, or circles of creation, which he ascribed to two Archons or Demiurges. Basilides wrote twenty-four exegetical books; and his reference to John's doctrine of the Logos is an important testimony to the fourth Gospel. His son, Isidore, succeeded him as head of the Basilidean sect, which seems to have been dualistic and docetistic in theory, and of loose morality in practice.[4]

(6) CARPOCRATES, about the same time and probably also at Alexandria, founded a sect marked by its heathen principles and gross immorality. His son Epiphanes, who died in youth, was worshipped by the Carpocratians as a god.

(7) VALENTINUS, probably an Egyptian Jew brought up at Alexandria, who taught at Rome about A.D. 140, and died in Cyprus (A.D. 160), was the chief author of the fully developed Gnosticism which has been described above. His system became the most prevalent form of Gnosticism in the West, and especially at Rome; and hence it is one of the heresies best known to us through the work of Hippolytus. But there was also an Eastern School[5] of Valentinians, to which belonged the *Marcosians*, founded in Palestine by Marcus, a disciple of Valentinus; and another sect which followed BARDESANES, a Syrian scholar and poet, who lived at the court of Edessa, about A.D. 170. Bardesanes was one of the Gnostics who diverged least from Catholic doctrine. Both he and his son Harmodius were distinguished as writers of hymns. A

[1] Schaff, vol. i. p. 237.

[2] Βασιλείδης.

[3] The Greek letters of the word make up 365, thus: $\alpha + \alpha + \alpha = 3$, $\beta = 2$, $\xi = 60$, $\rho = 100$, $\sigma = 200$. It became a celebrated magical charm, and is so used on a number of curious gems. (See *Dict. of Christian Biog.*, Art. ABRASAX.)

[4] Schaff, vol. i. p. 240.

[5] Διδασκαλία ἀνατολική.

more obscure contemporary, lately made known to us by the work of Hippolytus, was JUSTIN, a Judaizing Gnostic, whose system appears to have been compounded of a mystic interpretation of *Genesis* and the Greek mythology.

(8) A leader equal in eminence to Valentinus was MARCION, one of the purest and least heretical of the Gnostics. His earnest but eccentric spirit seems to have been driven away from the Catholic Church by zeal for what he deemed primitive purity, combined with vehement opposition to Judaism and tradition, and a tendency to speculative spiritualism. Marcion was a son of the Bishop of Sinope in Pontus, but was excommunicated for his contempt of authority; and he went to Rome, where he met with the Syrian Gnostic CERDO, from whom he seems to have imbibed the Oriental idea of dualism. After travelling and disseminating his doctrine far and wide, he was about to seek for restoration to the Church, when his purpose was cut short by death. The well-known story told by Irenæus[1] illustrates Marcion's desire to be acknowledged as a Christian, and the repugnance felt towards him. Meeting Polycarp at Rome, he asked, "Do you not recognize me?" "I recognize Satan's first-born," answered Polycarp.

Marcion is one of the chief early representatives of an extreme supranaturalism, of which Christianity, deprived of its historic reality, is made the spiritual but fictitious expression. With him the doctrine of dualism took the practical form of the strongest antagonism between Judaism, as the embodiment of law and righteousness, and Christianity, as the Gospel of goodness and grace.[2] This antagonism was traced to its source in his theology. "Marcion supposed three primal forces:[3] the good or gracious God,[4] whom Christ first made known; the evil Matter,[5] ruled by the devil, to which heathenism belongs; and the righteous World-maker (Demiurge),[6] who is the finite angry God of the Jews. He did not go, however, into any further speculative analysis of these principles; he rejected the pagan emanation theory, the secret tradition, and the allegorical interpretation of the Gnostics; and he gave faith a higher place than it generally had with them."[7] But that faith had respect to mere ideas, not to the historic religion, old or new. "He rejected all the books of the Old Testament, and wrested Christ's word in Matt. v. 17 into the very opposite declaration: 'I am not come to fulfil the law and the prophets, but to destroy them.' In his view Christianity thus has no connection whatever

[1] *Hær.* iii. 3, § 4.
[2] This contrast was set forth in his work entitled *Antitheses.*
[3] Ἀρχαί. [4] Θεὸς ἀγαθός. [5] Ὕλη.
[6] Δημιουργὸς δίκαιος. [7] Schaff, vol. i. p. 244.

with the past, whether of the Jewish or the heathen world, but has fallen abruptly and magically, as it were, from heaven. Christ, too, was not born at all, but suddenly descended into the city of Capernaum in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, and appeared as the revealer of the good God, who sent him. He has no connection with the Messiah announced by the Demiurge in the Old Testament, though he called himself the Messiah by way of accommodation. His body was a mere appearance, and his death an illusion, though they had a real meaning. He cast the Demiurge into Hades, secured redemption, and called the Apostle Paul to preach it. The other Apostles are Judaizing corrupters of pure Christianity, and their writings are to be rejected, together with the catholic tradition."[1] Accordingly Marcion, who professed to follow no other authority but Scripture, formed his own Canon of the New Testament, admitting only the Gospel of Luke, much abridged and mutilated, and ten of Paul's Epistles, from which likewise he omitted whatever did not suit his views. He rejected the Pastoral Epistles, in which Paul condemns the rising germs of Gnosticism, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. Marcion's uncompromising opposition to the Law was combined with the strictest principles of asceticism, of which his own practice gave the example. In worship he insisted on extreme simplicity. His sect spread widely, and lasted till the sixth century; but it has obtained a permanent celebrity through the controversial writings of Tertullian against it.[2] Among his most noted disciples were Marcus (already mentioned as the founder of the Marcosian sect), Lucanus, and Apelles.

(9) TATIAN, the Syrian rhetorician, already spoken of as a convert of Justin and an Apologist, fell away to Gnosticism of the severe ascetic type, and became the founder of the sect called *Encratites*,[3]—that is, the "abstemious"—which lasted till the fourth century. But this name was also used as a general designation of all the ascetic Gnostics, in contrast with the licentious antinomian sects, which were called *Antitactæ*,[4]—that is, rebels against law and order. Among the latter class may be named the *Prodicians*, or followers of Prodicus, who "considered themselves the royal family,[5] and in their crazy self-conceit thought themselves above the Law, the Sabbath, and every form of worship, even above prayer itself, which was becoming only to the ignorant mass."[6]

[1] Schaff, vol. i. p. 240.

[2] See Neander's *Antignostikus Geist des Tertullians*, and the English translation.

[3] Ἐγκρατῖται. They went so far as to forbid the use of wine at the Lord's Supper, and were hence called Ὑδροπαραστάται and *Aquarii*.

[4] Ἀντιτακταί, from ἀντιτάσσεσθαι, "to set themselves in array against."

[5] Εὐγενεῖς. [6] Schaff, vol. i. p. 246

§ 11. In looking back on this earliest distinct form of heresy, there are some reflections which have been well made by a recent historian of the Church:—"Strange and essentially antichristian as Gnosticism was, we must yet not overlook the benefits which Christianity eventually derived from it. Like other heresies, it did good service by engaging the champions of orthodoxy in the investigation and defence of the doctrines which it assailed; but this was not all. In the various forms of Gnosticism, the chief ideas and influences of earlier religions and philosophies were brought into contact with the Gospel, pressing, as it were, for entrance into the Christian system. Thus the Church was forced to consider what in those older systems was true, and what false; and, while stedfastly rejecting the falsehood, to appropriate the truth, to hallow it by a combination with the Christian principle, and so to rescue all that was precious from the wreck of a world which was passing away. 'It was,' says a late writer,[1] 'through the Gnostics that studies, literature, and art were introduced into the Church;' and when Gnosticism had accomplished its task of thus influencing the Church, its various forms either ceased to exist, or lingered only as the obsolete creeds of an obscure and diminishing remnant."[2]

§ 12. About a century after the time when Gnosticism had reached its height, a heresy, resembling it so far as its Oriental elements were concerned, but still further removed from catholic Christianity, sprang up in Persia, the old home of the dualistic theology. The accounts of the rise of MANICHEISM are various and doubtful. The Greek story traces its origin to a Saracen merchant of Alexandria, whose manuscripts were carried by his servant to Persia, and were used by MANES as the foundation of his teaching. The Oriental accounts ascribe the origin of the heresy to Manes himself, or, in the native form of his name, MANI,[3] a learned Magian of Persia, who became a convert to Christianity, but was excommunicated on account of his opinions. Both stories agree that Manes began to publish his opinions in Persia in the time of the Emperor Aurelian, about A.D. 270; that he was at first favoured but afterwards persecuted by King Sapor, and at last put to a cruel death, being either flayed alive or impaled or sawn asunder, by King Varanes, about

[1] Baumgarten-Crusius, *Dogmengeschichte*, quoted by Dorner, i. 357.

[2] Robertson, vol. i. p. 64.

[3] The ancient writers give various derivations of the name, which, according to Lassen, comes from the Old Persian *manich*, "spirit" (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, iii. 405). Lassen considers the Oriental accounts of Manes untrustworthy, and as late as the time of Mahomet. The Greek accounts are full of confusion; and, in one point, they evidently confound the heresiarch with Buddha.

A.D. 277. His doctrines spread through Asia and to the West. In North Africa they were condemned by an edict of Diocletian (A.D. 287), not as a form of Christianity, but as an importation from the hostile empire of Persia; but the continued prevalence of Manicheism in that province is attested by Augustine, who himself followed it for nine years. It survived many severe edicts of the Christian emperors; and, though it seemed to disappear about the sixth century as a distinct sect, its doctrines may be traced through various heresies of the Middle Ages, down to the Albigenses. In their essence, indeed, they are among the most persistent forms of speculation concerning the origin of spirit and matter, and the conflict between good and evil.

§ 13. For this reason, Manicheism appears to have been not so much a system devised by any one teacher, as an attempt, springing from the spirit of the age, to combine the Christianity which, as we have seen, had early spread beyond the Euphrates, with the old religion of Zoroaster, which had lately been restored when the new Persian Empire was set up by the Sassanids on the overthrow of the Parthian Arsacidæ. Though the Greek story of its origin connects it with Alexandria, a chief seat of Gnosticism, the Manichean doctrine itself contains no trace of Greek philosophy. It was based on pure dualism, and it seems to have contained also some elements derived from Indian Buddhism.

According to Manes, there are two original and independent principles of Light and Darkness, corresponding to the Ormazd and Ahriman of Zoroaster, each presiding over his own kingdom, and in a state of perpetual conflict. The principle of Light is the superior, and he is properly called God; his essence is the purest Light, without bodily form. The principle of Darkness is called the Demon,[1] or Matter (ὕλη), and has a gross, material body; but to him also the name of God is sometimes given. In the kingdom of light there reigned perfect peace, serenely superior to the perpetual intestine conflicts that raged in the realm of darkness. But it happened that a party of the dark spirits, who had been defeated in one of these wars, fled to the lofty mountains that divided the two worlds, and thence caught a view of the hitherto unknown realm of light. On the report of this discovery, all the powers of darkness

[1] We have already reminded the reader that this Greek word had not originally a bad sense. The δαίμονες (from δαίω, "divide") were a sort of tutelary spirits, who directed the destinies of individual men, and the bad sense arose from the identification, which the earlier Christians made, of the heathen deities with the fallen spirits. A similar transition took place in the Persian religion, where the *daévas*, or secondary deities, of the old monotheism became, in the dualistic system, the evil spirits, ministers of Ahriman.

laid aside their enmities, and joined in an attack on the kingdom of light. To resist the invasion, God produced, from his own pure essence of Light, first the Mother of Life, and from her the Primal Man (the Christ of the Manichean system), whom he sent forth to the combat.

This champion still needed the aid of the Living Spirit, whom God sent forth at his prayer; but the powers of darkness, even in their defeat, carried off and devoured "a portion of the Primal Man's panoply, which is the soul." This part, thus brought under the bondage of Matter, became the Passible or Suffering Jesus (*Jesus patibilis*). Henceforth the struggle of the two Powers was, on the part of God to rescue, on the other side to detain, the heavenly particles which had been imprisoned in Matter.

§ 14. Out of the now mingled elements of Light and Darkness, God on the one hand created our World, and on the other the Prince of Darkness produced Man, in the likeness of the heavenly primal man. This Adam had two souls, one of light and one of darkness, with a body wholly material and evil, and in Eve the material part was stronger still. By her seductions, the heavenly particles in man became still more enthralled, and each generation sank deeper and deeper into the bondage of Matter. The deliverance of mankind was to be accomplished by the two powers of Light, produced, as we have seen by God. The Primal Man dwelt in the Sun by his power, and in the Moon by his wisdom;[1] and hence the worship of those luminaries, transferred from the Magian system, was justified because they were his habitations, not as being deities themselves. When the time of redemption came, as it was impossible that the pure essence of the Saviour should unite itself with a material body, he assumed only its appearance;[2] and, with Christ's real humanity, the system rejected his birth and early life, and made all his actions and sufferings a mere semblance. "The object of his mission was to give enlightenment—to teach men their heavenly origin, and urge them to strive after the recovery of bliss, overcoming their body and their evil soul; to deliver them from the blindness of Judaism and other false religions. No idea of atonement could enter into the system, since the divine soul was incapable of guilt, and the lower soul was incapable of salvation."[3] By repentance and obedience to the precepts of Christ and Manes, who claimed to be the promised Paraclete, the "natural man" shook off the material elements and became the "new man," and at length the creature of God. But "the work of purgation could not

[1] The abode of the Living Spirit was the Air.

[2] Here the Manicheans, like the Gnostics, adopted the Docetic view of Christ's human person.

[3] Robertson, vol. i. p. 141.

be finished in this life. The Sun and Moon were 'two ships' for the conveyance of the elect souls to bliss; on leaving the body, such souls were transferred to the Sun by the revolution of a vast wheel with twelve buckets (probably the signs of the Zodiac). The Sun, after purging them by his rays, delivered them over to the Moon, where they were for fifteen days to undergo a further cleansing by water; and they were then to be received into primal light. The less sanctified souls were to return to earth in other forms—some of them after undergoing intermediate tortures. Their new forms were to be such as would subject them to retribution for the misdeeds of their past life; and thus the purgation of souls was to be carried on in successive migrations until they should become fitted to enter into the bliss of the elect. When this world should have completed its course, it would be burnt into an inert mass, to which those souls which had chosen the service of evil would be chained, while the powers of darkness would be for ever confined to their own dismal region."[1]

This conflict and ultimate redemption affected not the human race alone, but all forms of animated nature: for some of the particles of Light and Life, absorbed by the material world, resided both in the lower animals and in vegetables, "hanging on every tree;"[2] and these particles are always being disengaged from their abodes in the sun, the moon, and the air, by the working of Christ and the living spirit. Hence both animal and vegetable life were sacred to the Manicheans, who must consistently have starved, but for the use of the principle of dualism within their own community. The disciples of Manes were ranked in entirely distinct classes: the "perfect," who attained to the full emancipation of their spirits from matter and the world; and the "hearers."[3] The latter, being still in bondage, could minister to the perfect in material things, and therefore fed them with the fruits which they might not pluck themselves, and of which they even partook under a sort of protest. When about to eat bread, it is said that they thus addressed it:—"It was not I who reaped, or ground, or baked thee: may they who did so be reaped, and ground, and baked, in their turn;" a sentence which was held to be literally fulfilled by the transmigration of their souls into the ears of wheat which underwent these operations; while those who killed any animal became animals of the same kind.

§ 15. In the whole system of Manes we trace a combination of

[1] Robertson, vol. i. pp. 142–3.

[2] Augustin. *c. Faust.* ii. 5, *et alibi.* "This was a reference to the Crucifixion" (Robertson, vol. i. p. 141).

[3] It was to this class that Augustine belonged for nine years.

various elements cast into the mould of a parody of Christianity; and the Scriptures were treated in the same spirit. The Old Testament was rejected, together with the whole patriarchal and Jewish religion, as the materialistic work of the powers of evil. Manes denied that the Prophets testified of Christ; as Jews, they had no claim to be listened to by the Gentiles, for whom chiefly the Gospel was intended. He acknowledged some authority in the Gospels, but held them to be of much later origin than the age of Christ and the Apostles, and also to be greatly corrupted, so that he had full liberty to alter them to suit his views. In the same manner he treated the other books of the New Testament. In short, by announcing himself as the Paraclete, Manes claimed for his own teaching the authority of a revelation; and his followers, while using (like the Gnostics) apocryphal Gospels and other forged Scriptures, appealed to his works as the standard of their faith, but still in subordination to the light of their own reason, emancipated from the bondage of authority.

The Manichean morality was, in profession at least, severely ascetic. The "perfect" were bound by the "three seals"—"of the mouth, of the hand, and bosom"—purity in words and diet; abstinence from all labour, even in tilling the ground, and renunciation of property; and not only celibacy but virginity. The "hearers," on the other hand, were permitted to eat flesh (though not to kill it), to drink wine, to engage in the ordinary business of life, and to marry. But it appears that Manichean asceticism degenerated into gross licence; and this was one reason why Augustine left them.

The Manichean community had a strict hierarchical organization. At its head was a chief priest, as the successor of Manes, with whom were associated twelve apostles or "masters;" then seventy-two bishops, and under them a body of priests, deacons, and itinerant evangelists. Their worship was simple, and they rejected all symbolism. Baptism with water was either forbidden or esteemed indifferent; but a sort of baptism with oil (or unction) appears to have been used in the initiation of the elect; and that class, according to Augustine, partook of the Eucharist, but so privately that he could learn nothing as to the mode of celebration. They turned to the sun in prayer, and in its honour they observed Sunday, but as a fast, in opposition to the universal Christian practice. Their one great festival was the anniversary of their founder's death, in March.

§ 16. The Gnostic and Manichean heresies belong to the class called in modern language *rationalistic*, and exhibit the earliest results of the conflict of human reason and speculation against faith

in a divine revelation. They were the earliest heresies fully developed, the various forms of Gnosticism belonging chiefly to the second century. To the third especially belong the second class of heresies, which may be called more distinctly *theological*, not only as lying within the range of Christian doctrine rather than of heathen speculation, but as having for the central point of the conflict the doctrine, to express which is one of the earliest uses of the word *Theology*, that "the Word was God."[1] The development of this doctrine, and of the Scripture teaching concerning the Father and the Holy Spirit, into the dogma of the Trinity, as well as of the union of the divine and human natures in the person of Christ, may be traced through the Fathers of the second and the early part of the third centuries.[2] Just as the first principles concerning God and His revelation, and the authority of the canonical Scriptures, were framed into a Catholic system through the contest with Gnosticism, so the Catholic doctrine of Christ and the Trinity was moulded by defence against the opposition, of which the germs have already been seen in the apostolic age.

The opponents of the divinity of Christ and the equal deity, but distinct personality, of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, were called by the general name of *Monarchians*,[3] the Greek equivalent of the later Latin word *Unitarians*. Under this term were included two chief schools: first, those who distinctly denied the divinity of Christ, or explained it as a mere power (δύναμις) with which the man Jesus was filled; whence they are called *dynamical*, as well as *rationalistic* Monarchians. They held, however, for the most part, the supernatural generation of Christ by the power of the Holy Ghost, and that the divine power resided in Him essentially and from the beginning, and not, as the Gnostics said, from its communication at His baptism. The second class were the *patripassian*[4] Monarchians, who held the deity of Christ, but identified the Son with the Father, and explained the Trinity as only a threefold mode of revealing God, or, in other words, a threefold aspect of the Divine Being. "The first form of this heresy deistically

[1] John i. 1: Θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος, whence John was called ὁ Θεολόγος and ὁ ἅγιος Θεολόγος (a title curiously perpetuated in the name of the village *Ayasaluk*, on the site of Ephesus), and the doctrine was called Θεολογία. But this was an exceptional use of the word. The Greek writers, from Homer and Hesiod downwards, use θεολόγος, θεολογία, θεολογικός, and the verb θεολογέω in the general sense in which we now use *Theology*.

[2] This is admirably done by Professor Schaff, vol. i. pp. 266–287.

[3] From Μοναρχία, literally, "the rule of one alone," the term by which they expressed the unity of God, the μοναρχός, *i.e.* "sole ruler."

[4] This name was applied to them first by Tertullian, to express that inference from their views which was urged as a decisive refutation of them, that God the Father must have suffered upon the cross.

sundered the divine and the human, and rose little above Ebionism. The second proceeded, at least in part, from pantheistic preconceptions, and approached the ground of Gnostic docetism. The one prejudiced the dignity of the Son, the other the dignity of the Father; yet the latter was by far the more profound and Christian, and accordingly met with the greater acceptance."[1]

§ 17. The chief sects of dynamical Monarchians were:—

(1) The *Alogians*,[2] "deniers of the Logos," an obscure sect in Asia Minor (about A.D. 170), who, together with the doctrine of John, rejected also his Gospel, which they ascribed to the heretic Cerinthus.

(2) The *Theodotians*, whose leader, THEODOTUS of Byzantium, a currier but a man of learning, is said to have justified his denial of Christ in a persecution by saying that he had not denied God but a *man*, but still held him to be the supernaturally begotten Messiah. He propagated his views at Rome, and was excommunicated by Victor (A.D. 192–202).

(3) ARTEMON, who also taught at Rome, and was excommunicated by Zephyrinus (A.D. 202–217), is named in connection with Theodotus. He contended that his views were the true primitive faith, which had been only recently obscured in the Roman Church; and it has now been discovered from the *Philosophumena* that Victor and Zephyrinus favoured the opposite heresy of the Patripassians, as taught by Praxeas and Noëtus. The Artemonites had a predilection for Greek philosophy and mathematics, and are said to have placed the works of Aristotle and Euclid on a level with the Scriptures, which they are accused of corrupting to such a degree that each had a Bible of his own.

(4) In the latter half of the third century, Monarchism was more fully developed by PAUL of SAMOSATA, bishop of Antioch (A.D. 260 and onwards). Paul denied the distinct personality of the Logos and the Holy Spirit, and explained them as merely powers of God, like reason and mind in man. Christ, he said, was a man, in whom the divine Logos dwelt in larger measure than in any former messenger of God. The reluctance to break with the language of orthodox doctrine, which was common to many of the Monarchians, was seen in the hymns which Paul altered from those of the Catholic Church, in which he called Christ "God, of the virgin,"[3] and even ascribed to him the same substance with the Father. In A.D. 269 Paul was deposed by a council of Syrian bishops on the charge, not

[1] Schaff, vol. i. p. 288.

[2] The name seems to have been fastened on them in a double sense, for the word ἄλογος (*i.e.*, "without *logos*"), applied technically to *deniers of the Logos*, has the common meaning of *irrational*.

[3] Θεὸς ἐκ παρθένου.

only of heresy, but of vanity and arrogance, pompousness and avarice, and undue concern with secular business.[1] But he was protected by Zenobia, queen of Palmyra; and it was not till the Emperor Aurelian recovered Syria that the sentence was confirmed by the Italian bishops, and Paul was deposed. His followers were condemned by later councils under the names of Paulianists and Samosatenians.

§ 18. The Patripassian form of Monarchism was first taught at Rome by PRAXEAS, who came from Asia Minor with the renown of a confessor under Marcus Aurelius. The advocacy of his doctrine was mixed up with a vehement opposition to Montanism, whence Tertullian charged him with having executed at Rome two commissions of the devil, "he has driven away the Paraclete and crucified the Father."[2] Praxeas, however, explained his doctrine as, not the direct suffering (*pati*) of the Father, but His sympathy in the sufferings of the Son (*compati*). The Father and the Son were, he said, the same subject, which, as Spirit, is the Father, but as flesh, the Son. He regarded the Catholic doctrine as tritheistic, and perpetually appealed to two or three texts, to which he made all the rest of Scripture bend.[3] The later history of Praxeas is obscure. After being condemned by the Roman Church, notwithstanding the favour he found with Bishop Victor, Praxeas appears to have gone to Carthage and made some sort of recantation, but to have renewed the teaching of his heresy, which called forth the work of Tertullian against him.[4]

(2) NOËTUS, of Smyrna, or, as some say, of Ephesus, was contemporary in part with Praxeas (about A.D. 200). Little is known of him beyond his curious defence of his doctrine, which merged the personality of the Son in the "monarchy" of the Father. For this he appealed to the text in which Christ himself is called God over all, blessed for ever,[5] and maintained that by his explanation he did but glorify Christ. His heresy is chiefly important for the influence exerted at Rome by some of his disciples, who were favoured by Pope Zephyrinus, as Praxeas had been by Victor.[6]

(3) CALLISTUS (Pope Calixtus I.) was among those who sup-

[1] Besides his bishopric Paul held a civil office as *ducenarius procurator*.

[2] "Paracletum fugavit et Patrem crucifixit."

[3] Especially Isaiah xlv. 5: "I am the Lord, and there is none else: there is no God beside me;" John x. 30: "I and my Father are one;" John xiv. 9: "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," &c.

[4] *Adv. Praxean.* [5] Rom. ix. 5.

[6] These facts, as well as the part taken in the controversy by Pope Calixtus, have only been recently learned from the ninth book of the *Philosophumena* of Hippolytus. (See above, Chap. VI. § 16.)

ported the Noëtian heresy, to which he gained over Sabellius.[1] When, however, he succeeded Zephyrinus (A.D. 218), Callistus excommunicated Sabellius, though it is hard to distinguish their doctrines from each other. "The Father" (said Callistus), "who was in the Son, took flesh and made it God, uniting it with himself, and made it one. Father and Son were therefore the name of the one God, and this one person (πρόσωπον) cannot be two;[2] thus the Father suffered with the Son." His disciples were called *Callistians*; but from his death (A.D. 223 or 224) the Roman Church appears to have been free from all forms of Monarchism.

(4) The Patripassian heresy attained its fullest development in SABELLIUS, whose name is permanently connected with the doctrine. His perversion and subsequent excommunication by Callistus, at Rome, are known only from Hippolytus. From other authorities we find him, several years later, propagating his tenets with much success as a presbyter at Ptolemais in Egypt. In the year 261 Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, assembled a council at that city, which, in condemning Sabellius, and insisting on the distinct personality of the Son, declared His subordination to the Father in terms almost equivalent to the heresy which soon became so famous under the name of Arianism. The Sabellians complained to the Bishop of Rome, also named Dionysius, who controverted both the extreme views in a treatise. In consequence of his arguments and the decision of a council which he called at Rome in 262, his namesake of Alexandria readily retracted the assertion of the subordination of the Son, and the Alexandrian Church declared their assent to the orthodox "homoousian" doctrine.

The tenets of Sabellius are clearly stated by Professor Schaff:[3]— "Sabellius is by far the most original, ingenious, and profound of the Monarchians. His system is known to us only from a few fragments, and some of these not altogether consistent, in Athanasius and other Fathers. While the other Monarchians confine their enquiry to the relation of Father and Son, Sabellius embraces the Holy Ghost in his speculation, and reaches a Trinity, not, however, a simultaneous Trinity of essence, but only a successive Trinity of revelation. He starts from a distinction of the Monad and the Triad in the Divine nature. His fundamental thought is, that the unity of God, without distinction in itself, unfolds or extends itself

[1] It is *possible* that this Sabellius may be a different person from the famous heresiarch; but, till this is proved, we must suppose them to be one, as the presence of Sabellius at Rome about 218 is perfectly consistent with what is known of him in Egypt twenty years later.

[2] Hence he called the orthodox *Ditheists* (δίθεοι).

[3] Vol. i. p. 293.

in the course of the world's development in three different forms[1] and periods of revelation, and, after the completion of redemption, returns into unity. The Father reveals himself in the giving of the Law, or the Old Testament economy (not in the Creation also; this, in his view, precedes the trinitarian revelation); the Son, in the incarnation; the Holy Ghost, in inspiration. He illustrates the trinitarian relation by comparing the Father to the disc of the sun, the Son to its enlightening power, the Spirit to its warming influence. His view of the Logos, too, is peculiar. The Logos is not identical with the Son, but is the Monad itself in its transition to the Triad; that is, God conceived as vital motion and creating principle, the *speaking* God (*Θεὸς λαλῶν*), in distinction from the silent God (*Θεὸς σιωπῶν*). Each person (*πρόσωπον*) is another utterance (*διαλέγεσθαι*), and the three persons together are only successive evolutions of Logos, or the world-ward aspect of the divine nature. As the Logos proceeded from God, so he returns at last into him, and the process of trinitarian development closes.

"Athanasius traced the doctrine of Sabellius to the Stoic philosophy. The common element is the pantheistic leading view of an expansion and contraction[2] of the divine nature immanent in the world. In the Pythagorean system also, in the Gospel of the Egyptians, and in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies, there are kindred ideas. But the originality of Sabellius cannot be brought into question by these. His theory broke the way for the Nicene church doctrine, by its full co-ordination of the three persons. He differs from the orthodox standard mainly in denying the trinity of essence and the permanence of the trinity of manifestation; making Father, Son, and Holy Ghost only temporary phenomena, which fulfil their mission and return into the abstract monad."

§ 19. This is the best place to notice the *Millennarian* doctrine, or *Chiliasm*,[3] which interpreted the promised millennium of the Apocalypse[4] as a literal personal reign of Christ upon earth, with his saints, for a thousand years before the resurrection and last judgment. But this doctrine, though ultimately rejected by the Catholic Church, was too frequently held by the early Fathers to be ranked among heresies. Its most exaggerated forms, however, are found among certain heretics, especially the Montanists; and Tertullian supports it by an appeal to the Montanist prophecies, as well as to the Apocalypse. Even the orthodox Fathers (as, in

[1] *Ὀνόματα, πρόσωπα.* [2] *Ἔκτασις* or *πλατυσμός*, and *συστολή*.

[3] *Χιλιασμός*, used only in ecclesiastical Greek (from *χιλιάς*, "the number 1000") as equivalent to the Latin term derived from *millennium*, "the period of 1000 years." The advocates of the doctrine were called *chiliasts* (*χιλιασταί* = *millenarii*).

[4] Rev. xx., xxi.

particular, Irenæus) refer to an Apostolic tradition in support of a millenarian interpretation of that book. Though the doctrine provoked much opposition, especially at Rome and Alexandria, it was not branded as a heresy till the time of Constantine, when the imperial establishment of Christianity seemed to have satisfied the longings of the persecuted Church for an earthly reign of Christ, and reconciled them to a more spiritual interpretation of His second coming.

§ 20. One great result of the controversies with heretics was the attempt to frame, in the simplest possible form of words, a summary of Christian doctrine as held by the Catholic Church. The settlement of the Canon of Scripture was a work made doubly needful by the forged and apocryphal writings to which controversy gave birth. But besides, or at least as a guide for the interpretation of Scripture, the Fathers (especially Irenæus and Tertullian) appeal constantly to an apostolical tradition[1] as a "rule or standard of the faith"[2] or of the truth held by the Church. Of the doctrine derived from both these sources summaries seem to have been first prepared, as we have seen, for the instruction of candidates for baptism; and hence these "Creeds" obtained also the name of *Symbols* (σύμβολον, a *sign* or *watchword*) from the rite itself. Such was doubtless the original form of the "Apostles' Creed," which has no claim to be regarded as a formula agreed on by the Apostles;[3] but it expresses the gradual development of Apostolic doctrine, which may be traced through the writings of the Fathers. Different forms of it were used in the Eastern and Western Churches. The form familiar to us is that which was finally adopted by the Church of Rome, whence it is also called "Symbolum Romanum."

[1] Παράδοσις τῶν ἀποστόλων.

[2] Κανὼν τῆς πίστεως or τῆς ἀληθείας, κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικός: *regula fidei*, *lex fidei*.

[3] This legend is first mentioned by Rufinus, who flourished about A.D. 400.



Agape. From the Cemetery of SS. Marcellinus and Petrus (Bosio).



The Arch of Constantine.

BOOK II.

THE CHURCH OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

CENTURIES IV.–VI.

CHAPTER X.

THE FLAVIAN DYNASTY AND ARIAN CONTROVERSY:

FROM THE EDICT OF MILAN TO THE DEATH OF CONSTANTIUS II.

A.D. 313—361.

§ 1. Motives for the *Edict of Milan* — Religion of CONSTANTINE — How his inconsistencies should be viewed. § 2. The story of his Vision of the Cross — The banner called *Labarum*, and the Christian Monogram — Origin of the Symbol, and its adoption by Constantine — The outward victory of Christianity. § 3. Terms and spirit of the Edict of Milan — Its universal Toleration: in what sense. § 4. Constantine's Acts in favour of Christianity — His Christian Councillors: EUSEBIUS of Cæsarea. § 5. His final victory over Licinius — Foundation of CONSTANTINOPLE as a Christian city — Constantine a Christian worshipper and preacher — His ecclesiastical supremacy. § 6. Toleration of Heathenism. § 7. Constantine's late baptism — His probable motives for the delay — His death, character, and ecclesiastical position. § 8.

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§ 1. No view of history is more fruitful in errors, and more apt to inflame party animosities, than that which makes the personal characters of leading actors the standard for judging of the events of which their very faults and even vices mark them the more surely as instruments in the hands of Him who brings good out of evil. The lesson is so conspicuously exhibited, that he must be blind who does not see it set forth in such characters as Constantine the Great and Henry VIII., who had much in common, both in their better and their worse qualities. We are concerned not so much with what they were, as with what they did; and we must regard them as the product of the age which they served, moulded by it before they could mould it in their turn.

The Edict of Milan may be regarded, from the lowest point of view,

as an act of policy, more solemnly renewing the confession, already made by Galerius, that Christianity was not to be "stamped out," and that the time had come to find for its moral power a fit and equal place among the other social forces of the Empire. But the confession extorted from the dying torments of Galerius was the free expression of Constantine's deliberate judgment. The son of Constantius Chlorus and Helena,[1] born in A.D. 272 (or 274), and endowed with the choicest gifts of body and mind, he remained at the court of Diocletian as a sort of hostage for his father's fidelity, till after the emperor's abdication, and he then escaped from the jealousy of Galerius just in time to receive his father's virtual bequest of his title to the Empire. With that claim he inherited the spirit of toleration, strengthened doubtless by the excesses of persecuting fury which he had witnessed at Nicomedia. But he was still a heathen, though the heathenism which he had learned from his father was (as we see by subsequent examples) of that purer type which recognized one supreme God. Still he worshipped the gods of Rome, and professed a special devotion for Apollo, with whom Constantine's flatterers compared him for his manly beauty.[2] It was not till after his final victory over his last remaining rival, Licinius, that he made a distinct profession of Christianity, and recommended all his subjects to embrace the religion of Christ (A.D. 324). The public respect which he had paid to the old religion up to that time was even continued afterwards, perhaps in his character of the sovereign of subjects of whom the majority were still pagans. Thus his new capital of Constantinople was placed under the joint protection of the God of the Martyrs and the Goddess Fortune; his coins bore on one side the monogram of Christ, and on the other the image of the Sun-god, with the inscription *Sol Invictus*;[3] and he retained to the last the title of Pontifex Maximus,

[1] His full name was Caius Flavius Valerius Aurelius Claudius Constantinus. He was probably born at Naïssus in Upper Mœsia (now *Nissa*, in Servia). His mother was a native of the country, of low origin—according to some, the daughter of an innkeeper. The fabulous British histories (as in Geoffrey of Monmouth and his followers) make her the daughter of a British king, Coel; but the truth is that her husband did not land in Britain till four years after he had divorced her to marry Theodora (Chap. V. § 9), and when her son Constantine was about twenty-five years old. Instead of being Constantine's teacher in Christianity, Helena seems to have embraced it on his persuasion.

[2] Some writers see in this a mystic connection with Christianity, as Apollo was considered to be a pagan representative of the Saviour. (Gieseler, I. i. 270; Robertson, vol. i. p. 185.)

[3] This also might have a mystic allusion to the Light of the World. We still call the Lord's day *Sunday*, and name the highest Christian festival, of His resurrection, from a pagan goddess; and some astonishment

which marked the emperor as the priestly head of the pagan hierarchy. It may have been in the like spirit that Constantine deferred baptism till he was at the point of death.

These inconsistencies, to which very striking parallels might be found in the history of religious revolutions, do but stamp Constantine as the representative of his age.[1] The difference must not be forgotten between the Christianity which sprang up in its first purity as the fruit of a real "conversion"—a complete change of mind and feeling, influencing the whole life thoroughly though gradually—and the more deliberate and politic choice between the old and new religions, especially in a ruler. When Niebuhr goes so far as to deny that Constantine was a Christian at all, and urges the inconsistencies which have been mentioned above, Dean Stanley well rejoins: "This is true in itself. But, in order to be just, we must bear in mind that it probably describes the religion of many in that time besides Constantine. And it is indisputable that, in spite of all these inconsistencies, he went steadily forward in the main purpose of his life, that of protecting and advancing the cause of the Christian religion. The Paganism of Julian, if judged by the Paganism of Cicero or of Pericles, would appear as strange a compound as the Christianity of Constantine, if judged by the Christianity of the Middle Ages or of the Reformation. But Julian's face was not more steadily set backwards than was Constantine's set forwards. The one devoted himself to the revival of that which had waxed old and was ready to vanish away; the other to the advancement of that which year by year was acquiring new strength and life."

§ 2. We can easily believe that Constantine's first favourable disposition towards Christianity amounted to the recognition of the power of the Christians' God, and of Christ himself, side by side with the heathen deities. In this state of mind he would naturally be deeply impressed with any supposed sign of divine favour in his enterprise against those enemies and rivals who were also persecutors of Christianity; and his conviction of the reality of such a sign would grow at each step of his course and be magnified in the

might be raised by citing all the examples of existing compromises with the *names* and *forms* of heathenism.

[1] The most obvious case is that cited by Dean Stanley, from the wavering between Catholicism and Protestantism, in which Elizabeth presents as striking a parallel to Constantine's professions as Henry VIII. does to his moral faults. As to these, it is the shame, not of Christianity but of human nature, that so many examples of equal crimes may be drawn from the lives of Christian sovereigns. (See Stanley's *Lectures on the Eastern Church*, Lect. vi., and Dean Merivale's *Bampton Lectures*, "On the Conversion of the Roman Empire.")

retrospect. For it was not till some years afterwards that he related to his biographer, Eusebius,[1] the story of the famous vision which some have accepted as a parallel to the conversion of St. Paul. Constantine's narrative of the vision bears witness to the state of his mind at the time, after making all allowance for colouring added in the retrospect, without conscious falsehood.[2] On his march from Gaul (A.D. 312) to the decisive conflict with Maxentius, who was known to be seeking the aid of magic for the coming struggle, Constantine felt the need of the most powerful heavenly help. Remembering how his father had prospered, and the miserable ends of persecuting princes, he resolved to forsake idols, and prayed to the one supreme God, whom Constantius had worshipped. In the midst of these thoughts,[3] he beheld in the heavens, surmounting and outshining the noonday sun, a figure of the Cross, with the legend, BY THIS CONQUER.[4]

He was still perplexed by the vision when he fell asleep, and dreamed that Christ himself appeared to him, holding the same sign, which he directed him to have displayed on a banner, and to bear it on against Maxentius and all enemies in full assurance of victory. On rising in the morning, Constantine caused the sacred symbol to be

[1] *Vit. Constant.* i. 27–32. Comp. *De Mort. Persecut.* 44; Socrates, *H. E.* i. 2; Sozom. *H. E.* i. 3.

[2] On this point it seems rash to form a decided opinion either way. We have the twofold question of the truthfulness and judgment of the Emperor and his biographer (and Eusebius often shows both weakness of judgment and partiality); and the evil principle of *pious frauds* had already found a place among Christians. But all this affects the details rather than the main story, which appears to be above the suspicion of conscious fabrication.

[3] It is a point very significant for the criticism of the story, that no mention is made of the *place* or *date*. Of the later writers, some place the scene in Gaul, others near Rome, both being evidently guesses.

[4] Τούτῳ [τῷ σημείῳ] νίκα, or, in Latin, *Hac* (sc. *cruce*) or *Hoc* (sc. *signo*) *vince*. Eusebius seems to imply that the motto was in Greek; Nicephorus and Zonaras say that it was in Latin. The incredible statement that the vision was seen by the whole army—in which case the fact must have been notorious long before Eusebius learnt it from Constantine's sole testimony—may have been added by Eusebius. We think we can trace in several details an attempt (consciously or not) to assimilate the vision to that of St. Paul, with which its comparison furnishes an admirable critical exercise, as in all other cases of scriptural and ecclesiastical miracles. On this we cannot enter; but the *result* is a test of the whole It is incredible that a man could have thus "seen Christ," without henceforth becoming a complete and zealous believer; and, in fact, the uncritical believers in the miracle accept it to the full extent of Constantine's instant conversion. Theodoret (*H. E.* i. 2) goes so far as to say (in Paul's own words, Gal. i. 1), that Constantine was called, not of men or by men, but from heaven, after the manner of the divine Apostle.

emblazoned on the standard called *Labarum*,[1] so as to form at once a cross and the monogram of the name of Christ in Greek letters. Under this banner he led his army to the battle at the Milvian bridge, after which he set up at Rome a statue of himself, holding the sacred symbol in his hand, with the inscription, "By this saving sign" (or "By this the sign of salvation"),[2] "the true proof of courage, I delivered your city from the yoke of the tyrant."



The Labarum. From a coin.

The use of the *Labarum*, with its symbol, is the one certain fact, which seems to contain the key to the whole story. It became the sacred standard of Constantine and his family and their successors in the Empire, on whose coins it is frequently displayed.[3] It was committed to a guard of fifty men, whom it was believed to shield from all the dangers of battle. It was a long spear overlaid with gold, with a crown of gold and jewels at the top, and with a transverse rod, from which hung a flag of purple cloth or silk bearing the symbol, and emblazoned with gold and jewels; or, sometimes, the monogram was fixed in gold on the top of the staff, and the banner was embroidered with the figure of Christ, or with those of the Emperor and his children. The sacred monogram was also displayed on the shields and helmets of the soldiers.[4] It was used privately, as well as publicly, engraved on gems and on the small

[1] Λάβαρον and λάβουρον. The meaning and etymology of this word are quite uncertain. It seems to have been an old standard, converted by Constantine to its Christian form. The transverse form of the cross (as in the margin) is somewhat later. Some of the Roman standards already bore some likeness to a cross, as the early Apologists reminded the heathen.

[2] Euseb. *H. E.* ix. 9, Τούτῳ τῷ σωτηριώδει σημείῳ. There seems much reason in Gibbon's doubt, whether this statue and inscription were set up before Constantine's second or third visit to Rome. On his triumphal arch, built expressly in honour of the victory, his success is ascribed, in general terms, to the inward impulse of the Deity and his own greatness of mind (*instinctu Divinitatis et mentis magnitudine*). It should be remembered, however, that the arch was erected by the Senate; and the inscription might be interpreted, both by the Emperor's Christian and heathen subjects, in their own sense.

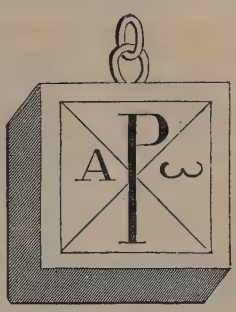
[3] On one of Constantius II. it is accompanied with the motto *Hoc signo vinces*.

[4] According to Lactantius, this was first done by Constantine before the battle with Maxentius.

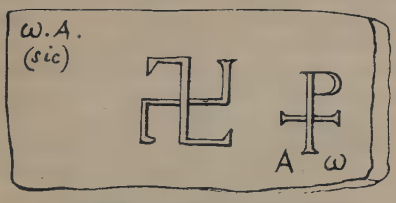
caskets worn round the neck, and hence called *encolpia*[1] (breast-lockets), which usually contained relics or a copy of the Gospels. The frequent addition of the motto "By this Conquer" (*τούτῳ νίκα*)



Engraved stone of earliest epoch.
(Didron, 'Ic. Chrétienne,' vol. i. p. 396.)



An Encolpion of gold found in the Cemetery of the Vatican.



A. On a single Tomb, Callixtine Catacomb.
(Boldetti, lib. ii. c. iii. p. 353.)



B. In Cemetery of St. Agnes.

proves the importance attached to the watchword, and the prevalent belief in its origin. But there is no reason to believe (and here is the turning-point of the whole question) that the symbol itself originated in the time of Constantine. The cross was in common use as an emblem among Christians in the time of Tertullian;[2] and it seems not improbable that the figure which was significant of the name of Christ was at least as old as, if



C. In Cemetery of St. Agnes.



D. In Cemetery of Domitia. (Boldetti, lib. ii. c. iii. p. 353.)

[1] Ἐγκόλπιον, "worn on the breast."

[2] *De Corona Mil.* c. iii. On the whole subject see the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. Cross.

not older than, the simpler and less significant form. In the Catacombs and all the earlier records the sign of the cross is constantly used in connection with the monogram of Christ.[1]



E. Cross on Tomb of Flavia Jovina, referred by Baronius to A.D. 367. (Boldetti, lib. i. c. ii. p. 271.)

The emblem would assuredly be known to Constantine, especially at the crisis when every form of inquisition was made into Christianity. In the state of Constantine's own mind towards Christianity, and with the balance of opinion throughout the Empire poised in suspense between him and his enemies, what was more natural than his adopting, among his other military standards, one which would at once raise the enthusiasm of his Christian soldiers (for many such doubtless followed him from Gaul, Spain, and Britain) and rally the oppressed Christians everywhere to his side? And what more natural than that his strong disposition to make such an appeal to the force of Christian feeling should be reflected in the dream, which we must suppose to have suggested the vision, or at least its significance? Of the vision itself there is no need to seek a precise explanation, especially remembering the lapse of time before Constantine related it, and the temptation to assimilate its details to those of St. Paul's conversion. History is too full of the records of optical illusions and atmospheric appearances—haloes, luminous clouds, and mock suns, often arranged in the form of crosses,[2] which have been taken for signs and omens—to leave any difficulty in supposing that some such phenomenon had raised the wonder and excited the superstition of Constantine and his army, though it was not till afterwards that his imagination gave it a definite form.

There remains the distinct fact, that Constantine adopted the Christian symbol as at least one standard of his cause. "It seems

[1] In the text are some of the chief forms found in the catacombs and cemeteries, but of various ages. The examples A and D have another sort of interest, as showing the cross in the form of the Oriental *suastika*, which was widely spread long before the Christian era, and has been found on pottery dug up by Dr. Schliemann at Troy. (See Schliemann's *Troy and its Remains*, passim.)

[2] Gieseler (i. § 56) mentions cruciform clouds which appeared in Germany in 1517 and 1522, and were taken by the Lutherans for supernatural signs. Dean Stanley (*Lectures on the Eastern Church*, p. 288) cites, as a recent illustration, the aurora borealis of November 1848, which was interpreted, in France, as forming the letters L. N. (Louis Napoleon).

as if he really hoped to use the Christian symbol as a token of union for his vast empire, with that mixture of sincere faith, superstition, and ability, which characterised most of his actions." [1] And another fact is equally clear. Whatever might be his motives, "the victory of Constantine over Maxentius was a military and political victory of Christianity over heathenism; the intellectual and moral victory having been already accomplished by the literature and life of the Church in the preceding period." [2]

§ 3. Of the real attitude of Constantine towards religion we have the evidence of that great public monument, the *Edict of Milan* for universal religious toleration.[3] Its tone is that of a simple monotheism, with a special favour towards Christianity as the worship that needed special protection after the late persecution. The motive avowed by the two emperors was "the humane intention of consulting the peace and happiness of their people, and the pious hope that by such conduct they shall please and propitiate the DEITY, whose seat is in heaven." While reinstating the Christians in their civil and religious rights, and commanding their churches and other property to be restored (with compensation to private owners who had suffered loss), the edict went beyond all former acts of toleration, which had only protected Christianity within existing limits, but had imposed restrictions on its profession by new converts. Now,[4] for the first time, the emperors "granted both to the Christians and *to all* a free power of following the religion which each willed to choose, and that none who had given his mind to the rites of the Christians, or to whatever religion he thought fittest for himself, should in any case be denied its full exercise, all sorts of conditions being abolished;[5] so that each of those who have the same will to observe the Christian religion, may devote themselves to its free and simple observance apart from all inquietude and molestation."

[1] *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, vol. i. p. 495.

[2] Schaff, vol. ii. p. 28.

[3] The edict is extant, both in Greek and Latin.

[4] The following are the principal clauses of the edict, as given by Lactantius (*De Mort. Persec.* c. 48):—"Hæc ordinanda esse credidimus... ut daremus et Christianis et omnibus liberam potestatem sequendi religionem quam quisque voluisset . . . ut nulli omnino facultatem abnegandam putaremus, qui vel observationi Christianorum vel ei religioni mentem suam dederet quam ipse sibi aptissimam esse sentiret, . . . ut, amotis omnibus omnino conditionibus, nunc libere ac simpliciter unusquisque eorum qui eandem observandæ religioni Christianorum gerunt voluntatem, citra ullam inquietudinem et molestiam sui id ipsum observare contendant." Our translation follows the peculiar grammatical construction of the original.

[5] An evident allusion to the restrictions imposed by former edicts, especially of Gallienus.

Our admiration of this grant of full religious toleration need not be lessened by the qualifications which have been justly pointed out by Professor Schaff:[1]—"In this notable edict, however, we should look in vain for the modern Protestant theory of religious liberty *as one of the universal and inalienable rights of man.* Sundry voices, it is true, in the Christian Church itself, at that time and even before, declared firmly against all compulsion in religion.[2] But the spirit of the Roman Empire was too absolute to abandon the prerogative of a supervision of public worship. The Constantinian toleration was a temporary measure of state policy, which (as indeed the edict expressly states the motive) promised the greatest security to the public peace, and the protection of all divine and heavenly powers for emperor and empire. It was, as the result teaches, but the necessary transition to a new order of things. It opened the door to the elevation of Christianity, and specifically of the Catholic hierarchical Christianity, with its exclusiveness towards heretical and schismatical sects, to be the religion of the state."

§ 4. In this spirit Constantine always speaks of the "Catholic' Church, in the series of edicts through which we trace his successive steps in the support and public establishment of Christianity, but without any persecution or even positive disfavour of heathenism. "He exempted the Christian clergy from military and municipal duty (313); abolished various customs and ordinances offensive to the Christians (315); facilitated the emancipation of Christian slaves (before 316); legalized bequests to Catholic churches (321); enjoined the civil observance of Sunday, though not as *Dies Domini*, but as *Dies Solis*, in conformity to his worship of Apollo, and in company with an ordinance for the regular consulting of the haruspex (321); contributed liberally to the building of churches and the support of the clergy; erased the heathen symbols of Jupiter and Apollo, Mars and Hercules, from the imperial coins (323); and gave his sons a Christian education."[3] Some of the most eminent of the Christian clergy became his intimate counsellors. Among them was Hosius, bishop of Corduba in Spain, as early as 313; and afterwards Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine, the biographer of Constantine and historian of the Church, and Lactantius, the most eloquent of the Latin Fathers.

§ 5. The last effort of the heathen party for ascendancy was crushed by the defeat of Licinius in the battles of Adrianople and

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 30–1.

[2] See especially Tertullian, *ad Scapulam*, c. 2, "Tamen *humani juris et naturalis potestatis* est unicuique quod putaverit colere," &c.; and Lactantius, *Inst. Div.*, 19, 20.

[1] Schaff, vol. ii. p. 31.

Chrysopolis (324), which left Constantine in possession of the reunited empire and of the city of Byzantium, where he laid the foundations of the "New Rome," which was soon called, after the name of its founder, CONSTANTINOPLE.[1] The new capital of the Empire was marked from the first as a Christian city, while Old Rome retained the outward aspect of heathenism. Instead of idol temples and altars, churches and crucifixes rose in the new city, which never witnessed a heathen sacrifice except during the brief reaction under Julian. The hall of the palace was adorned with pictures of the Crucifixion and other scenes from Scripture history. The prohibition of gladiatorial shows was the first great public fruit of the humanizing influence of Christianity. The foundation of Constantinople may well be taken also as the epoch of the public recognition of Christianity, which Constantine now recommended all his subjects to adopt, though he still left them to their free choice.

The Emperor was now a regular attendant on Christian worship, and he observed the festival of Easter. He himself composed and delivered discourses enforcing the claims of Christianity, which were applauded by the people who flocked to the palace, as well as by the courtiers, whose avarice and rapacity were among the themes of the august preacher. He called himself the Bishop of bishops, and in the year after his victory over Licinius he assumed a sort of headship of the Church on earth, by convening and presiding over the first of those councils whose very title of ŒCUMENICAL[2] marked the connection of the Church with the organization of the Empire. The occasion and history of that Council will be stated presently.

§ 6. This more and more decided adoption and establishment of Christianity did not lead Constantine to violate the toleration promised by the Edict of Milan, except within the Church itself, where the civil power was used to enforce the orthodox decrees of the Nicene Council for the worship of Christ, while the worship of Jove was left free. In this the Emperor must be regarded as acting, not as the enforcer of a State religion, but in the cause of what he deemed necessary order, to maintain the unity of the Church as declared by its own authoritative voice. Towards the heathen worship his only acts of repression were in the interests of morality, as when he prohibited the obscene worship of Venus in Phœnicia; or for the protection of Christians in cases where heathen rites would have been specially offensive, as at the sepulchre of Christ. The issue of an edict for the general prohibition of

[1] The new buildings were begun in 324, and the city was dedicated in 330.

[2] See Chap. VII. *at end.*

heathen sacrifices, towards the end of his reign, is indeed mentioned both by Eusebius and in its re-enactment by his sons in 341. But the new edict proves that the first was not enforced by Constantine himself, and the difference is characteristic of his caution and moderation, as contrasted with the fanaticism of his sons.

§ 7. The like caution was probably his chief motive for postponing his baptism till his last illness.[1] It must be remembered that baptism had long been regarded, not simply as the seal of Christian profession, but as a sacramental remission of past sins, connected with an idea of the almost inexpiable character of sins committed after baptism. We have seen Tertullian opposing hasty baptism on this very ground. To say that Constantine deliberately kept open (so to speak) the account with heaven and his own conscience, may be left to those historians who can only paint human character in black or white. Taking a fairer view of his feelings and motives, without being less severe on his faults and crimes, we can understand how the prince who had won the Empire by his sword and governed it with the pride and pomp of an Eastern despot—the man whose conscience was burdened with the executions of the two Licinii and of his own son Crispus[2]—should shrink to the last from the baptismal font. As Schaff well says, "Death-bed baptisms were to half-Christians of that age what death-bed conversions and death-bed communions are now." May there not also have been a hesitation of policy in taking the decisive step of severance from his heathen subjects? An excuse to his Christian friends, and perhaps to his own conscience, was always at hand in his wish to be baptized, after the example of Christ, in the waters of the Jordan.

To add another feature of inconsistency, the prince who had presided over the Nicene Council, and persecuted alternately the

[1] This indisputable fact has been questioned in support of one of the most unblushing claims of the Papal See, the alleged "Donatio Constantini," as the foundation of the Pope's temporalities. On this Schaff observes, "The pretended baptism of Constantine by the Roman bishop Sylvester, in 324, and his bestowment of lands on the Pope in connection with it, is a mediæval fiction, still unblushingly defended indeed by Baronius, but long since given up by other Roman Catholic historians, such as Noris, Tillemont, and Valesius. It is sufficiently refuted by the contemporary testimony of Eusebius alone (*Vit. Const.* iv. 61, 62), who places the baptism of Constantine at the end of his life, and minutely describes it; and Socrates, Sozomen, Ambrose, and Jerome coincide with him."

The only foundation for Constantine's alleged endowment of the Roman See is his grant of the Lateran Palace as a residence for the bishop, when he himself removed to the New Rome.

[2] Still, the guilt of this deed must not be exaggerated. Niebuhr has shown that Crispus was probably guilty of the conspiracy, for which, as the son of the divorced Fausta, he had a strong motive in the fear that

Arians and Athanasius, was at last received into the Church by the Arian (or rather semi-Arian) bishop, Eusebius of Nicomedia; but this heretical baptism was the effect of accident rather than design.[1] The rite was performed in the 65th year of the Emperor's age, at his palace in the suburbs of Nicomedia, and he died a few days later, in the white baptismal robe, at Pentecost, May 22nd, A.D. 337. His heretical baptism did not prevent the Greek Church from canonizing him with the extravagant title of "*Isapostolos*"—the "equal of the Apostles"—but he is not enrolled among the saints of the Latin Church. His ecclesiastical position is thus summed up by an Anglican divine:—"So passed away the first Christian emperor, the first Defender of the Faith, the first imperial patron of the Papal See and of the whole Eastern Church; the first founder of the Holy Places; Pagan and Christian, orthodox and heretical, liberal and fanatical; not to be imitated and admired, but much to be remembered and deeply to be studied."[2]

§ 8. With all his faults, Constantine's character is as brightly contrasted as is his government with those of his three sons, who did no honour to their Christian education. A few words respecting them are necessary before turning to the controversies of the Church under the Flavian dynasty. CONSTANTINE II., CONSTANTIUS II., and CONSTANS were youths of the ages of twenty-one, twenty, and seventeen at their joint accession. Constantius, the ablest of the three, being at Nicomedia when his father died, made the succession sure by the savage Oriental method of putting to death his two uncles and seven of his cousins. Two others were saved by their tender age and the care of their guardians, and one of these was the future Emperor JULIAN.

The three brothers divided the Empire, Constantine retaining the government, which he already held, of the Western provinces—Spain, Gaul, and Britain;[3] Constans that of Italy, with Africa and

the succession might pass to his step-brothers. "It appears to me" (says Niebuhr) "highly probable that Constantine himself was quite convinced of his son's guilt;" and the story of his remorse is certainly false.

[1] Eusebius (who must not be confounded with his namesake of Cæsarea) was, as Schaff observes, probably the nearest bishop, and acted here not as a party leader. Constantine, too, in spite of the influence which the Arians had over him in his later years, considered himself constantly a true adherent of the Nicene faith, and he is reported by Theodoret to have ordered the recal of Athanasius from exile on his death-bed, in spite of the opposition of the Arian Eusebius. He was in these matters frequently misled by misrepresentations, and cared more for peace than for truth. The deeper significance of the dogmatic controversy was entirely beyond his sphere.

[2] Stanley, *Lectures on the Eastern Church*, p. 320.

[3] For Constantine's division of the Empire into *Prefectures*, see the *History of the Ancient World*, vol. iii. p. 707.

Greece; while Constantius kept Thrace and the East, with the possession of the new capital, to which, however, he acknowledged his elder brother's right. But discord soon broke out between the emperors. Constantine, dissatisfied with his share, made war with Constans, and was killed in a skirmish while crossing the Alps (A.D. 340). Constans, after holding the re-united empire of the West for ten years, was killed in an insurrection of Gaul, provoked by his misgovernment (A.D. 350). Constantius, after ruling as sole emperor for eleven years longer, died just as he was preparing to defend his throne against the insurrection of his cousin Julian (Nov. A.D. 361). He alone of the three brothers is of importance in the history of the Church.

His character and ecclesiastical policy are well drawn by Schaff:[1] "Constantius, a temperate and chaste, but jealous, vain, and weak prince, entirely under the control of eunuchs, women, and bishops, entered upon a violent suppression of the heathen religion, pillaged and destroyed many temples, gave the booty to the Church, or to his eunuchs, flatterers, and worthless favourites, and prohibited, under penalty of death, all sacrifices and worship of images in Rome, Alexandria, and Athens, though the prohibition could not be carried out. Hosts now came over to Christianity, though, of course, for the most part with the lips only, not with the heart. But this emperor proceeded with the same intolerance against the adherents of the Nicene orthodoxy, and punished them with confiscation and banishment. His brothers supported Athanasius, but he was himself a fanatical Arian. In fact, he meddled in all the affairs of the Church, which was convulsed during his reign with doctrinal controversy. He summoned a multitude of councils, in Gaul, in Italy, in Illyricum, and in Asia; aspired to the renown of a theologian, and was fond of being called Bishop of bishops; though, like his father, he postponed baptism till shortly before his death." As the personal and political weakness of Constantius ensured the popularity of Julian, so his religious violence provoked the reaction attempted by that prince.

§ 9. In following the relations of Constantine and his sons to the Church, we are met by the striking fact, that the ecclesiastical power which they acquired was first invited by the dissensions of the Church herself. Before Constantine was received into her bosom as a convert, he was called to act for her as a judge. This first appeal was made to him in the year after his victory over Maxentius, in connection with the DONATIST SCHISM, which had sprung up in Africa. It was a fruit of the old controversy in the African church between the advocates of a severe or gentler treatment of those who had fallen

[1] Vol. ii. p. 38.

away in persecution. We have seen how the milder penitential discipline, sanctioned by the Roman church, had prevailed over the stricter treatment maintained in Africa, especially by the Montanist and Novatian sects. Their surviving adherents, and others who were moved by the enthusiasm which seemed indigenous in the African province, courted martyrdom with a zeal which was rebuked, as formerly by Cyprian, so now by the present Bishop of Carthage, Mensurius, whose measures to check such a spirit were aided and carried out by his archdeacon, Cæcilian. The death of Mensurius, in 311, gave the signal for a contest between the two parties for the vacant see, to which Cæcilian was elected. His opponents[1] assembled a synod of seventy Numidian bishops at Carthage, who deposed and excommunicated Cæcilian, chiefly on the ground that he had been consecrated by a *traditor*,[2] Felix, bishop of Aptunga; and they appointed in his place Majorinus, who, dying in 315 or earlier, was suceceded by DONATUS, called the "Great,"[3] whose name was given to the schism which continued for more than a century.

Meanwhile, Constantine, soon after his victory over Maxentius, had sent relief to the African Christians; but, in consequence of the reports which had reached him, he ordered that not only his gifts, but even the benefits secured by the edicts of toleration, should be restricted to the adherents of Cæcilian; and he added some harsh language about the "madness" of the other party. The malcontents appealed to the Emperor, asking for an examination of their cause by the bishops of Gaul, who might be supposed impartial judges of the case of the *traditores*, as their province had been free from the late persecution. This is most noteworthy as the first appeal made by any section of the Christian Church for the aid of the civil power towards deciding her internal controversies; and, as the Catholics did not fail to remind the Donatists, the appeal was first made by those who afterwards most strongly repudiated all such civil interference.

Constantine issued a commission, under which the case was heard by a synod of twenty bishops in the Lateran at Rome (then the palace of the Empress Fausta), who decided in favour of Cæcilianus (Oct. 313). The decision was confirmed by a council of 200 bishops (by far the largest ever yet assembled) which Constantine convened at Arles (Aug. 314); and again by the Emperor himself, who heard the case in person at Milan, at the request of the Donatist party (316). Their pertinacity was now treated as contumacy against

[1] It is needless to complicate our brief narrative with the corrupt and unworthy motives which were charged upon the malcontents.

[2] See above, Chap. V. § 17.

[3] This title was given to distinguish him from one of the first leaders of the schism, Donatus, bishop of Casæ Nigræ.

the Emperor: edicts were issued, depriving them of their churches, and sentencing them to banishment, confiscation, and even death, though it does not appear that the extreme penalty was enforced during the reign of Constantine.

But persecution only hardened the resolution of the sectaries, which was strengthened by the character of their new chief. Donatus united great learning and eloquence and austerity of life with arrogance and spiritual pride; and his followers boasted of his miracles and the special answers which he received to prayer. The sectaries practised an extreme austerity, which they were accused of substituting for the plain duties of religion and morality; they claimed to be the only true and holy Church of Christ; boasted of miracles and revelations; and required converts to their party to renew their baptism. They are not charged with doctrinal heresy;[1] on the contrary, they rejected the attempts of the Arians to open a correspondence with them.

When Constantine found severity ineffectual against their fanaticism, with his usual prudence he issued an edict granting the Donatists liberty of faith and worship, and declaring that he left them to the judgment of God. The sect became stronger in Africa than the Catholics: their synod in A.D. 330 was attended by 270 bishops, and the whole number of their bishops is said to have been at one time as great as 400.

Enthusiastic ideas of religion and ascetic professions have always been pushed to extremes of wild extravagance, for which their more moderate votaries are held responsible. Thus, out of the Donatists arose a disorderly mendicant fraternity, who called themselves the Soldiers of the Agonizing Christ,[2] but were commonly known as *Circumcellions*,[3] from their going about among the cottages of the peasantry to beg, instead of working for their living. But they are represented as banditti rather than mere beggars; both sexes committing every excess of rapine, lust, and violence; plundering and torturing the Catholic clergy especially; beating their victims with clubs,[4] often to the death; and at the same time fanatically courting death, which they called martyrdom, from travellers whom they attacked, demanding it at the hands of the judges, or committing suicide in

[1] "St. Augustine says that Donatus left writings which were heretical as to the doctrines relating to the Godhead, but that the sect neither adopted his heterodoxy, nor apparently knew of it (*De Hæres.*, 69)." (Robertson, vol. i. p. 199.)

[2] *Milites Christi Agonistici.*

[3] *Circumcelliones*, i.e. "*cellas circumientes rusticorum.*"

[4] This weapon, which they called "Israel," was chosen because Christ had forbidden Peter to use the sword (Matt. xxvi. 52), but the zeal of the fanatics overcame the scruple, and they armed themselves also with swords and hatchets, lances and slings.

various forms, except hanging, which they eschewed because Judas was a *traditor!* These excesses were condemned by the great body of the Donatists; but when Constans sent commissioners to compose the troubles and win over the sectaries by presents, Donatus spurned the offer, exclaiming, "What has the Emperor to do with the Church?" The Circumcellions rose in a revolt which was put down by force of arms; the whole sect were involved in the ensuing persecution, conducted by the imperial officer Macarius;[1] and Donatus himself was driven into exile (A.D. 348).

The history of the schism may be most conveniently here followed to its end. Julian's universal toleration restored to them their churches, which they repaired and adorned; but his Christian successors renewed the persecution. The sect suffered also from internal divisions, while its quarrel with the Catholics grew in bitterness, and affected all the transactions of daily life. We are told, for example, that the Donatist bishop of Hippo forbad the members of his church to bake bread for their Catholic fellow-citizens. In a very different spirit the Catholic bishop of that see, the great Augustine, attempted at once to refute and reconcile the Donatists by argument and persuasion. In A.D. 411, the renewed controversy was brought to a decisive issue in an assembly of 286 Catholic and 279 Donatist bishops, convened at Carthage by order of Honorius. The debate was led by Augustine on the Catholic side, and by Petilian on the part of the Donatists, who, besides the original questions at issue, argued strongly against all compulsion and all interference of the civil power in matters of religion. Though the even balance of numbers made a show of fairness, the decision was left entirely to the president, Marcellinus, the imperial tribune and a friend of Augustine, who gave it against the Donatists. Fresh edicts were issued, banishing their clergy, confiscating their churches, imposing fines upon their laity, and, at last, forbidding their religious assemblies on pain of death (415). Even Augustine now advocated forcible means of reclaiming them, and perverted the words in which Christ enjoined self-sacrificing urgency on his servants, into a command to destroy those whom they were sent forth to save:—"Compel them to come in" (Luke xiv. 23). A few years later (428) Africa was overrun by the Vandals, who had become fanatical converts to Arianism, and crushed out the controversy in the oppression of both parties.[2] But a remnant of the Donatists is still traced as late as the seventh century, when African

[1] In Augustine's time they spoke of this persecution as "the times of Macarius" (*tempora Macarii*), and they gave the name of Macarians to the Catholics, who, however, disapproved of these severities.

[2] See Chap. XVII §§ 3, 4.

Christianity was swept away by the Saracen conquest. Whatever may have been the errors of the Donatists, and however intolerant their party spirit, they deserve respect for their witness in behalf of the purity and unworldly nature of the invisible Church of Christ.

§ 10. The second and more famous controversy, for the decision of which Constantine used his power as the temporal head of the Church, as well as the ruler of the Roman world, was that between the Catholic and ARIAN parties. Under this new name, the dispute was the sequel and climax of that which we have traced in the third century concerning the Trinity, and more especially the divinity of the Son. It must not, however, be regarded as a branch of the Monarchian heresy. It arose in the bosom of the Catholic Church out of the attempt to explain the mode of existence in that Trinity, which, as all agreed, was distinctly taught from the first by Christ's own formula of baptism.

In the Alexandrian Church, the speculative mind of Origen had attempted to explain the mystery of a Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Divine Essence. While attributing to the Son eternity and other divine attributes, he taught a distinction of essence or substance[1] between the Father and the Son, and the subordination of the Son, as a "second God," to the Father—"God" absolutely, the "root and fountain" of the Godhead;[2] and he explained the eternal generation of the Son from the Father as the communication of a secondary, though still a divine substance. In all this, however, he not only stops short of making the Son a being created by the Father, but he distinctly represents Christ as intermediate between the uncreated Father and the creature (*Cont. Celsum*, iii. 34).

But the source of Arianism was not purely, nor perhaps even chiefly, Alexandrian; and it sprang up there in antagonism to the teaching of that church. "In general, Arianism was much more akin to the spirit of the Antiochian school than to that of the Alexandrian. Arius himself traced his doctrine to Lucius of Antioch, who advocated the heretical views of Paul of Samosata on the Trinity."[3] It was from insisting on the Origenistic view of the eternal generation of the Son from the Father, and inferring from it (against Origen) the unity of substance, *homoousia* (*ὁμοουσία*, from) *ὁμός*, "the same," and *οὐσία*), or *consubstantiality* of the Father

[1] *Ἑτερότης τῆς οὐσίας*, or *τοῦ ὑποκειμένου* (*De Orat.* c. 15). It will be seen presently that the whole controversy turns on this word *οὐσία*, "being," from *εἰμί*, "I am"), and it is not a little affected by the two Latin translations of this Greek term as *essentia* and *substantia*.

[2] He not only insists on a distinction of *θεός* (without the article) and *ὁ θεός* (see John i. 1), but amplifies the *ὁ θεός* into *αὐτόθεος* (*Deus per se*), and calls the Logos *δεύτερος θεός*.

[3] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 620.

and the Son,[1] that ALEXANDER, bishop of Alexandria, incurred the charge of Sabellianism from one of his presbyters, named ARIUS.[2]

§ 11. Arius is said to have been born about A.D. 256, a Libyan of Cyrenaica, and therefore a fellow-countryman of Sabellius. In person he was tall and thin, with a grave and austere aspect, but fascinating manners, and an air of modesty which covered (so said his enemies) a vain and ambitious spirit. He was famed for his learning and strict morality; and his zeal for the purity of the Church had already led him to join the schism of Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis, who had condemned the moderation of Peter, bishop of Alexandria, towards the lapsed. For this Arius was excommunicated by Peter, by whom he had been ordained a deacon; but he was restored to communion and ordained a presbyter by the next bishop, Achillas. His disappointment of the succession to the see, when Achillas died soon after, is alleged by some writers as a motive for his opposition to Alexander, who obtained it; but there is no clear evidence that Arius was a candidate. His first collision with Alexander is variously reported; but there is no doubt that, in opposition to the bishop's *homoousian* doctrine, Arius maintained that the Son, though the Creator of the world and invested with divine power in high measure, was not truly divine, but was a creature of God, the first created of all beings (so he interpreted "first begotten") *out of nothing*,[3] and a perfect type of created excellence. The novelty and logical clearness of this view gained Arius many adherents, amongst whom were two bishops, about twelve presbyters and as many deacons, and a great number of virgins.

§ 12. After trying to reclaim Arius by persuasion, till his leniency threatened to provoke a schism, Alexander held at Alexandria a council of a hundred Egyptian and Libyan bishops, by whom Arius was condemned and excommunicated as a heretic (A.D. 321). He went first to Palestine, where Eusebius of Cæsarea in vain interceded with Alexander on his behalf, and afterwards to the imperial capital of Nicomedia, where he found more decided support from the other Eusebius. This bishop, the old fellow-student of Arius in the school of Lucian, procured the declaration of his friend's orthodoxy from a synod of Bithynian bishops. From Nicomedia Arius issued a number of works, designed to diffuse his doctrines among the

[1] The distinction between the Origenist and Athanasian doctrine of the eternal generation is well expressed by Schaff: that the latter denotes "the generation of a person *of the same substance* from the *substance* of the Father, not of a person of *different substance* from the *will* of the Father."

[2] Ἄρειος, which, by a curious coincidence, means *martial*.

[3] Hence Alexander called the Arians Exucontians (*οἱ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, i.e.* "out of things not existing." Comp. the *μὴ ἐκ φαινομένων* of Heb. xi. 2).

people of all classes. They were set forth both in prose and verse in his *Thalia*, 'the Banquet,'—a title which denoted his purpose that the pieces in it might be used for social recitation; and with the like object he wrote songs for millers, sailors, and travellers. Meanwhile his doctrines were denounced in circular letters from Alexander to all the churches of Syria and Asia Minor. The contest filled all the East, and, says Eusebius, "Bishop rose against bishop, district against district, only to be compared to the *Symplegades* dashed against each other on a stormy day."

§ 13. That this state of things raised genuine and sincere disturbance in the mind of Constantine, to whom Eusebius of Nicomedia wrote on behalf of Arius, we have the proof in a remarkable letter addressed by the Emperor to the Alexandrian Church (A.D. 324). At the very epoch when, by his final victory over Licinius and the foundation of his new capital, he seemed to have attained his great idea of a re-united empire bound together by the moral force of Christianity, he had found the Christian Church itself falling asunder. The unity of the Empire was threatened in the very principle in which he had sought its vital bond. He had turned (he says) with lively hope from the distracted West to the Eastern regions of his empire, as those from which Divine light had first sprung; "but oh! divine and glorious Providence, what wound has fallen on my ears—nay, rather on my heart!" He makes an earnest appeal to the combatants to abandon these futile and interminable disputes, and to return to the harmony which became their common faith; for he plainly cared nothing for theological subtleties, but everything for the stability and peace of the system he had established. Yet it is no cold policy which breathes in the appeal, "Give me back my calm days and my quiet nights, light and cheerfulness instead of tears and groans." This letter was followed by the mission of Constantine's earliest Christian councillor, the venerable Bishop Hosius of Corduba (*Cordova* in Spain), who returned from Alexandria bringing no hope of peace, but a report unfavourable to Arius. Then it was—Constantine himself tells us—that, "by a sort of divine inspiration," he conceived the idea of convening a council of the representatives of the whole Church. This first attempt to fix a standard of Catholic doctrine by the voice of a majority in such an assembly was the first-fruit of the union of the supreme civil and ecclesiastical authority. By this precedent, as well as by the very title of *Œcumenical*,[1] a General Council was exhibited as part of the constitution of the Christian Empire, and

[1] This title is precisely equivalent to *imperial;* for the technical meaning of ἡ οἰκουμένη (literally, "the inhabited world") was the *Roman Empire*, as in Luke ii. 1. (Compare Chap. VII. *at end.*)

the doctrine was established, that "General Councils may not be gathered together but by the commandment and will of princes."[1]

§ 14. The machinery for gathering the Council was also imperial. Eusebius tells us that the Emperor sent respectful letters,[2] inviting the bishops from all quarters to come with all speed to Nicæa,[3] putting the public conveyances at their service, and providing liberally from the imperial treasury for their expenses during the Council as well as on the journey to and fro. Each bishop was to bring with him two presbyters or deacons, with three servants. They travelled in the public post carriages, or on horses, mules, and asses, but some of them came on foot. The number of bishops who assembled was, at most, 318, or about one-sixth of the total number throughout the Empire, who are estimated at about 1000 in the Greek provinces and 800 in the Latin. Including the presbyters, deacons, and other attendants, the whole number may have amounted to between 1500 and 2000.[4] The great inequality in the representation of the East and West seems to indicate their different degree of interest in the question at issue, rather than the difficulties of the journey. The Latin churches sent only seven bishops; and the fact deserves special notice, that this first representative assembly of all the churches[5] decided on the Catholic faith without the presence or voice of the Bishop of Rome, though the aged Sylvester was represented by two presbyters, Victor (or Vitus) and Vincentius. The Church beyond the limits of the Empire had two representatives; a Persian bishop, John, and a Gothic bishop, Theophilus, the forerunner and teacher of Ulfilas.

Among the bishops conspicuous for their rank were the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, Alexander and Eustathius, the former of whom then bore the title of *Pope* (*Papa* or *Ab-abba*, i.e. *Pater patrum*). These two patriarchs appear to have been the ordinary presidents of the Council in turn with Hosius of Corduba

[1] *Articles of Religion*, Art. XXI. See Stanley's *Lectures on the Eastern Church*.

[2] Γράμμασι τιμητικοῖς.

[3] *Nicæa* (Νικαία), at that time the most important of several cities of the name in Asia and Europe, was the second city of Bithynia, about twenty miles from Nicomedia. It is now a miserable Turkish village, called *Isnik* (from εἰς Νικαίαν), just as Nicomedia is called *Isnikmid* or *Ismid* (εἰς Νικομήδειαν), and Constantinople *Istamboul* (εἰς τὴν πόλιν, "the City" *par excellence*). The common abbreviation, *Nice*, is the more unfortunate from its identity with the better known town of Provence.

[4] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 624.

[5] Observe that this is strictly accurate, for all the churches had the opportunity of sending representatives; and the primitive assembly (Acts xv.), which some call the First Council, was one of the Church of Jerusalem only.

and Eusebius of Cæsarea (Metropolitan of Palestine), who were the special advisers of the Emperor and sat at his right and left when he presided in person. The patriarch Alexander was attended by his archdeacon,[1] ATHANASIUS,—a small, insignificant-looking young man, but of bright serene countenance, hardly twenty years of age. He was probably a Copt, or pure Egyptian, and he had attracted the attention of Alexander through a curious incident. From the windows of a lofty house, in which the patriarch was entertaining his clergy, his attention was drawn to some children who were playing a strange game on the sea-shore. On being brought before Alexander, they reluctantly confessed that they had been acting a baptism, and that one of them, having been chosen to play the part of a bishop, had dipped them in the sea. Finding that this boy-bishop had administered the rite with all the proper forms, Alexander declared it to be a valid sacrament, himself added the oil of confirmation, and, struck with the knowledge and gravity of the young Athanasius, he took under his charge the boy who was destined to be his successor as anything but a mock bishop of Alexandria.

In the debates of the Council—in which the inferior clergy had a voice, though the bishops only had a vote—the young archdeacon already outshone most of the fathers and dignitaries by the skill and vehemence of his arguments. Arius, too, was present, by command of the Emperor, and was often called upon to state his views, which were supported by many of the Egyptian clergy. The leader of his party, which numbered about twenty bishops, was Eusebius of Nicomedia. Eusebius of Cæsarea led a middle party, composed chiefly of his suffragan bishops from Palestine. This middle party seem to have formed the majority, but in the end they sided with the high orthodox party, who were led by Hosius of Corduba and the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch.

§ 15. At the Pentecost or Whitsuntide of the year 325, which was also the epoch of Constantine's *Vicennalia*,[2] the representatives of the churches were gathered at Nicæa, and the Emperor arrived on the 14th of June. The session was closed on the 25th of July, the anniversary of the accession of Constantine, on whose invitation the members remained for a month to celebrate his *Vicennalia*.[3] The sittings were held partly in a church or other building, and partly in the palace. Eusebius gives a glowing description of the opening scene:[4] "After all the bishops had entered the central

[1] This title was then used, as it still is in the Eastern Church, in its literal sense, for the "chief of the deacons."

[2] The festival in celebration of the twentieth year of his reign.

[3] These are the dates of Hefele (*Conciliengeschichte*, i. p. 261), adopted by Schaff, vol. iii. p. 624.

[4] Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 10, abridged.

building of the royal palace, on the sides of which very many seats were prepared, each took his place with becoming modesty, and silently awaited the arrival of the Emperor. The court officers entered one after another, but only such as professed faith in Christ. The moment the signal was given which announced the Emperor's approach, they all rose from their seats, and the Emperor appeared like a heavenly messenger (or, angel) of God, covered with gold and gems,—a glorious presence, very tall and slender, full of beauty, strength, and majesty. With this external adornment he united the spiritual ornament of the fear of God, modesty and humility, as might be seen in his downcast eyes, his blushing face, the motion of his body and his walk. When he reached the golden throne prepared for him, he stopped, and sat not down till the bishops gave him the sign; and after him they all resumed their seats."

After the bishop on his right hand (probably Eusebius of Cæsarea) had addressed to him a brief speech of salutation, Constantine delivered the opening address in Latin, which was immediately translated into Greek. God's greatest blessing (he said) had now fulfilled his own highest wish, to see them all gathered together in harmony. Victory had been granted him over the enemy of Christ (thus he glanced at Licinius); but discord in the Church was more fearful and painful than any other war. As soon as he heard of their divisions, desiring to aid by his service, he summoned them without delay. He exhorted them, as his friends and the servants of God, to put away all causes of strife and loose all knots of discord by the laws of peace. "Thus," he added, "shall you accomplish the work most pleasing to God, and confer upon me, your fellow-servant, an exceeding great joy." Having thus spoken, Constantine left the regulation of the debates to the ordinary presidents, but he continued to take an active part in the deliberations.

§ 16. After long discussions, in which the views of Arius were fully stated by himself, and combatted especially by Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, and Athanasius, the Arians were the first to offer a creed, signed by eighteen bishops; but it was tumultuously rejected, and even torn to pieces; upon which all its proposers, except two Egyptian bishops, withdrew from the cause of Arius for the sake of unanimity. Eusebius and the middle party offered as a ground of common agreement an ancient confession used in the churches of Palestine, which acknowledged the divinity of Christ in general terms derived from Scripture. This confession had been approved by the Emperor, and would have been accepted by the Arian party; but the high orthodox leaders would be content with nothing short of the use of the word *homoousios* (ὁμοούσιος)[1] to

[1] This word is also used in the contracted form ὁμούσιος. In the

express the sameness of essence or substance of the Son with that of the Father. On their part Hosius announced that a creed was prepared, which was read by the secretary of the Council, Hermogenes, a deacon (and afterwards Bishop of Cæsarea). This was, in substance, the well-known NICENE CREED. But as the deity of the Holy Spirit had not been a subject of special discussion, the Council were content simply to affirm the doctrine, and the creed ended with the words, "And in the Holy Ghost." The further enlargement was added by the Council of Constantinople in 381.[1]

To the original creed a clause was appended, anathematizing Arius and his followers; and henceforth no affirmation of truth was deemed forcible enough without a curse on its deniers. The creed was signed first by Hosius, then by the two Roman presbyters, as representing Sylvester, and by nearly all the bishops. Eusebius of Cæsarea subscribed his name after taking a day to consider his course. Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicæa would only consent to sign the creed without the anathema; and their condemnation by a local synod soon afterwards (probably on the charge of holding fellowship with Arius) was followed by a sentence of temporary banishment, but they ultimately accepted all the acts of the Council.[2]

§ 17. The two Egyptian bishops who alone positively refused to sign the Creed, Theonas and Secundus, were banished to Illyria with Arius, against whom and his followers severe penalties were decreed. His books were publicly burnt, and it was even made a capital offence to possess them. Thus the principle of punishment by the civil power for heresy, which we have before seen acted on in some particular cases, was for the first time established as a law. Constantine applied terms of bitter contumely to those who dared to stand out against his scheme of unity, condescending in his letters to pun on the name of Arius and to ridicule his personal appearance, and ordering his followers to be called *Porphyrians*, after the last great heathen writer against Christianity. The Emperor's position at this crisis is well described by Dean Stanley:—"His leading idea was to restore peace to the Church, as he had restored it to the

passage of the Creed it is in the accusative case (governed by πιστεύω εἰς), and hence the dogma is often described by the abstract τὸ ὁμοούσιον, "the (term) *homoousion*."

[1] See Chap. XI. § 7.

[2] The statement of the Arian historian, Philostorgius (i. c. 9), who appears to accuse these bishops of an insincere substitution of the semi-Arian term ὁμοιούσιος for the orthodox ὁμοούσιος by the advice of the Emperor, is generally rejected. But, as Canon Robertson observes (vol. i. p. 211), his words seem rather to mean that they *concealed* their heretical opinion under their adoption of the orthodox term (τὸ ὁμοιούσιον ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου φωνῇ ὑποκλέψαντες).

Empire. In the execution of this idea two courses of action presented themselves to him, as they have to all ecclesiastical statesmen ever since. He stands at the head of all in the fact that he combined them both in himself. In him both the latitudinarian and the persecutor may find their earliest precedents, which were both alike approved by the ecclesiastics of that age, though in later times he has been as severely condemned for the one as he has been praised for the other. No scheme of comprehension has been broader, on the one hand, than that put forward in his letter of advice to Alexander and Arius; and, on the other, when this failed, he still pursued the same end, with the same tenacity, by the directly opposite means of enforcing uniformity, to us long familiar, but first introduced by him into the Church,—the hitherto unknown practice of subscription to the articles of a written creed, and the infliction of civil penalties on those who refused to conform."

In this view, Athanasius calls the Council of Nicæa "a true monument and token of victory over every heresy."

§ 18. The deliberations of the Council were not confined to the Arian controversy. It fixed the time of *Easter* in the manner already described,[1] and made an attempt to compose the *Meletian* schism, which ended in the Meletians joining the Arians. A proposal to impose restrictions on the marriage of the clergy was brought forward, but rejected by the Council. It enacted twenty canons on minor points of ecclesiastical discipline and jurisdiction. The Creed and Canons of the Council were written in a volume and again subscribed by the bishops. They addressed a letter to the Egyptian and Libyan churches on the three chief questions decided; and the Emperor issued edicts giving to their decrees, which he ascribed to divine inspiration, the force of laws of the Empire.

§ 19. But the settlement arrived at with such outward unanimity was immediately followed by a reaction, and the decisive formula seemed only to have defined the irreconcilable difference between the *homoousian* and *homoiousian* dogmas. The question of agreement with the Council raised a new controversy throughout the churches. While the Arians held to their opinions with all the zeal of a persecuted sect, and surpassed the orthodox in violence and intolerance, Constantine, who understood and cared little about the doctrinal question, was induced by Eusebius of Cæsarea, and especially by the dying request of his sister Constantia (a friend of Eusebius of Nicomedia), to recal Arius and give him a new hearing. Arius produced a creed which the Emperor declared satisfactory; while Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicæa also obtained

[1] Chap. VIII. § 16.

their recal, protesting that they had no sympathy with the errors of Arius, and had only doubted whether he really held such errors. The "Eusebian" or "semi-Arian" party now recovered full ascendancy at Court; and they soon contrived to place the chief orthodox leaders in the invidious position of antagonism to the Emperor's authority.

§ 20. Attacks were soon made on the two great Eastern patriarchs, who were uncompromising supporters of the homoousian doctrine. The Bishop of Antioch, Eustathius, who had charged Eusebius of Cæsarea with a leaning to Arianism, was in his turn accused by Eusebius of Sabellianism. His deposition was procured, on false charges of immorality as well as heresy, by a party synod held by his opponents at Antioch, and the discontent of his people furnished a pretext for his banishment. Far fiercer was the strife at Alexandria, where, at the very moment when restoration to communion was claimed for Arius, the Nicene party obtained their recognized head by the election of Athanasius to the bishopric on the death of Alexander (April 328). Knowing his resolute spirit, Eusebius of Nicomedia first attempted to intercede with him for Arius, and, when persuasion failed, Constantine himself wrote to Athanasius, requiring the reinstatement of Arius and his followers, on pain of deposition and banishment. But the reply of Athanasius, that he could not restore the heretic who had been condemned by the whole Church, was too reasonable to be treated as disobedience to the Emperor; and the attempts of the Arians to use the grievances of the Meletians against Athanasius only damaged their cause with Constantine.

At length the Arian party in Palestine summoned Athanasius before a council at Cæsarea (A.D. 334); and, on his refusal, the authority of the Emperor was used, backed by threats of personal violence, to compel him to appear before another council at Tyre, over which Eusebius presided (335). The charges against Athanasius were so unfounded and the procedure so unfair, that, without waiting for the result, he sailed to Constantinople, where his bold personal appeal obtained from Constantine a promise that the case should be heard in his own presence.

The Emperor wrote a letter of reproof to the Council, which had condemned Athanasius in his absence, and which then adjourning to Jerusalem to dedicate the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, had, amidst the solemnities at the sacred city, pronounced the formal acquittal of Arius. The Arian leaders, whom Constantine had summoned to the capital, attacked Athanasius on the new charge, well suited to inflame the Emperor's wrath, that he had threatened to prevent the sailing of the Egyptian corn-fleet, on which the capital depended for its supplies. Whether Constantine believed the charge or only saw in the suspicion another proof of the

bishop's dangerous power, or from a mere policy of prudence, he banished him, as a disturber of the peace of the Church, to Treves, where Athanasius was received with honour by the younger Constantine (336).

He was not, however, deposed from his bishopric, and his church adhered to the refusal to receive Arius. The act of restitution was about to be performed in the church of Constantinople, and, on the eve of the Sunday appointed for the act, Arius was parading the streets on horseback, when he was seized with sudden illness, and died in a manner which the orthodox relaters liken to the end of Judas[1] (336). In this sudden death the zealous Catholics saw an answer to the prayer of the patriarch Alexander—that either the heresiarch or himself might be taken from the world before his church was profaned by the intended ceremony; while the Arians ascribed it to magical arts. The latter explanation shows that no suspicions were entertained at the time of that foul play which the sceptical historian proposes as the only alternative to a miracle.[2]

§ 21. Constantine died next year; and in compliance, as they said, with his dying orders, his sons recalled the other exiled bishops. Athanasius was received at Alexandria "more joyously than ever was an emperor" (Nov. 338); but the Arian or Eusebian party set up one Pistus as a rival bishop, and renewed their complaints of Athanasius to Constantius. Besides reviving old charges, they objected to the legality of his episcopate, which he had resumed by virtue of the secular authority alone, though he had been deposed by a council. This view received the sanction of one of several canons enacted by a council held at Antioch (340, 341); and, though the Catholics had a majority[3] in the council, the Arian or Eusebian party became strong enough to apply the canon to the condemnation of Athanasius. Besides their twenty-five canons, which were generally received in the Catholic Church, this council framed four creeds, in which, while Arianism was rejected, the homoousian formula was avoided.[4] They consecrated, as successor to Athanasius, a Cappadocian named Gregory, of a coarse and violent character, who entered Alexandria with a military escort at Lent; and the whole Paschal season was profaned by the horrible outrages committed by the soldiers and a mob of Arians, Jews, and heathens.

[1] Acts i. 18, last clause.

[2] "Those who press the literal narrative of the death of Arius must make their option between *poison* and *miracle*." (Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 212.)

[3] It is stated that out of ninety-seven bishops forty were Arians or Eusebians. Some of the majority may have gone home, or the support of Constantius, who was present, may have turned the scale in favour of the Arians. (Socrat. ii. 8; Robertson, vol. i. p. 223.)

[4] The second of these was that known as the *Creed of the Dedication.*

Meanwhile Athanasius retired to Rome, where he was declared innocent by a synod of fifty bishops presided over by Pope Julius (341). At the same time Constantinople also was disturbed by the quarrels of the two parties about the bishopric. Paul, who had been designated by the dying patriarch Alexander (336), had been elected, but was deprived by an Arian council. Restored to his see after the death of Constantine, he was again forced to give way to the translation of Eusebius from the see of Nicomedia. On the death of Eusebius (342), Macedonius was set up as a rival to Paul, and murderous riots broke out in the city. Other cities were disturbed by similar tumults.

§ 22. Alarmed by this growing violence, and seeing the Eastern and Western churches at open variance, Constantius arranged with his brother Constans, who supported Athanasius, for the assembly of a General Council. About 100 Western and 76 Eastern bishops met at Sardica in Illyria, under the presidency of the aged Hosius, and adopted the Nicene Creed (A.D. 343); but not till the Eastern bishops of the Arian party, protesting against the admission of Athanasius, had withdrawn to Philippopolis in Thrace, where they held a separate synod. Each council anathematized its opponents, and pronounced sentence of deposition against their leaders. Athanasius, though acquitted by the bishops at Sardica, remained in exile; but some years later Constans prevailed on Constantius to restore him to his see (345 or 346).

But on the death of Constans (350) the Arians renewed their attacks; and, when the defeat of the usurper Magnentius made Constantius master of the whole Empire (353), he took active measures against Athanasius. The champion of orthodoxy was condemned by a synod at Arelate (Arles) in Gaul (353), and again at Milan by a council of 300 Western bishops, with a few from the East, who were overawed by the presence of Constantius and his armed attendants (355). The Emperor propounded an edict embodying the Arian doctrine, which he professed to have received by revelation; and put down discussion by saying, "Whatever I will, let that be esteemed a canon; for the bishops of Syria let me thus speak."[1] Many of the most eminent orthodox bishops were deposed and banished; among them the venerable Hosius of Corduba, who was styled "father of the bishops,"[2] and Liberius, the Bishop of Rome.

The sentence against Athanasius was executed with outrageous violence by the governor of Egypt, who, at the head of 5000 soldiers

[1] Athanas. *Hist. Arian.* iv. 8; Robertson, vol. i. p. 231.

[2] Hosius gave way to the rigour of a long imprisonment and the threats of the Emperor, so as to sign the Arian formula of the second council of Sirmium (357); but he repented of his unfaithfulness, and condemned the Arian heresy shortly before he died, at the age of about a hundred years.

and an Arian mob, entered the church where the primate was performing a night service, killed some of the congregation, beat others, and plundered the ornaments of the church; while Athanasius was carried away by his clergy against his will (Feb. 9, 356), and took refuge among the monks in the deserts of Egypt. Thence, during a concealment of six years, he continued to send forth writings, encouraging the faithful, combatting the Arians, and denouncing the Emperor as Antichrist. His place was supplied by George of Cappadocia, a man of discreditable character, who inflicted every cruelty and exaction on the bishops and clergy, monks and virgins, and the laity of the orthodox party. The Arians, triumphant throughout the Empire, persecuted the Catholics with a vengeance unsurpassed by the pagan emperors.

§ 23. The divisions of the dominant party, hitherto concealed by common opposition to the homoousian formula, now became apparent. We have seen that the dissenters from the orthodox creed had generally united in proposing symbols which differed from it as little as possible. Such confessions expressed the real views of a moderate section, headed by Eusebius of Cæsarea, but not recognized till some time after his death as a distinct party, under the name of *semi-Arians*, or *Homoiousians*, from the word which they adopted in place of the *Homoousion* of the Creed, to express that the essence of the Son was *like*[1] that of the Father, though not *the same*.

Saving this *identity* of essence, they held that the Son was in all things *like* the Father, and that he was not a creature, but truly a Son, begotten beyond time and before all worlds.[2] This party, led by Basil of Ancyra and Gregory of Cappadocia, included the majority of the Eastern bishops, whom even the most vehement orthodox champions—Athanasius and Hilary—recognized as brethren, imputing their scruples against the "co-essential" dogma to the belief that it favoured Sabellianism.

At the other extreme were the thorough Arians, who held, even more distinctly than Arius himself had avowed, the doctrine that the Son was essentially a creature, *unlike* the Father, not only in substance but in will; whence they were called *Anomœans*.[3] This consequence of the Arian doctrine was first distinctly maintained by Aëtius, a man of low origin, ignorant and disputatious, who was ordained a deacon, but afterwards deposed, by Leontius, bishop of

[1] Ὁμοιούσιος, "of like essence or substance."

[2] Newman on Arianism, 317–19; Robertson, vol. i. p. 236.

[3] Ἀνομοῖος, in contrast to the Ὁμοιούσιος of the semi-Arians. By way of further contrast, the party were called *Heterousiasts* (from ἑτεροούσιος, *of another* substance). They were also called *Exucontians* (from holding that the Son was created *out of* nothing, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων), and *Eunomians*, from their leader Eunomius.

Antioch. His disciple, Eunomius, who became bishop of Cyzicus, carried his views further, into what would now be called *rationalism*. "Although he professed to refer to Scripture, his system was not founded on it, but was merely a work of reasoning. It was purely intellectual, excluding all reference to the affections. He discarded the idea of mystery in religion: he held that God knows no more of His own nature than man may know of it; that the Son resembles the Father in nothing but his working; that the Holy Spirit was created by the Son. He denied all sacramental influences, and—unlike Arius, who was himself a man of rigid life—he opposed everything like asceticism."[1]

A middle party, who differed from the Anomœans, not in their principles, but in the policy of avowing or disavowing them according to circumstances, were called *Acacians*, from their leader, Acacius, who succeeded Eusebius in the see of Cæsarea. It was this party, through Acacius himself, and Valens, bishop of Mursa in Pannonia, that had most influence with Constantius.

These differences gave rise to a number of councils, of which two were held at Sirmium[2] (A.D. 357 and 358), one at Antioch (358), one at Ancyra (358), two simultaneously for the West and East, at Ariminum (*Rimini*) and at Seleucia[3] in Isauria (359), one at Constantinople, which deposed the bishop Macedonius (360), and one at Antioch (361). But all these attempts to compose the differences of the party were fruitless; and the heathen spectators derided the Christians as having still to learn in what their faith consisted.

[1] Robertson, vol. i. pp. 236–7.

[2] These were the second and third councils of Sirmium.

[3] This council was summoned first at Nicæa, and afterwards at Nicomedia, and, on the destruction of that city by an earthquake, its sittings were transferred to Seleucia.



Constantine (from his Arch at Rome).



Constantine (from medal).



Basilica of St. Paul outside the Walls, built by Honorius.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FALL OF PAGANISM.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JULIAN TO THE END OF THE DYNASTY OF THEODOSIUS (A.D. 361–455).

§ 1. Early Life of JULIAN—His Education and Apostasy—Spirit of his Heathenism—His virtues and abilities—His public life and accession to the Empire. § 2. His Profession of Heathenism—Persecution of the Christians in the name of Toleration—His Edict against Learning among the Christians—Futility of his attempt to restore Paganism—Christians in the Army. § 3. Encouragement of popular outbreaks of Persecution. § 4. Liberty restored to Christian Sects—Recal of the exiled Bishops—Return and fourth Banishment of Athanasius. § 5. Accession of JOVIAN, and Restoration of Christianity—Reign of VALENTINIAN I. and VALENS—Prohibition of bloody Sacrifices and Divination—Arian Persecution by Valens—Union of semi-Arians with the Catholics—Cruelties of Valens—Death of Athanasius. § 6. Reigns of GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II., and THEODOSIUS I. THE GREAT—Gratian's Edict of Toleration—Baptism of Theodosius, and his Edicts against the Arian Heresy. § 7. Mission of GREGORY NAZIANZEN to Constantinople—First Council of Constantinople: the *Second General Council*—*Macedonian* Heresy—Consecration and Retirement of Gregory—Addition to the Nicene Creed—

Canons of the Council—The *Apollinarian* Heresy. § 8. State of the Western Church—Election of AMBROSE to the Bishopric of Milan—His previous Life and Character—Conduct in his Bishopric—His Influence with the Imperial Family—His Missions to Maximus. § 9. Contest of Ambrose with the Empress Justina, who demands a Church for the Arians—Ambrose introduces Antiphonal Singing. § 10. Discovery of the Relics of the Martyrs Gervasius and Protasius, and Miracles wrought by them—Their Genuineness rejected. § 11. Relations of Ambrose to Theodosius—Massacre of Thessalonica—Ambrose excludes Theodosius from the Church—The Emperor's Penance—Deaths of Theodosius and Ambrose—Works of Ambrose. § 12. Measures against Heathenism—Gratian withdraws its public Support—Removal of the Altar of Victory from the Senate-house—The Plea of Symmachus, and the Reply of Ambrose. § 13. Measures of Theodosius in the East—Closing of the Temples, and their Destruction by popular Violence. § 14. Plea of Libanius for the Temples—Tumults at Alexandria—Destruction of the Serapeum, and Fall of Idolatry in Egypt—Violence against Idolatry rebuked by Christian Fathers. § 15. General Edict of Theodosius against Heathenism—Its imperfect Enforcement—His own Impartiality—His Apotheosis. § 16. His edicts against heretics—Priscillian. § 17. Division of the Empire: ARCADIUS in the East, and HONORIUS in the West. § 18. THEODOSIUS II. and PULCHERIA in the East; VALENTINIAN III. in the West. § 19. Edicts against Paganism. § 20. Effect of the barbarian invasions in destroying it—Epoch of its Extinction in the Empire.

§ 1. ONE generation only had passed away since Christianity became the established religion of the Empire, when the still numerous heathens had an unexpected opportunity of trying whether the old faith had yet life enough to be revived by imperial patronage. JULIAN,[1] whom the death of Constantius secured in the quiet possession of the Empire, was a grandson of Constantius Chlorus in the line of his second wife, being the younger son of Julius Constantius, who was the eldest son of Theodora.[2] Saved, as we have seen, from the massacre of the Flavian family after the death of Constantine, he and his brother Gallus were brought up by Constantius with the honours due to their birth, but in strict seclusion and surrounded with spies. They were educated in the principles of Christianity, and in Greek and Latin learning, by Eusebius of Nicomedia, and by two eminent rhetoricians, under the care of the eunuch Mardonius, who appears to have been secretly a Pagan. It is no wonder that a generous spirit like Julian's revolted from the religion of his oppressors, whom he saw disputing, and

[1] His full name was FLAVIUS CLAUDIUS JULIANUS.

[2] Gallus, the elder brother of Julian, had received from Constantius II. the title of Cæsar, and the hand of his sister Constantina; but his cruel government of the Eastern provinces, and his resistance to the imperial prefect, led to his recal and his imprisonment at Pola, where he was put to death (A.D. 354).

quarrelling even to bloodshed, about the essentials of their faith; and before he came forth to public life he had secretly made the change of faith which has fastened on him the title of JULIAN THE APOSTATE.[1] But it does not appear that his conversion to Paganism was the result of a calm examination of the claims of the two faiths, or that he had any genuine belief in the old religion. There is a sort of politic fanaticism in the support of heathenism, to be traced both in Aurelius and Julian; but the better knowledge of the latter makes it harder to give him credit for any share of sincere conviction. The *passion*, which was certainly *one* of his ruling motives, was proved by his actual persecution of Christianity, in spite of his tolerant professions; and the shortness of his reign leaves it more than doubtful to what lengths his persecution would have been carried. But, in denying Julian the credit of philosophic moderation, there is no occasion to withhold the praise due to his unsullied virtue, his strict justice, his untiring industry, of which Gibbon well says that "by this avarice of time, he seemed to protract the short duration of his reign," or his earnest desire to reform the corruptions of the age. To the highest civil and military abilities he added a literary excellence of which such a judge as Niebuhr says: "He was a true Attic, and since the time of Dion Chrysostom Greece had not produced such an elegant author."[2]

When Gallus fell under the displeasure of Constantius, Julian, now twenty-three years old, was brought from his residence in Ionia to Milan as a prisoner; and he would probably have shared his brother's fate, but for his being the sole surviving scion of the imperial house. The Empress Eusebia procured him an interview with Constantius, whose suspicions he succeeded in calming, and he was permitted to live a private life at Athens (A.D. 355). Here he spent a few happy months in converse with the leaders in art and learning and with a body of fellow-students, among whom were Gregory and Basil, afterwards famous as the bishops of Nazianzus and Cæsarea.[3] Towards the end of the same year Julian was summoned to the imperial court at Milan, where he was proclaimed Cæsar, married to Helena, the daughter of Constantine the Great, and appointed to the government of the provinces beyond the Alps. The distaste

[1] He himself tells us that he was a Christian up to his twentieth year.

[2] The extant works of Julian (all in Greek) are his *Letters* and *Orations*, which are of very great importance for the history of the time; the *Cæsars*, or the *Banquet*, a satirical discussion of the characters of his predecessors in the Empire; *Misopogon* (the *Enemy of the Beard*), a satire on the licentious people of Antioch, who had ridiculed the Emperor's austerity, and especially his long beard. The work of Julian *Against the Christians* is lost, but extracts from it are preserved in the reply of Cyril of Alexandria.

[3] See Chap. XIII.

betrayed in the exclamation—"O Plato! Plato! what a task for a philosopher!"—did not prevent the brilliant success in war and administration, which, on the first demonstration of the Emperor's jealousy, caused the Cæsar's troops to proclaim him as *Augustus*. He was far advanced on his successful march to Constantinople, when Constantius died in Cilicia (Nov. 3), and Julian entered the capital in triumph on the 11th of December, 361.

§ 2. The open proclamation which Julian now made of his pagan faith was accompanied by an edict of universal religious toleration. But it soon appeared that this meant no more than that the Christians were to be spared the enforcement of a heathen profession and acts of heathen worship, and that they were not to be allowed to enforce their peculiar views upon one another. Julian plainly declared that the Christians were entitled to his justice, Pagans alone to his friendship. He deprived the Church of all outward honour, and ranked the Christian clergy with the lowest of the people. The rites of heathenism were restored with the greatest pomp at the public cost, the Emperor himself officiating as Pontifex Maximus. All civil and military offices were committed to Pagans only; and this public discouragement of Christianity was followed by measures tending directly to its suppression. The most insidious of these was Julian's edict forbidding Christians to teach rhetoric and grammar in the schools; a testimony to the Christian learning of the age, and a perpetual lesson—(*fas est et ab hoste doceri*)—in favour of culture in connection with religion. His encouragement of the Jews, as being the enemies of Christianity, is stamped with insincerity by the contempt which he avowed for both "superstitions alike."[1] The whole spirit and result of Julian's religious policy have been admirably described by Niebuhr:—"His attempt to restore the pagan religion was a senseless undertaking, even irrespective of the truth of Christianity. The pagan religion in its

[1] The well-known legend of the miraculous frustration of Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem has long since been shown to be as unfounded as it is unworthy of the cause which it was invented to support. The success of such an attempt would have no more frustrated prophecy than it could have revived the Jewish economy; and those who attach any importance to the story fail to see that the design of Providence and the word of prophecy were already fulfilled in the destruction of the Temple and the old Jewish system, and could gain nothing from such marvels. All such inventions of miracles are as useless as they are dishonest. We are equally bound to reject the picture drawn by Christian rhetoric of the wounded apostate clutching the sand with his dying grasp, and crying, "O Galilean, thou hast conquered!" The sober history of Ammianus Marcellinus, who was in Julian's army, shows a scene more like the death of Socrates, not without the confession that the Emperor studied to die like the philosopher.

truth—that is, its popular belief—had long since become extinct. New Platonism, which properly aimed at monotheism, and was artificially decked out with Oriental demonology and theology, with theurgy and thaumaturgy, had taken its place; the ancient mythological fables were allegorized; people saw in Homer, and the other ancient writers, everything except what the Greeks had seen in them. Had Paganism still had a living tradition, it might have been able to struggle for existence; but this was now impossible. The artificial system, partly adopted from Christianity itself, was at best good for a few philosophers. With the exception of Julian, his advisers, and the court philosophers, there were perhaps not five hundred, or at the utmost a thousand persons, who embraced it. In the provinces, moreover, the Emperor had many negative followers, who only opposed Christianity without believing in the rival doctrines. Julian's undertaking was thus a truly counter-revolutionary attempt: he wished to introduce into Paganism a hierarchy, to institute a new Paganism, which was more akin to Gnosticism than to Hellenism: to the latter in fact it was diametrically opposed. The impossibility of carrying this plan into effect led Julian to commit acts of tyranny and fraud; but he was nevertheless unable to succeed. Christianity, it is true, had not yet been adopted by anything like the majority of the population, but it had taken firm root." The very efforts which Julian made to reform the heathen priesthood after the model of the Christian Church, and to infuse Christian morality into the corrupt mythology of Paganism, were a practical confession of his mistake. He himself expresses bitter disappointment at his failure, and on one occasion accuses his priests of being in secret league with the Christian bishops. The scornful hatred and sarcastic mockery with which Julian always spoke of "the *Galileans*" are the sure signs of dissatisfaction with himself. Many who had made a profession of Christianity under the family of Constantine were equally compliant to a heathen emperor; but there seems a lurking satire in Julian's boast, that his soldiers assisted with fervent devotion and voracious appetite at the sacrifice of whole hecatombs of fat oxen. To such soldiers as refused to join in heathen rites, or came forward to declare that they repented of the act, Julian denied the crown of martyrdom, but he took measures to remove Christian soldiers from the army.

§ 3. The attempts of Julian to restore the public exercise of heathen worship led to the infliction, under the name of civil punishment, of those persecutions from which he professed to refrain; as in the notable instance of the riots provoked at Antioch by his restoration of the licentious rites of his favourite Sun-god in the grove of Daphne. Many examples are related of death, with

tortures unsurpassed in any persecution, being inflicted on those who destroyed the newly-restored shrines and images. The disfavour of the Emperor towards Christianity encouraged a renewal of the old form of persecution by popular outrages against the Christians, in places where the majority of the common people were still heathens; and appeals to the "justice" which he professed to owe the Christians were answered with scorn and sarcasm. "It was the duty of Christians," said the Emperor, "to suffer patiently and not to seek revenge against their persecutors." When the governor of Gaza arrested the ringleaders of a mob who had tortured and slain many Christian citizens, Julian praised the zeal of the rioters, and deposed the governor with the rebuke, "What right had he to arrest the citizens merely for retaliating on a few *Galileans* the insults and injuries offered by them to the gods?"

§ 4. Within the Church, one great effect of the impartial disfavour, which Julian called toleration, was to deprive the dominant party of the aid of the civil authority in enforcing its decrees. The course which the Emperor professed as justice he also boasted of as policy; leaving the Christians full liberty to destroy the influence of their faith by their dissensions. The effect of this policy on the great controversy of the age was to wrest from the Arians the supremacy which they had obtained over the Catholic majority. The exiled bishops were allowed to return to their dioceses; and among the rest Athanasius was restored to the see of Alexandria, where the populace had risen and murdered the hated George, as soon as they heard of the death of Constantius (Dec. 24, 361). He called a council which provided for the restoration (under certain conditions) of the clergy who had conformed to Arianism; but its new decrees on the nice distinction which had been raised between *nature* and *person*,[1] and which had already caused a schism at Antioch, gave rise to another schism headed by Lucifer, bishop of Caralis (Cagliari) in Sardinia, who had been sent by Athanasius to compose the quarrel at Antioch. The decisions of the Alexandrian Synod were adopted in the West, chiefly through the influence of Eusebius, bishop of Vercellæ (Vercelli), and Hilary of Poitiers (Limonum); and thus the Nicene faith was again triumphant.

But the troubles of its great champion were not ended. His energetic character marked him as the most dangerous enemy of Paganism, and the Emperor's jealousy was inflamed by the representations of "magi, philosophers, haruspices, and augurs."[2] On the

[1] Οὐσία (*essence*) and ὑπόστασις (*subsistence*) had both been held equivalent to the Latin *substantia*; but some interpreted the latter as *person*, rejecting the term πρόσωπον (*persona*) as savouring of Sabellianism.

[2] Rufin. i. 30, 31; Socrat. iii. 10; Robertson, vol. i. p. 257.

ground that he had baptized some heathen ladies of rank, and that the edict recalling the exiled bishops was not meant to restore them to their ecclesiastical functions—a manifest pretext—an imperial mandate banished Athanasius from Alexandria (362); and the petition of his people only exasperated the Emperor to extend the sentence to all Egypt; but the bishop again found shelter with the monks till the death of Julian.

§ 5. With the death of Julian in the desert of Assyria (June 26, 363), his hollow fabric of revived heathenism collapsed. The army declared itself Christian, displayed the sacred *labarum*, and conferred the purple on JOVIAN, a Christian. The new Emperor proclaimed full toleration both for his pagan subjects and for the various sects of Christians; while he himself adhered to the Nicene faith, and invited Athanasius to a chief place in his councils. On Jovian's death, in the eighth month of his reign (Feb. 364), his successor, VALENTINIAN I., divided the Empire with his brother VALENS. The new reign was marked by the prohibition of bloody sacrifices and divination; and at Rome persons found guilty of magic, including many of the Roman aristocracy, were burnt alive or put to other cruel deaths. With this exception, the sagacious Valentinian adopted in the West the policy of full toleration, and adhered to the Nicene faith without interfering in religious disputes.[1] But the Empress Justina was a zealous Arian, and hence perhaps it was that the bishopric of Milan, the imperial residence, alone of all the Western sees, remained in the hands of an Arian, Auxentius.

The Eastern emperor, Valens, whom Gibbon describes as "rude without vigour, and feeble without mildness," had also an Arian wife, who persuaded him to receive baptism from Eudoxius, the Arian bishop of Constantinople (367). The Arian persecution was now renewed throughout the East. An edict was issued for the ejection of the restored bishops who had been banished by Constantius; and Athanasius is said to have sought refuge in his father's tomb. But Valens found it prudent to yield to the petition of the excitable Alexandrians; and Athanasius remained in undisturbed possession of his see, till his death ended the wonderful career summed up in the motto: "Athanasius against the World"[2] (373).

[1] In this reign we first find heathenism officially designated as *Paganismus*, i.e. the *peasant-religion*. "The word *pagani* (from *pagus*), properly *villagers*, *peasantry*, then equivalent to *rude*, *simple*, *ignorant* (ἰδιώτης, ἄφρων), first occurs in a religious sense in a law of Valentinian, of 368 (Cod. Theodos. xvi. tit. 2, l. 18), and came into general use under Theodosius, instead of the earlier terms, *gentes*, *gentiles*, *nationes*, *Græci*, *cultores simulacrorum*, &c." (Schaff, vol. ii. p. 61.)

[2] *Athanasius contra Mundum.*

He was succeeded by an Arian bishop, Lucius; his own nominee, Peter, being driven out by violence; but the populace again rose against Lucius, and Peter was reinstated. The Arian zeal of Valens was shown against the semi-Arians as well as the Catholics; and the two parties consequently drew nearer to each other. The homoiousian bishops having held a council at Lampsacus, and pronounced the deposition of Eudoxius, were threatened by Valens with banishment. They sent deputies to Italy to ask the support of Valentinian (who was, however, absent in Gaul), and of Liberius, bishop of Rome, who recognized them as in communion with the Catholic Church, on their signing the *homoiousian* confession with the interpretation of the word as equivalent to *homoousian* (366).

The Arian bishop of Constantinople, Eudoxius, died in 370; and two rival bishops were set up,—Evagrius by the Catholics, and Demophilus by the Arians. Evagrius was driven out by violence, and outrages were committed upon his followers. Eighty presbyters of the orthodox party carried their complaint to Valens at Nicomedia; but, instead of obtaining redress, they were sent away in a ship, which the crew deserted and set on fire, and all the passengers perished. On another occasion Valens is said to have ordered a number of the orthodox party at Antioch to be drowned in the Orontes. He was especially severe against the monks of Pontus and Egypt, both as the zealous defenders of orthodoxy, and as men who withdrew from their duties to the State to live a life of indolence. He ordered them to be dragged from their retreats, and compelled to perform their duties as citizens, on pain of being beaten to death; and many of them were killed by the soldiers who were sent into the deserts of Egypt.

§ 6. The death of Valens, in the fatal battle of Adrianople against the Goths (Aug. 378), re-united the empire under GRATIAN, who had succeeded his father Valentinian in the West three years before. He had nominated as his colleague his half-brother, VALENTINIAN II., a child only four years old. As Gratian himself was only sixteen, there was need of a strong hand to save the Eastern Empire from the invasion of the Goths, and his choice fell on THEODOSIUS I., afterwards surnamed the Great (Jan. 379). The new emperors adopted a more decided course, both towards Paganism and heresy. Gratian again recalled the bishops banished by Valens, and proclaimed liberty of conscience to all excepting Manicheans, Eunomians, and Photinians; but in the following year all heresies were forbidden. Theodosius, a native of Spain, had been brought up in the orthodox faith of the Western Church. He was only a catechumen; but, falling dangerously ill at Thessalonica, he sought and received baptism from the bishop of that city. His

admission into the Church was signalized by an edict, that those only should be acknowledged as Catholic Christians who adhered to the faith of the co-essential Trinity, and that all who denied that doctrine should be deemed heretics and discouraged[1] (Feb. 380).

§ 7. Theodosius reached Constantinople in the ensuing November. The city had long been a chief stronghold of Arianism; but the orthodox faith had now a distinguished champion in GREGORY, surnamed Nazianzen, from the city of Nazianzus, where he had been brought up, and in the bishopric of which he had assisted his father (of the same name) and administered it after his death.[2] Gregory had been induced by his friend, the great Basil (of Cæsarea in Cappadocia), to undertake a mission to Constantinople on the death of Valens. Here he preached and taught at first in the house of a friend, which was consecrated by the name of *Anastasia*, as the scene of the resurrection (*anastasis*) of the true faith, and which his success caused to be enlarged into a splendid church.

On arriving at Constantinople, Theodosius required the Arian bishop Demophilus to sign the Nicene Creed. The bishop accepted the alternative of deprivation and exile; all the Arian clergy were dispossessed; and Gregory was put into possession of the principal church. Theodosius summoned a second Œcumenical Council to bring to a close the long Arian controversy, in which questions of the divinity and personality of the Holy Ghost had now become prominent. The heresy against which Athanasius had written as that of the *Pneumatomachi* (or adversaries of the Spirit) was held by the section of the semi-Arians known as *Macedonians*,[3] who had now come to acknowledge the Godhead of the Son, but they held that the Holy Spirit was related to the Godhead as only a minister, like one of the angels.

The *First Council of Constantinople* met on the 2nd of May, 381. It consisted of only 150 bishops, as Theodosius summoned none but adherents of the Nicene faith, and those only from the East. Yet, as its decrees were adopted in the West, it is regarded as the *Second General Council*. Its first president, Meletius, bishop of Antioch, died during the session, and was succeeded by Gregory Nazianzen, whose consecration as Bishop of Constantinople was one of its first acts. But a rival claimant to the see, an

[1] Cod. Theodos. i. 2; Sozom. vii. 4; Robertson, vol. i. p. 269. The edict was at first limited to Constantinople, but it was extended next year to the whole Eastern Empire.

[2] See Chap. XIII. § 5.

[3] From Macedonius, a late Bishop of Constantinople, who had been ejected from his see by the Acacians. This name was not, however, given to the sect till some time after the death of Macedonius; and there is no proof that he held their opinions.

Egyptian named Maximus, had been set up some time before by Peter of Alexandria; and the Asiatic bishops were offended by the part which Gregory took in a dispute about the succession to the see of Antioch. To avoid contention, Gregory willingly resigned the bishopric and retired to Nazianzus. The Council added to the Nicene Creed the paragraph affirming the deity of the Holy Ghost, His procession from the Father,[1] and His equality with the Father and the Son;[2] whence the Nicene Creed is often more properly called the *Symbolum Nicæno-Constantinopolitanum*. The Council promulgated seven canons, one of which gave precedence to the Bishop of Constantinople, next to the Bishop of Rome, "forasmuch as it is a new Rome." Among the heresies condemned by this Council was that of *Apollinarianism*, which held that Christ, in assuming human nature, took "a real body" but not a "rational soul," the place of which was supplied by the Divine Logos. The propounder of this doctrine, Apollinaris[3] (or Apollinarius, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, A.D. 362), was the son of an Alexandrian rhetorician of the same name; and both father and son composed a number of works in imitation of the classic authors, when Julian forbad these to be taught by Christians. He was the friend of Athanasius; and he meant to serve the cause of orthodoxy by propounding a view which would remove the difficulty that, if Christ had a human soul, He must have had freedom of will, and therefore a tendency to sin. But when he found this doctrine rejected, he set up a distinct sect, which did not long survive his death, before the close of the century.

§ 8. While orthodoxy was thus triumphant in the East, the battle with Arianism broke out anew in the West, and called forth the energies of one of the greatest Fathers of the Church. The death of Auxentius, the Arian bishop of Milan (374), had given the signal for a warm contest about the succession to the see, in which Valentinian I. refused to interfere. The Catholic and Arian parties, assembled in the principal church of the city, seemed about to come to blows, and AMBROSE, the popular governor of Liguria, was exerting his influence to persuade peace, when the cry was heard, —first raised, it is said, by a little child, and caught up by the whole multitude,—"*Ambrosius Episcopus!*" — "Ambrose Bishop!"

[1] The words "and the Son" (*Filioque*) were a Western addition, made in Spain about two centuries later. They first appear in the Creed as affirmed by the first Council of Toletum (Toledo), A.D. 589; and they still form a point of division between the Eastern and Western Churches.

[2] The statement of this doctrine was taken in substance from a work of Epiphanius, written some years before.

[3] He must of course not be confounded with St. Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, the early Apologist, in the second century. See Ch. XV. § 2.

The voice was hailed as an oracle from heaven, and the bishops of both parties joined in accepting one who was a stranger to their conflicts. Ambrose was not only a layman, but as yet a mere catechumen, and he now adopted strange devices to prove his unfitness for the sacred office; but all in vain. He then fled from Milan in the night, but lost his way, and found himself in the morning before the gate of the city. At length he yielded to the express command of the Emperor, and was consecrated within a week after he had received baptism.

Ambrose, who was now thirty-four years old,[1] was the son of a prætorian prefect of the Gauls, and was probably born at Augusta Trevirorum (Treves). His infancy is said to have been marked by those portents of his future eloquence and distinction, with which coincidence, or recollection stimulated by the event, so often adorns the cradle of great men; like most of whom, Ambrose had a mother fit to train him for their fulfilment. His father dying while he was still a boy, he was taken by his mother to Rome, where he was educated for an advocate, one of his teachers being Symmachus, the last great apologist for heathenism. After gaining the highest reputation by his eloquent forensic pleadings at Milan, Ambrose had been lately appointed consular prefect of the provinces of Liguria and Æmilia, whose seat of government was at that imperial city. He carried into his sacred office the skill of an able administrator, with the religious zeal naturally quickened by his almost supernatural elevation, and prompt to imbibe the spirit then prevalent in the Church. His nature and circumstances united to form "a mixture of qualities which might almost seem incompatible —of manliness, commanding dignity, and strong practical sense, with a fanciful mysticism and a zealous readiness to encourage and forward the growing superstitions of the age."[2] His first act was to sell his great property for the benefit of the poor, and to adopt a life of ascetic self-denial. While giving the greatest diligence to the work of his office, to preaching and the instruction of the catechumens, and always accessible, especially to the poor and the distressed, he laboured hard at the sacred studies to which he had hitherto been a stranger, and in the composition of theological works.[3] He dedicated his first essay, "On Virgins," to his sister Marcellina, who had adopted the monastic life, of which Ambrose was a zealous advocate. He composed treatises "On the Faith"

[1] Some authorities place his birth in 334, but 340 is the more probable date.

[2] Robertson, vol. i. p. 278.

[3] His theological tutor was Simplicius, a presbyter of Rome, who became his successor in the bishopric.

(*De Fide*) and "On the Holy Spirit" (*De Spiritu Sancto*) for the instruction of Gratian, with whom, as well as his father, he had great influence. Even the Empress Justina, though at open variance with Ambrose on religion, claimed his protection for her infant son, Valentinian II., when the news arrived of Gratian's murder by Maximus, and entrusted him with a mission to the usurper. Ambrose prevailed on Maximus to content himself with the empire of the Gallic provinces (383). Either now, or on a second mission (in 387), Ambrose proved his courageous fidelity by refusing the request of Maximus for church fellowship, till he should have done sincere penance for the murder of Gratian.

§ 9. The decided part which Ambrose took in the Arian controversy was a chief cause of the triumph of Catholicism in the West; and his conflict with the court of Milan forms one of the most striking episodes of church history. The Empress Justina, as already stated, was a zealous Arian, and brought up her young son, Valentinian II., in the same faith. But during the life of Gratian, she had been defeated by Ambrose in the attempt to appoint an heretical bishop at Sirmium (379). The death of Gratian left the imperial power in the hands of Justina, as guardian for her infant son. The whole population of Milan had been secured to the orthodox faith by the efforts of Ambrose, and the only Arians were some officers of the court and some Gothic soldiers. For their use the Empress demanded, first a church without the walls, and afterwards a new basilica, the largest in the city. Ambrose, summoned before the council, and enjoined to yield on his allegiance, replied, "Palaces are for the Emperor: churches are for the priests of God." The populace rose; even the soldiers showed reluctance to enforce the order; and the Empress yielded for the time (A.D. 385).

Early in the next year, an edict was issued giving freedom of worship to all who professed the Arian creed of Rimini, on pain of death to such as should molest them. Ambrose was next required, on pain of deprivation, to argue the questions at issue with the Gothic Arian bishop, who was Justina's chief adviser,[1] before the Emperor and his court; but Ambrose replied that a council of the Church was the only proper court for the discussion. On the approach of Easter, the demand for the church was renewed, and again refused. Ambrose was now ordered to leave the city; he replied that he would only yield to force; and the people showed their resolution to resist any such attempt on his person or the church. While some kept watch about the Bishop's house, the

[1] He had assumed the name of Auxentius, the late bishop of Milan.

body of the faithful filled the church by day and night. Ambrose sustained their spirits by the practice of antiphonal singing, which made the contest bear lasting fruit in the worship of the Church. It was the practice (at least in the Western Church) to leave the psalmody to the choristers; but Ambrose, following an example lately set at Antioch on a similar occasion, divided the whole congregation into two choirs, which sang the chants in alternating response.

§ 10. The contest had been long maintained, when, as is alleged by Ambrose himself, by his secretary Paulinus, and by his pupil Augustine, who was then at Milan,[1] a miracle decided it in favour of the bishop and people. Ambrose, being about to consecrate a new church on the site of that which now bears his name,[2] wished to give it the peculiar sanctity derived from the relics of martyrs. On digging beneath the pavement of another church, two skeletons were found *of extraordinary size*, "such as the olden time produced," with the heads severed from the bodies, and about them was a quantity of *fresh blood*.[3] They were pronounced to be the remains of martyrs; and some old men now remembered to have heard of the martyrdom of *Gervasius* and *Protasius*, of whose very names there was no record. The relics were deposited in the new church, after being exposed for two days to the admiring zeal of the faithful, which was excited to the highest pitch by the miracles wrought by their power. Demoniacs brought near them were fiercely agitated, and some of the demons denounced torments like their own on all deniers of the true doctrine of the Trinity, as taught by Ambrose. Miracles were wrought by the mere touch of the cloth which covered the remains, and by their shadow as they were borne through the streets.[4] The critical case of all was that of a blind *butcher*, well known in the city, who recovered his sight on touching the hem of the pall, and passed the rest of his life in charge of the relics as sacristan.

Such was the impression produced, that Justina withdrew her demand, though the Arians questioned and derided the miracles.

[1] See Chap. XIV. § 3. [2] S. Ambrogio at Milan.

[3] These circumstances alone are sufficient to throw discredit on the miracle by the test of *proving too much*; and the next sentence furnishes another test—the want of a basis of fact as to the very existence of the alleged martyrs. The credulity which sees a double miracle in the discovery of an unrecorded martyrdom simply refutes itself.

[4] Any who may be captivated by the *parallel* of this with Acts v. 5, should remember how easily the statement could be made as an *imitation* of that example, in which, too it is not said that Peter's shadow *had* a miraculous effect, but that some went so far as to hope it might cure the sick.

Sober criticism must now more than question, though without deriding, both the discovery and its miraculous effects, which sprang up at so opportune a moment, amidst an excitement that precluded their close and calm investigation, and surrounded by very suspicious circumstances.[1] We are not called upon to judge whether Ambrose was drawn into a delusion by the excitement of the conflict, or was in any degree a conscious party to a fraud: it is enough to say that both extreme credulity and "pious fraud" may be traced in the Church of the fourth century. The contest with imperial Arianism was ended in the following year by the death of Justina, upon which Valentinian II. embraced orthodoxy, and placed himself under the guidance of Ambrose (387); and the year after, the victory of Theodosius over the usurper Maximus virtually reunited the whole Empire under his sway (388).[2]

§ 11. The presence of Theodosius at Milan gave Ambrose the opportunity of showing himself as courageous before his friend, the powerful orthodox Emperor, as he had been against his enemy, the Arian Empress. Theodosius not only submitted gracefully to the repulse of his attempt to seat himself within the railings of the choir (the part of the church reserved for the clergy in the West), but introduced the same order in the more courtly churches of the East.

But the Emperor soon incurred a far more serious censure; and Ambrose gave the first example, since the Jewish theocratic monarchy, of the minister of religion wielding its power over the conscience of a ruler. In a fit of that ungovernable anger which was the greatest stain on the noble character of Theodosius, he issued orders to punish a sanguinary tumult at Thessalonica by a treacherous and indiscriminate massacre, in which from 7000 to 15,000 victims perished (390). But there was a Nathan ready to reprove the sin of the imperial David. On the return of Theodosius to Milan, Ambrose retired to the country, and wrote a letter calling him to repentance and declaring himself forbidden by God to celebrate the Eucharist in the Emperor's presence, till he should do full penance. Theodosius felt the force of the rebuke, but nevertheless went as usual to worship at the Portian basilica. In the porch he was met by Ambrose, who laid his hand on the Emperor's robe,

[1] We have not space for the discussion; but those inclined to pursue it in the light of the original authorities (who are simply Ambrose himself, Paulinus, and Augustine, all excited parties in the case) will find its comparison with the healing of the blind man in John ix. a critical illustration of the difference between the miracles of Christ and those of the ages after the Apostles.

[2] Valentinian II. was restored by Theodosius to the throne from which he was expelled by Maximus; but he was entirely subordinate to his colleague; and on his death, in 392, Theodosius became sole emperor.

and bade him withdraw, as a man polluted with innocent blood. After spending eight months in penitential seclusion, with the insignia of empire laid aside, Theodosius presented himself, at Christmas, in the attitude of a lowly suppliant, to seek re-admission to the church. Ambrose still required a practical fruit of repentance, in the form of an edict forbidding the execution of capital punishments till thirty days after the sentence. Admitted at length to the church, the Emperor prostrated himself on the pavement with every sign of the deepest grief, and Ambrose declares that he never passed a day without a sorrowful remembrance of his crime. He died at Milan on the 17th of January, 395; and Ambrose died two years later, on Easter Eve, 397.

His chief eminence, next to his deep piety and religious courage, was in administration. His lofty assertion of the dignity of the priesthood was made on purely religious grounds, and mingled with the least trace, that human infirmity must needs admit, of regard for himself or his order. The theology embodied in his numerous works is almost entirely that of the Greek Church; but in the questions regarding the state and destiny of man, he forms a link between the Eastern fathers and his own pupil Augustine, in whose conversion he had a chief part, and who bears the strongest testimony to the dignity and force, the unction and impressive power, displayed by Ambrose in the pulpit. He had a large share in moulding the worship of the Western Church, especially by his inestimable services to her hymnology and sacred music. To this day the church of Milan uses a liturgy which bears his name, the "Ambrosian Use" (*ritus Ambrosianus*).[1]

§ 12. The influence of Ambrose is conspicuous in the decided measures of Gratian and Theodosius against heathenism. The severe laws of Valentinian and Valens against magical arts, which only renewed much earlier edicts, were aimed chiefly at the moral and political dangers of such practices. Heathen worship was not only tolerated by them, but the priesthood possessed high privileges, and the temples were protected by guards of soldiers. The further step of forbidding animal sacrifices was not enforced where Paganism was strong, as at Rome and Alexandria. But Gratian, acting under the influence of Ambrose, was the first to sever the connection between the throne and altar by laying aside the title of *Pontifex Maximus*, confiscating the property of the temples, abolishing most of the privileges of the priests and vestals, and withdrawing the

[1] The works of Ambrose are *Expository*, *Doctrinal*, or *Didactic*, and *Occasional*. The two chief editions are the *Roman*, 5 vols. 1580–5, and the *Benedictine*, Paris, 1686–90.

public funds assigned for their support. These measures, to use the language of our day, reduced heathenism to a "voluntary system," just when it had no voluntary energy left.

But a step which might seem small was the most significant of his measures for abolishing the old establishment of heathenism. Under the Empire which had lasted for four centuries, the venerable SENATE OF ROME was still, in theory, the supreme power in the State; and its most sacred symbol was the altar of VICTORIA (the Goddess of Victory), on which the senators took the oath of fealty to the laws and to the Prince, and on which libations and incense were offered as the first act of every meeting. The removal of this altar by Gratian, in 382, is especially interesting as giving occasion to a chapter in the last literary conflict between Christianity and the old religion. The great advocate of the heathen side was the venerable SYMMACHUS, the leader (*princeps*) of the Senate, the greatest orator of his age, and equally distinguished for his personal character and the dignity of his civil and religious offices. At first, indeed, the deputation of the Senate which he led to Milan was refused a hearing; but a second deputation was admitted, two years later, to the presence of the young Valentinian II., to whom Symmachus delivered an eloquent written pleading for the maintenance of the Altar which symbolized the triumphs of Rome and the support of the religion under which she had gained the empire of the world; and drawing, with great ability, the distinction between the Emperor's personal convictions and his position as the head of such a State. But his case was only weakened by repeating the old attempt to trace the calamities of the Empire to the anger of the forsaken gods. Ambrose composed a reply, if not with equal eloquence, with the confidence derived from having not only the better case, but being on the stronger side; and the plea of Symmachus was rejected. An appeal to Theodosius, when he was in Italy after the defeat of Maximus, was received with some favour, but the influence of Ambrose again prevailed (389). The blow was severely felt at Rome, which was now the chief stronghold of heathenism, especially among the old nobility.

§ 13. In the East, Theodosius had already taken more decided measures. The laws against sacrifices were twice renewed (381 and 385); and edicts similar to those of Gratian withdrew all public support from heathenism. In 386 a commission was sent into Egypt to close the temples, but they were neither confiscated nor destroyed. As however in the old times of heathen persecution, the law was outrun by popular zeal, inflamed by the fear that another Julian might reopen the temples now spared. A pretext

was found for their destruction, on the ground that they had been again used for the sacrifices forbidden by the law. But their demolition was very partial, and that chiefly in places where they were exposed to the fanaticism of the monks. Elsewhere the great monuments of classic architecture were preserved for use as Christian churches or for secular purposes.

§ 14. The destruction of the temples called forth another of the last literary defences of heathenism, in two letters from the sophist Libanius to the Emperor Theodosius, who honoured him as a personal friend; but it is doubtful if they were ever presented to the Emperor (384 and 390).[1] The writer is most severe upon the monks, whom he describes as "men in black clothes, as voracious as elephants, and insatiably thirsty, though veiling their sensuality under an artificial paleness." Like Symmachus, he traces the calamities of the Empire to the desertion of the old religion; and he declares that the worship of the heathen deities was still protected in Egypt because the Christians themselves feared to risk the fertility of the country by its suppression.

This challenge to a remnant of superstition was quickly accepted. Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, a man of violent character, seized the occasion of the discovery of some abominable symbols of Paganism, to excite public odium by parading them through the street. The heathen part of the populace rose in riot against the insult; killed several Christians; fortified themselves in the vast temple of Apis, called the *Serapeum*; and, sallying forth, killed many of the citizens and carried back others as prisoners, whom they put to torture to compel them to sacrifice, and even crucified some of them. The state of the city was reported to Theodosius, who ordered the rioters to be treated with clemency, but that all the temples in Alexandria should be destroyed. The defenders, who had come out of the building to hear the rescript, fled, leaving the gods of Egypt to avenge themselves: for there was an old belief that, on the first injury done to the splendid idol of Serapis, the heavens would fall in ruin upon the earth. Even the Christians held their breath as a soldier, mounting a ladder, struck his axe upon the face of the figure; but a shout of derision burst forth when a swarm of rats burst forth from the severed head. But the sacrilege seemed likely to be avenged when the rising of the Nile was delayed beyond its usual time; and a fresh appeal was made to the Emperor. "Better," replied Theodosius, "that the river should not rise at all, than that we should buy the fertility of Egypt by idolatry." When at last the inundation came, its unusual height threatened vengeance

[1] Libanius, *de Templis.*

in an equally destructive form; but it subsided in due course, and the primeval fabric of Egyptian idolatry sank with it (391). The buildings of the Serapeum, and all the other temples in Alexandria and throughout Egypt, were destroyed, so far as their massive fabrics made it possible.

The act thus performed by law in Egypt was imitated in Syria by the hot zeal of Marcellus, bishop of Apamea; but the enraged populace burnt him alive, and Theodosius refused to punish the avengers of an illegal outrage. In Gaul, the zeal of Martin, bishop of Tours, destroyed many temples and built Christian churches on their sites; but some of the best and wisest Christians, both in the East and West, condemned these acts, or at least the manner of their performance. Thus Chrysostom said at Antioch early in this reign, "Christians are not to destroy error by force or violence, but should work the salvation of men by persuasion, instruction, and love." And Augustine wrote of the destruction of the idols, "Let us first obliterate the idols in the hearts of the heathen, and when once they become Christians they will either themselves invite us to the execution of so good a work, or anticipate us in it. Now we must pray for them, not exasperate them."

§ 15. In the year 392, Theodosius, now sole emperor, issued an edict against Paganism throughout the whole empire. "With an elaborate specification it includes all persons of every rank and in every place. Sacrifice and divination, even although performed without any political object, are to be regarded as treasonable and to be capitally punished. The use of lights, incense, garlands, or libations, and other such lesser acts of idolatry, are to involve the forfeiture of the houses or lands where they are committed. Heavy fines, graduated according to the position of the offenders, are denounced against those who should enter the temples; if magistrates should offend in this respect, and their officers do not attempt to prevent them, the officers are also to be fined."[1]

It is, however, quite clear that the severer laws of this reign against heathenism were very imperfectly enforced. Full individual liberty of religion was allowed, and heathenism was neither a bar to office nor to the personal friendship of the Emperor. The Christian poet Prudentius states with approbation, that in the distribution of secular offices Theodosius looked not at religion, but at merit and talent. He conferred the consulship on Symmachus, and made the heathen rhetorician Themistius prefect of Constantinople and tutor to his son Arcadius. It is at once a tribute to the esteem which he won from all parties, and a curious sign of the tenacity of old ideas

[1] Robertson, vol. i. p. 292.

under the new order of things, that the Emperor, who had shown the most genuine Christian zeal and taken the most decisive measures against the old religion, was enrolled by the Senate, with the long line of heathen Cæsars, among the gods.

§ 16. Within the Church Theodosius endeavoured to enforce uniformity of belief by edicts against heresy in general, and especially against the Arians, Eunomians, Macedonians, Apollinarians, and Manicheans. The orthodox decision made at Constantinople (381) was followed by a decree ordering all churches to be given up to the Catholics, and forbidding heretics to meet for worship. By a succession of further edicts "he confiscated all places in which they should hold meetings; he rendered them incapable of inheriting or bequeathing property, and inflicted other civil disabilities; he forbad them to dispute on religion; he condemned those who should either confer or receive sectarian ordination to pay a penalty of ten pounds' weight of gold—equal to about £400 of our money. Against some classes of heretics he denounced confiscation and banishment; the 'elect' of the Manicheans were even sentenced to death."[1] The Manicheans were regarded as enemies of religion and social order; but, in general, these edicts, like those against the heathen, were designed rather to work their end by terror than to be strictly executed. But in Gaul, under the rule of the usurper Maximus, the heresiarch PRISCILLIAN was put to the torture and to death, with some of his chief adherents, against the remonstrances of Martin, bishop of Tours (A.D. 385).[2]

§ 17. The death of the Great Theodosius gave the signal for the final dissolution of the Empire he had reunited. The East and West were again divided between his two sons, weak boys of eighteen and eleven. ARCADIUS (395–408) reigned at Constantinople, under the successive tutelage of his favourites, Rufinus and the eunuch Eutropius, and his able but artful wife, EUDOXIA, the bitter persecutor of John Chrysostom.[3] HONORIUS (395–423) watched from Milan the resistance of the great Stilicho to the tide of barbarian invasion; till the passage of the Alps by the Goths under Alaric caused the Emperor to seek safety in the impregnable fortifications and marshes of Ravenna (402), which remained the seat of the court till the fall of the Western Empire.

[1] Robertson, vol. i. p. 294. "Theodosius published fifteen such edicts in the same number of years (A.D. 381–394). *Cod. Theod.* xvi. v. 6, foll."

[2] The teaching of Priscillian is described as a compound of Manicheism, Gnosticism, and other heresies. Like the Manicheans, the Priscillianists professed strict asceticism, but were accused of licentious practices in private, a confession of which was obtained from their leaders by torture before their execution.

[3] See Chap. XIII. § 7.

§ 18. On the death of Honorius (423), the East and West were reunited for the brief space of two years, under THEODOSIUS II., who had succeeded his father, Arcadius, at the age of seven. His long reign of forty-two years (408–450) was passed under the signally able tutelage, first, of the prefect Anthemius (till 414), and afterwards of his own sister, PULCHERIA, who succeeded him in the Empire, which she shared with her husband MARCIAN.[1]

Meanwhile the West was nominally ruled by VALENTINIAN III. (425–455), the son of Placidia, the sister of Honorius, who, at the age of six, was proclaimed Emperor by Theodosius II. This weak infant, and almost equally feeble man, was the tool of his mother, and of the great generals Aëtius and Bonifacius, whose rivalry was fatal to the Empire, which their union might have saved.

§ 19. The middle of the fifth century, marked by the deaths of Theodosius II. and Valentinian III., may be fixed as the *Epoch of the Final Fall of Paganism.* During the half century from the death of Theodosius the Great, repeated edicts were levelled against the pagan worship and customs.[2] The abolition of gladiatorial shows was purchased by the self-devotion of a monk named Telemachus, who, in the midst of the games held to celebrate Stilicho's repulse of Alaric, rushed into the arena of the Coliseum to separate the combatants, and was stoned to death by the enraged spectators (404). Edicts were issued by Arcadius and Honorius abolishing heathen sacrifices, and confiscating the endowments of the priesthood. A law of Honorius (408) excluded all "enemies of the Catholic sect" from military employment at the court.[3] One of Theodosius II. (435) commanded the temples to be destroyed, or turned into churches.

§ 20. But, though an edict of the same emperor (423) questioned whether any pagans still survived,[4] the contrary of this fond hope is proved by its very terms,—by the need for constantly promulgating fresh laws, including many expressly levelled against converts who relapsed into heathenism,—and by the penalties denounced against the magistrates who neglected to enforce such laws. Besides these, we have many positive indications of the survival of heathenism. In the Western Empire, especially, the old religion of Rome died hard, and only succumbed at last to a power greater than that of any imperial laws.

[1] See Chap. XV. § 10.

[2] These edicts are embodied in the *Code* of the younger Theodosius.

[3] Cod. Theodos. xvi. 5, 42.

[4] Cod. Theodos. xvi. 10, 22: "Paganos, qui supersunt, *quamquam jam nullos esse credamus*, promulgatarum legum jamdudum præscripta compescant."

That very tide of barbarian invasion, which overthrew the Christian Empire, swept the relics of Paganism away before it. The Goths, who were the leaders of the irruption, had, as we have seen, long embraced Christianity; it had spread from them to their allies; and, among all the barbarian invaders, there is not an instance of a tribe that adopted the paganism of Greece or Rome. "Alaric and his Goths, who were Arians, directed their wrath against heathen temples even more zealously than the Christians of the Empire. It is from Alaric's invasion of Greece that the suppression of the Eleusinian mysteries is dated. In the capture of Rome temples were attacked, while churches were reverenced, and those who sought a refuge in them were spared. . . . The old Roman aristocracy, which had clung to the religion of its forefathers more from pride than from conviction, was scattered by the taking of Rome. Many of its members emigrated to their possessions in Africa, Egypt, or elsewhere, and the pagan interest suffered in consequence. But in the rural parts of Italy—notwithstanding the law of the year 408, by which landlords were ordered to destroy temples on their estates[1]—the ancient worship subsisted, until at a later time it was followed into its retreats and extirpated by the labour of the monks."[2]

[1] Cod. Theodos. xvi. 10, 19. [2] Robertson, vol. i. pp. 382, 384; see also the remarks at vol. i. pp. 500–502.



Great Cross of the Lateran.
(In Mosaic, probably of the time of Constantine the Great.)



S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna.

CHAPTER XII.

PROGRESS AND INTERNAL STATE OF THE CHURCH DURING THE FOURTH CENTURY.

§ 1. Extension of Christianity: (i.) In Ethiopia, Arabia, and India; (ii.) Among the Iberians; (iii.) Conversion of the Goths—Life and Labours of Ulfilas—The Gothic Alphabet and Bible—Arianism of the Goths; (iv.) Christianity and persecutions in Persia. § 2. Development of Church Institutions—Modifying causes—Union of Church and State—Causes which lessened the dependence of the Church. § 3. Difficulty of defining the nature of the alliance—Extent of the Imperial Supremacy — The Emperor's authority in religious questions — His power in the Councils. § 4. Civil jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs—Secular jurisdiction of Bishops—Clerical Exemptions. § 5. Influence of Christianity on civil laws and institutions—Rights of Intercession and Asylum—Public observance of Sunday. § 6. Internal organization of the Church—Increased power of the Clergy—Exaltation of the Bishops. § 7. Adaptation of Dioceses to the civil division of the Empire—Metropolitans; Exarchs or Primates; Patriarchs or Popes—Rank of the See of Constantinople. § 8. Rank of the Roman See—Declarations of the Councils of Nicæa and Sardica—No supremacy, but

growing dignity and influence of the Bishop of Rome—Decretal Epistles. § 9. Decline of the Country Bishops (*Chorepiscopi*). § 10. Condition of the Clergy—Their social Privileges and Exemptions—Increase of Wealth—Gift and Legacy Hunting. § 11. Order of Deacons—Archdeacons—Lower Clergy—The *Copiatæ* and *Parabolani*. § 12. Clerical Celibacy encouraged but not enjoined — Progress of *Monasticism* — Its causes. § 13. Heathen and Jewish Monasticism; how far the sources of Christian Monasticism—Distinction between the Gnostic and Christian Asceticism. § 14. Beginning of Christian Monasticism in the third century—Its Four Stages—Life of the Hermits or Anchorets—Sarabaites and Rhemoboths. § 15. The first famous Anchorets: PAUL OF THEBES—ST. ANTHONY, the true founder of Monasticism—His Life, Miracles, and Teaching—His Biography by Athanasius—His zeal against Heresy—Fierce orthodoxy of the Monks. § 16. Spread of Monasticism—Hilarion in Syria—Extravagances of Asceticism—St. Symeon Stylites and the "Pillar Saints." § 17. Cœnobite or Social Monasticism founded by PACHOMIUS in Egypt—Monastic Sisterhoods—Spread of Monasteries in the East—BASIL THE GREAT—ISIDORE of Pelusium—NILUS of Sinai—Educational and Literary Work of Monasteries—Fanatical extremes—Synod of Garagra. § 18. Monasticism in the West: promoted by Athanasius, Ambrose, and Augustine—Its practical and missionary spirit—ST. MARTIN OF TOURS—Monasteries in Gaul—ST. HONORATUS and ST. VINCENT of Lerins.

§ 1. THE resolute measures of Theodosius and his sons bore fruit in large additions of nominal proselytes both to Christianity and Catholicism; but the manifest decay of the little life left in heathenism would have secured an influx of true converts by worthier means. During the fourth century, also, the Gospel was spread more widely beyond the limits of the Empire.

(i.) In *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*, and *India*.—It is doubtful whether the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch in the apostolic age produced permanent results in his country; but the known establishment of Christianity there was effected in the early part of the fourth century. Meropius, a philosopher of Tyre, who went on a scientific expedition to the Upper Nile, was massacred with all his companions except two youths, Ædesius and Frumentius. They became officers at the king's court, and at his death they governed the kingdom under the queen, for his infant son. Ædesius returned to Tyre and became a presbyter; while Frumentius resorted for advice to Athanasius at Alexandria, who ordained and sent him back as bishop of Auxume (*Axum*, in Abyssinia), a see which has ever since been subject to the Alexandrian patriarch.

About the middle of the century, Theophilus, a native of the island of Diu,[1] having been sent a hostage to the court of Constantine,

[1] Probably near the Gulf of Cambay, in India.

was ordained by Eusebius of Nicomedia as an Arian missionary, and preached in Southern Arabia, and (as it seems) in Ethiopia and India, as well as in his native island.[1] In the deserts of Northern Arabia, bordering on Syria, Eusebius tells us that churches had been lately founded among the *Saracens*,[2] who were destined to acquire such fame as votaries of another faith. Impressed with the holy and self-denying lives of the monks of the desert, they visited their retreats, and became their converts. On the occasion of a peace made with Valens (372), a Saracen queen stipulated for the appointment of Moses, an anchoret of great sanctity, as bishop to her nation. Refusing ordination from the Arian bishop of Alexandria, Moses was consecrated by some of the banished orthodox bishops. The Jews living among the Arabs were the bitterest opponents of Christianity.

(ii.) The *Iberians*, in the region of the Caucasus (in Georgia), are said to have been converted through the influence of a female Christian captive, in the reign of Constantine, to whom they applied for a bishop.[3]

(iii.) The most interesting case is that of the *Goths* of Mœsia, who furnish one of the earliest examples of the reception of Christianity by a whole nation, and of the service so often rendered by Christian missionaries to barbarian peoples, in giving form and order to a language as yet irregular, to be the vehicle of their teaching, and in laying the foundations of a national literature by the translation of the Scriptures. We have had to mention the first propagation of Christianity among the Gothic invaders of the Empire, in the third century, by the captives whom they carried off beyond the Danube in their wars with Decius, Valerian, and Gallienus, and the appearance of Theophilus, "bishop of the Goths," at the Nicene Council. His successor, as it seems, was ULFILAS,[4] who appears to have been born in 312, and to have been consecrated to his bishopric among the Goths while discharging a mission to the Emperor Constantius

[1] Philostorg. *H. E.* ii. 6; iii. 4–6; iv. 7. Robertson, vol. i. p. 301.

[2] This name first appears in history in the time of Zenobia, whose husband is called "Prince of the Saracens;" that is, of the nomad or Bedouin Arabs, whom the Greeks called *Scenitæ*, that is, "dwellers in tents." It is an Arabic name of disputed origin, derived by some from *saraka*, "to plunder;" by others from *sharaka*, "to spring up" (denoting the tribes of the East, like the Latin *Oriens*).

[3] Socr. i. 20; Sozom. ii. 7; whose story is embellished with miracles. Robertson, vol. i. pp. 301–2.

[4] Notwithstanding his Teutonic name (*Ulfila* or *Wulfila*, a diminutive of *Ulf*, "wolf"), he is said to have been descended from a captive Cappadocian family. (Philostorg. ii. 5.) See the introduction to Massmann's *Ulfilas*, which "contains much curious matter as to the history of Christianity among the Goths." (Robertson, vol. i. p. 303.)

(A.D. 348).[1] Owing to the persecution of Athanaric, judge of the Ostrogoths, who suspected his Christian subjects of perversion to the interests of Rome, Ulfilas led a large body of Goths across the Danube, to seek the Emperor's protection (355); and he was happily styled by Constantius the "Moses of the Goths." When, to escape the pressure of the resistless hordes of the Huns, Fritigern and Alavivus, the judges of the Visigoths, obtained from Valens a new home for their nation within the Danube, Ulfilas was employed to negociate the treaty (376); and it was chiefly among these Goths of Mœsia that the lasting fruits of his labours were preserved. He reduced their language to a written form by inventing an alphabet of twenty-four letters, based upon the Greek, which was adopted by all the Teutonic tribes, and is still in use as the German character, or "black letter."[2] His translation of the Scriptures formed the basis (for he does not appear to have executed the whole) of that version which forms the first great monument of the old Gothic language, or, as it is called from the province in which the dialect received its literary form, the *Mœso-Gothic*.[3] There was, however, one great drawback on the benefits which Ulfilas conferred upon his countrymen. He was, as we have seen, an Arian, and the adoption of that faith by the Visigoths was made by Valens a condition of their settlement in Mœsia. Hence that general prevalence of Arianism among the barbarian conquerors of the Empire, which added to their other devastations a cruel persecution of the Catholics.

(iv.) In *Persia*, the faith planted in Apostolic times continued to flourish and spread, and the treatment of the Christians depended much on the relations between the two empires. Constantine wrote to the famous SAPOR II. (king from 310 to 381) on behalf of his Christian subjects, who enjoyed toleration during the first half of his long reign. But when war broke out with Constantius (343), the Magi easily roused the King's suspicion against those who held the religion of the Roman Empire; and Symeon, the bishop of the twin capital (Seleucia and Ctesiphon), suffered martyrdom, with many others, in a forty years' persecution.

[1] Robertson, vol. i. p. 303, who places the death of Ulfilas in 388; but Professor Max Müller places the birth of Ulfilas in 312, his consecration in 341 (probably at the Council of Antioch), and his death in 381, the year of the Council of Constantinople (*Lectures*, pp. 180–2).

[2] Philostorg. ii. 5.

[3] Of the translation ascribed to Ulfilas, rather more than half of the Four Gospels is preserved in the *Codex Argenteus* belonging to the University of Upsala, in Sweden. Other fragments have been discovered in palimpsest MSS. But it is questioned whether the version in the Upsala MS. is not as much as a century and a half later than the time of Ulfilas. (See Aschbach, *Gesch. d. Westgothen*, pp. 35, foll.; Massmann, xlvi.–xlvii.)

Among the chief Christian teachers in Persia was a Mesopotamian bishop, named MARUTHAS. Being appointed by Arcadius his ambassador to YEZDEGERD I. (*circ.* 401–421), he exposed the tricks by which the Magians tried to influence the King, who seemed disposed to embrace the Christian faith. But the rash zeal of a bishop named Abdas, in destroying a Persian temple, caused Yezdegerd to retaliate on the Christian churches (414), and another persecution lasted for thirty years, which drove multitudes to seek refuge in the Roman Empire, and involved VARANES V. ("BAHRAM GOUR, the Wild Ass") in a disastrous war with Theodosius II. (421–2). We shall see presently how a great doctrinal schism in the Eastern Church led to the toleration of the Nestorian form of Christianity in Persia (Chap. XV. § 6).

§ 2. We have now to look at some distinctive features of Christianity and the Church, as developed during the fourth century. To the growth natural to all institutions, under the double impulse from within and influences from without, was now added the force of that great change which raised the faith hitherto propagated by voluntary choice, amidst the resistance of the old religion of the people and persecution by the State, to an alliance with the sovereign power. The results which followed the establishment of Christianity were greatly modified by the actual conditions under which it took place. The resistance of three centuries' duration gave ample proof that the ultimate triumph was secured by the spiritual power residing in Christianity, and not by the civil patronage which some still maintain to have been a source of weakness rather than new strength. The consciousness of this enabled the clergy to assume from the first a tone completely different from that of a priesthood dependent upon the throne. The gradual growth of Constantine's Christianity increased the influence of his spiritual advisers; and the authority which he was not slow to claim, as the Christian head of the State, was really in the hands of the ecclesiastics who had the direction of his mind for the time being. There was, on the other hand, an inevitable tendency to court the imperial favour by compliance and servility, which became more marked in the latter part of his reign, and more especially under Constantius; but still the growing interference of the prince was at least covered by the decent veil of regular ecclesiastical procedure.

§ 3. It would be vain to seek for any formal statement of the nature and limits of the alliance between the Church and the State. The chief points in which it consisted were, the choice of Christianity as the form of all public acts of religion in which the State and its officers took part; the sanction given by public law, not only to the exercise of Christian worship, but to those acts of ecclesiastical

authority and discipline which needed the aid of the civil power for their enforcement; and other forms of aid and patronage, for all which the State necessarily claimed a safeguard and equivalent in the unimpaired acknowledgment and exercise of its supremacy. To define that supremacy, again, is hardly possible. Too much weight must not be given to the mere phrases in which Eusebius speaks of Constantine as "a kind of general bishop," and relates that the Emperor once told some of his episcopal guests that, as they were bishops within the Church, so he himself was bishop without it. But it is at least certain that Constantine acted as if he believed himself entitled to watch over the Church, to determine which of conflicting opinions was orthodox, and to enforce theological decisions by the strength of the secular power. But the decisions thus enforced were always those pronounced by an ecclesiastical authority having a certain weight, while, when the agitated balance was in suspense, the Emperor chose into which scale to throw the sword of State. The type of these relations is seen in the action of Constantine, summoning by his imperial authority the whole Church to meet in council for the first time; presiding in that council as the Prince,—the *first person* in the State, and therefore, as he seems to have claimed to be, the first person in the Church, though he was still unbaptized,—but leaving the discussion and decision to the assembled bishops; and then coming forward to give their decisions the force of public law, and to enforce them even to the length of banishing the heresiarch and his adherents. The example was followed by his successors, with the addition of stricter laws and severer penalties, up to the extreme of death. As the General Council was the first, so it was the most effective engine of the ecclesiastical power of the Emperor, who alone could gather such a council, and alone could enforce its decrees, while the Church preserved the appearance of free action in debating and settling the questions of deepest moment concerning her doctrine and discipline.

§ 4. As the Emperor was the supreme judge in all causes, ecclesiastical disputes were brought under the cognizance of the imperial courts. In fact, the power of those courts soon came to be invoked in order to escape the adverse decision of church authorities in cases purely ecclesiastical; and the councils of Antioch (341) and Sardica (347) forbad appeals to the Emperor, except with the consent of the metropolitan and bishops of the appellants' province. A new character of public authority was given to the decisions of the bishops in cases referred to them (according to the practice of the primitive Church, following the injunction of Paul), in order to avoid the scandal of exposing their differences before heathen tribunals. It

was enacted that, if both parties to a cause consented to submit it to episcopal arbitration, the sentence of the bishop should be without appeal, and the secular authorities were charged to carry it out. The bishops were thus virtually made civil judges, burthened with secular business, and involved in obloquy from dissatisfied litigants.

The privilege—dangerous alike to the purity of the Church and to equal justice in the State—of the exemption of ecclesiastics from civil jurisdiction, began early to receive a certain degree of sanction. In 355, Constantius enacted that bishops should be tried only by members of their own order; that is, in synods. Gratian confined this privilege to matters of religion and church discipline, ordering all civil and criminal cases to be tried in the secular courts (376); but the indefinite limits between cases civil and ecclesiastical, crimes and sins, penance and punishment, left a large licence to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But it was not yet held that the clerical character protected a criminal from trial by the secular courts.

§ 5. The public recognition of Christianity affected both the principles of legislation and the administration of the law. On the one hand there was a stricter treatment of moral offences as crimes; on the other, a humaner spirit was seen in the infliction of punishment, in the restraint of oppression, and the protection of the weak. The ministers of religion were often charged with the duty of preventing harshness and abuse of authority;[1] and they even exercised a direct control over magistrates by the power of ecclesiastical censure and excommunication. It was one of their privileges to intercede for offenders, whose lives were often spared that they might make their peace with heaven by penance. The privilege of asylum, long possessed by many heathen sanctuaries, was transferred to the churches. But both privileges were often abused: many of the clergy made a traffic of their intercessory influence; and the churches were used to protect gross criminals and fraudulent debtors. Laws were enacted against these abuses by the two Theodosii and by Justinian.

One of the most conspicuous and beneficial results of the public recognition of Christianity has always been the setting apart the weekly day of rest by a legal sanction given to the suspension of business. In 321, as we have seen, Constantine issued an edict for the general observance of the Sunday; no legal proceedings or military exercises were to take place on that day; but agricultural labour was allowed, in order to take advantage of fine weather,

[1] For example, a law of Honorius (in 409) ordered that judges should, on every Sunday, examine prisoners as to the treatment they received, and imposed on the bishops the duty of superintending its execution. (Robertson, vol. i. p. 310.)

and no positive prohibition was as yet imposed on other kinds of work and business.[1] The Council of Laodicea (about 372), while condemning the Judaical observance of the day, directed that labour should be avoided on it *as far as possible*.[2] Theodosius forbad the transaction of civil business on the Sunday, and abolished the spectacles in which the heathen had found their consolation when the day was set apart from other secular uses by Constantine.[3]

§ 6. In the internal organization of the Church, the natural tendency to exalt the clergy and depress the power of the people was strengthened by her connection with the State and the increase of her wealth and authority. The clergy were more and more raised above the people by their social privileges, by their exemption from civil duties (though this was as yet but partial), and by the wealth conferred on them, partly in the form of public allowances for their support, and partly through the law of Constantine permitting the Church to receive bequests of property. The bishops were raised above the rest of the clergy by their intercourse on equal, and sometimes more than equal terms,[4] with the princes and great men to whom they were counsellors and directors; by their influence on or direct participation in acts of government; and by the frequency of councils, in which not only had they the sole power of voting, but the very habit of meeting together to decide on the faith and interests of the Church must have fostered their sense of the importance of their order. The sense of responsibility to their flocks was greatly lessened with the diminution of popular influence in their election. For this the people had, in a great measure, to thank their own factions, which tended to throw the choice of their own bishop into the hands of the bishops called in as mediators; but their choice was also limited by canons which fixed the qualifications for the episcopate.[5] In the case of the more important sees, the Emperor not only influenced the elections, but sometimes directly nominated the

[1] The day was recommended to the observance of the heathen as the festival of the Sun; and its religious character was recognised by commanding the soldiers (heathen as well as Christian) to repeat a prayer *to the supreme Deity*.

[2] Εἴγε δύναιντο.

[3] Robertson, vol. i. p. 363.

[4] "The intercourse of courts was a trial for the bishops: while in many it naturally produced subserviency, in others it led to a mistaken exaltation of spiritual dignity in opposition to secular rank. Thus, it is told with admiration that St. Martin of Tours, when at the court of Maximus, allowed the Empress to wait on him at table; and that, when the Emperor had desired him to drink before him, and expected to receive the cup back from the bishop, Martin passed it to his own chaplain, as being higher in honour than any earthly potentate." (Robertson, vol. i. p. 319.)

[5] Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 171; Robertson, vol. i. p. 321.

bishop. Where the election was still free, it became too often a mere object of ambition. "At the election of a bishop unworthy arts were employed by the candidates; accusations which, whether true or false, give no agreeable idea of the prevailing tone of morals, were very commonly brought by each faction against the favourite of its opponents; and disgraceful tumults often took place."[1] Councils tried in vain to check the practice of *translation*,[2] the frequent motives of which are exposed by the Canon of Carthage (398), forbidding bishops to be translated from motives of ambition, but allowing translation when it may be for the benefit of the Church.

§ 7. The system of conforming the range of episcopal oversight to the territorial divisions of the Empire tended to increase the distinctions of rank among the bishops themselves. When Constantine divided the Empire into four Prætorian Prefectures, which were subdivided into thirteen Dioceses, each containing several Provinces,[3] the bishops of the chief city of each diocese obtained a precedence over the Metropolitans of Provinces, with the title of *Exarch* in the East, and of *Primate* in the West. Above all the rest, the sees of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria — both as capital cities and as churches founded by Apostles—were expressly recognized by the Nicene Council as presiding over all the churches of the West, the East, and Africa respectively. The same rank was naturally taken[4] by Constantinople, and we have seen the Council of 381 assigning to its see a precedence next to Rome, "forasmuch as it is a new Rome."[5] The Council of Chalcedon (451) first conferred on these four chief bishops the title of *Patriarch*, which had formerly been given to all bishops, as denoting their fatherly authority, as well as that of *Pope* (*Papa*), which is the common title of priests in the Greek Church to this day.[6]

[1] Robertson, vol. i. p. 319. [2] *Can. Nic.* 15; *Antioch.* 21; *Sardic.* 1.

[3] The following is a list of the Dioceses with their capitals, under their several Prefectures, as finally arranged about A.D. 400:—A. In the Eastern Empire:—I. THE EAST: (1) The *East*, Antioch; (2) *Egypt*, Alexandria; (3) *Asia*, Ephesus; (4) *Pontus*, Cæsarea in Cappadocia; (5) *Thrace*, Heraclea, afterwards Constantinople. II. ILLYRICUM (separated from the West in 379), with its capital at Thessalonica: (6) *Macedonia*, with Achaia; (7) *Dacia*.—B. In the Western Empire:—III. ITALY: (8) *Rome*, Rome; (9) *Italy*, Milan, with *Western Illyria*, Sirmium; (10) *Africa*, Carthage. IV. THE GAULS: (11) *Gaul*, Augusta Trevirorum (*Treves*); (12) *Spain*; (13) *Britain*. The number of the Provinces reached, by repeated subdivision, to 116. The civil term *diocese* was not yet transferred to the district under a bishop, which was called his *parochia*. (Comp. Chap. VII. § 10.)

[4] The translation of Eudoxius from Antioch to Constantinople in 360 was regarded as a promotion. (Robertson, vol. i. p. 314.) [5] Chap. XI. § 7.

[6] The usage has been curiously inverted; for, while ordinary bishops

§ 8. The *reason* given by the Second General Council proves that the first rank was conceded to the See of Rome on the ground of its dignity as the old capital, without any recognition of a supreme spiritual authority. The direct jurisdiction which the Bishop of Rome had over the bishops of the Italian diocese (where there were no metropolitans) is recognized by the Council of Nicæa as simply on the same footing as the like authority of the Bishop of Alexandria in Egypt and Libya.[1] The decree of the Council of Sardica, that bishops might appeal from a synod to Julius, bishop of Rome, not only falls quite short of, but disproves (so far as this authority goes) any supreme jurisdiction belonging as of right to the chair of Peter. It is the permission, granted for a special occasion, of a voluntary application, and only with the consent of the judges, to Julius personally and by name, not for his decision of the case, but only for a new trial. The real purpose of the canon seems to have been to place the Roman bishop, who had gained confidence by his orthodoxy, in a position to receive appeals which it would not have been desirable to carry before the Arian Emperor Constantius. The very fact, that the respect due to the See of Peter (who was himself as yet only regarded as the first among his equals) was ever present to the minds of ecclesiastics, adds weight to their withholding any recognition of a right to supremacy on that ground; as we find, in this very canon of Sardica, the venerable Hosius saying, "Let us, if it seems good to you (*si vobis placet*), honour the memory of the holy Apostle Peter"—by this *new* mark of respect to the bishop who was himself worthy of confidence. The case has deserved a full statement, to expose the weakness of a claim which can find no better foundation to rest upon; as Barrow well says: "Some Popes did challenge jurisdiction upon appeals, as given them by the Nicene canons, meaning those of Sardica; which showeth they had no better plea, and therefore no original right."[2] The churches of the fourth, as of the second and third centuries, resisted every attempt of the Roman bishops to invade their privileges, and those of the East and Africa acted in complete independence of Rome.

were called *popes* in the West and *patriarchs* in the East (where Greek prevailed), the title of *Pope*, as denoting superior dignity, was given in the East to the bishops of Antioch and Alexandria; and it was that usage which caused it to be afterwards assumed by the Bishop of Rome, to whom it appears to have been first restricted by Latin writers about A.D. 500 (Robertson, vol. i. p. 560.) Comp. *note* ([3]), pp. 187–8.

[1] The Latin version of the Nicene Canons defines the jurisdiction of the Roman bishop as extending over the *suburbicarian churches*, namely, those of the Provinces composing the civil diocese of Italy.

[2] "See on the whole matter his Appendix, pp. 759–776." (Robertson, vol. i. p. 316.)

Julius, for example, was plainly told that, as the Eastern Church had not interfered with the Roman in the matter of Novatian, so he ought not to dictate to them.[1]

Still there were causes at work to promote that natural tendency of the Roman see to gain authority, which we have seen in its earlier stages. The grandeur which invested the old capital was not diminished by the transfer of the seat of empire; but the withdrawal of the court, at the same time that the old families lost consideration from their adherence to the losing side in religion, left the Bishop in a position of peculiar dignity. When the Prince was withdrawn and the Senate humbled, the successor of Peter became also, in some sense, the representative of the Cæsars, the personal embodiment of that *genius loci* which was expressed by the old image and superscription, ROMA. From the religious point of view the Church of Rome gained consideration through the frequent appeals made for its support by the contending parties in the East; and its almost constant adherence to the orthodox side won the praise of consistency and the credit of a share in the final triumph. "Moreover, the old civil analogy introduced a practice of referring for advice to Rome from all parts of the West. The earliest extant answer to such an application is the synodical letter of Siricius to Himerius, bishop of Tarraco (*Tarragona*), A.D. 385. But by degrees these *Decretal Epistles* rose more and more from a tone of advice to one of direction and command; and they were no longer written in the name of a synod, but in that of the Pope alone."[2]

§ 9. The line of demarcation between the bishops and the rest of the clergy was more distinctly marked by the limits imposed by canons of the councils on the functions of the "country bishops" (*chorepiscopi*), who had excited the jealousy of the superior bishops. The office was, in fact, doomed to suppression. The Council of Laodicea (about 360) forbad the appointment of bishops in villages and country places, and transferred their functions to presbyters with the title of *periodeutæ* (circuit-visitors).[3] The *chorepiscopi* were gradually merged in the order of presbyters, though the title survived till the eighth century, and still later in the West.

§ 10. The social dignity and privileges of the clergy, their exemption from most of the public burthens, the provision made for

[1] Sozom. iii. 8; Robertson, vol. i. p. 317.

[2] Robertson, vol. i. p. 315; see Hussey on the Papal Power, 26. Respecting the genuine and forged Decretals see further in Chap. XVII. § 15, and Chap. XXII. § 9.

[3] "Answering to the archdeacons or rural deans of our own Church." (Robertson, vol. i. p. 312.) Respecting the functions of the Western *chorepiscopi* in the eighth and ninth centuries, see Robertson, vol. ii. p. 195.

their support,[1] and the increasing wealth of the Church, tended inevitably to make its ministry more worldly, and to tempt men to seek it without any spiritual qualifications. The increase of luxury and pomp among the clergy of the great cities, especially at Rome, is lamented by Christian as well as exposed by heathen writers, who join in contrasting it with the general virtue, simplicity, and self-denial of the provincial bishops and clergy.[2] The practice of haunting the houses of the rich, and especially of women, by the clergy and monks, in order to obtain gifts, legacies, and the disposition of property, by those devoting themselves to a religious life, to the prejudice of their natural heirs, had grown to such a height as to demand restraint by imperial edicts; concerning one of which[3] Jerome says, "I do not complain of the law, but I grieve that we should have deserved it."[4] The like faithfulness was shown by Ambrose, Augustine, and other eminent bishops, in discouraging and refusing such gifts and bequests. "And, while we note the facts which show how in this age, as in every other, the Church but too truly realized those parables which represent it as containing a mixture of evil amidst its good, we must not overlook the noble spirit of munificence and self-denial which animated multitudes of its bishops and clergy, or their exertions in such works of piety and charity as the relief of the poor, the redemption of captives, the erection of hospitals, and the adornment of the divine worship."[5]

§ 11. The order of *Deacons* acquired greater importance from the increased wealth which they had to administer, as well as through the enlargement of their spiritual functions. They were now sometimes allowed to preach and baptize; and the strict prohibition, early in the century, of their celebrating the Eucharist proves that some of

[1] There was as yet no regular public provision, or secured property, adequate to the full support of the clergy. Some still found it necessary to seek a livelihood (at least in part) from business, as is proved by the laws regulating the taxes on ecclesiastics engaged in trade. Tithes were now paid, but only as a voluntary offering, and with much irregularity. The law of Constantine, allowing the Church to receive bequests, laid the chief foundation of its property; and he made it occasional munificent gifts. Chrysostom tells us that the income of a bishop varied from two to thirty pounds of gold, and that the average was equal to about £600 sterling. (Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 176; Robertson, vol. i. p. 319.)

[2] Hieron. *Epist.* liii. &c.; Ammian. Marcell. xxvii. 3; Robertson, vol. i. p. 320.

[3] This was the edict of Valentinian I. (370) addressed to Damasus, bishop of Rome, and read in all the churches of the capital, enacting that ecclesiastics and monks should not haunt the houses of widows and female wards, and that they should not accept anything by donation or will from women who were connected with them by spiritual ties.

[4] Hieron. *Epist.* lii. 6.

[5] Robertson, vol. i. p. 321.

them had already assumed that power.[1] One of the deacons—who were still limited to the number of seven, even in some of the great churches—presided over the rest, with the title of *Archdeacon*. He was appointed by the bishop, whom he served as his chief assistant in the government of the church, and to whose office he was regarded as a probable successor.[2]

Among the additions made to the orders of lower clergy, to meet the growing wants of the Church, two local fraternities demand notice,—namely, the *Copiatæ* at Constantinople and the *Parabolani* at Alexandria. The former, who were also called *Fossarii* (grave-diggers), were enrolled for the burial of the dead, especially the free interment of the Christian poor. The latter were devoted to attendance on the sick, and derived their name from the dangerous nature of their duties.[3] Both fraternities were numerous, amounting to several hundreds; and in the contentions of the Church of Alexandria the *parabolani* were conspicuous for their turbulence. Being ranked among the clergy, their membership was sought for the sake of the exemptions enjoyed by the clerical order. "In many cases the membership appears to have been honorary—persons of wealth paying for admission, and taking no share in the duties. Against this corruption a law of Theodosius II. was directed."[4]

§ 12. The tendency to the separation of the clergy from social ties, and their investment with a factitious character of purity by celibacy, advanced considerably during the fourth century. The practice was left voluntary, but clerical marriage was generally discouraged, especially in the West; and in 385 Pope Siricius wrote a decretal epistle against it to Himerius, bishop of Tarraco. (See p. 296.)

This tendency was strengthened by the great development of *Monasticism* which marks the fourth century.[5] Its sources are to be sought in the desire to find some higher character of devotion to God, now that the mere profession of Christianity had become a less decided mark of separation from the world; in the effort to escape from the corruptions of the Church, to practise an ascetic discipline far from the temptations of the world, and to reach that lofty standard of Christian heroism which was no longer attainable through martyrdom. The seclusion of Moses and Elijah, of John

[1] *Conc. Arelat.* c. 15 (A.D. 314).

[2] In some churches we find also, towards the end of the fourth century, a president of the body of presbyters called *archipresbyter*, to whom the administration of the diocese was committed in case of the bishop's absence or incapacity. (Robertson, vol. i. p. 312.)

[3] From παραβάλλομαι, "to venture," or "expose oneself."

[4] Cod. Theod. xvi. ii. 42–3; Robertson, vol. i. p. 311.

[5] It must be remembered that the monks were not an order of the clergy, though many of them had holy orders.

the Baptist and Christ, in the desert for a time, expressly as a preparation for the work that lay before them in the world, formed a mistaken precedent for the lifelong separation from society. The enthusiasm which urged so many, especially of the fervent Egyptian temperament, to this new mode of life, overlooked the quieter but more sustained heroism demanded for the daily task of duty and conflict with evil in the world; and experience was required to teach the solitary that he carried in his own heart a tempter more dangerous even than the great Enemy with whom he often imagined himself as engaged in visible conflict; and that, in this sense also, "it is not good for man to be alone."

§ 13. Monasticism, however, was no new phenomenon of this age, nor was it peculiar to the Christian Church. Having its roots deep in human nature, it is found from the earliest times as a feature of all religions that inculcate the purification of the heart by devout contemplation and of the life by ascetic discipline. These principles are emphatically taught in the *Vedas*, the sacred books of ancient India, where Alexander the Great found a sort of ascetic monks, whom the Greeks called *Gymnosophistæ*, "naked philosophers." Among the Jews, the ascetic side of the monastic life was more or less practised by the Nazarites,[1] the Essenes of Palestine, and the Therapeutæ of Egypt. The tendency to one of its chief restrictions, that of celibacy, in the primitive Christian Church, is seen already in some passages of the New Testament, where, however, the attempt to enforce it as a Christian law is emphatically condemned.[2] The ascetic principle was, as we have seen, held in special favour by several of the Gnostic sects; and through this channel many writers have traced it, with its monastic development, as a heathen corruption of Christianity. Doubtless this was *one* source, but there is a distinction well drawn by Professor Schaff:[3] "In this whole matter we must carefully distinguish two forms of asceticism, antagonistic and irreconcilable in spirit and principle, though similar in form; the Gnostic dualistic, and the Catholic. The former of these did certainly come from heathenism; but the latter sprang independently from the Christian spirit of self-denial and longing for moral perfection, and, in spite of all its excrescences, has performed an important mission in the history of the Church."

§ 14. The virtues of fasting, celibacy, and ascetic discipline in general, are strongly commended by some of the early Christian writers, and especially by Origen and Tertullian. A step was taken towards the separate monastic life in the middle of the third century, when the Decian persecution drove many Christians into the wilder-

[1] See Numbers i.–vi.
[2] Matt. xix. 10–12; 1 Cor. vii.; 1 Tim. iv. 3.
[3] Vol. ii. p. 153

ness; but their seclusion was temporary, and they kept up intercourse with their families and churches. We now begin to trace the first of the *four stages*[1] of the monastic life,—a personal separation from social life, either of an individual or of several forming a community (as was increasingly the case with the clergy of the several churches), but still within the church. The next stage, the life of the professed *hermit* or *anchoret*, assumed its marked form in the beginning of the fourth century, first of all in Egypt. "Not content with partial and temporary retirement from common life, which may be united with social intercourse and useful labours, the consistent anchoret secludes himself from all society, even from kindred ascetics, and comes only exceptionally into contact with human affairs, either to receive the visits of admirers of every class, especially of the sick and the needy (which were very frequent in the case of the more celebrated monks), or to appear in the cities on some extraordinary occasion, as a spirit from another world. His clothing is a hair shirt and a wild beast's skin; his food, bread and salt; his dwelling, a cave; his employment, prayer, affliction of the body, and conflict with Satanic powers and wild images of fancy. This mode of life was founded by Paul of Thebes and St. Anthony, and came to perfection in the East. To the female sex it was entirely unsuited. There was a class of hermits, the Sarabaites in Egypt and the Rhemoboths in Syria, who lived in bands of at least two or three together; but their quarrelsomeness, occasional intemperance, and opposition to the clergy, brought them into ill repute."[2]

§ 15. The first distinguished anchoret of this time was PAUL OF THEBES, whose Life was written by St. Jerome. Rejecting many

[1] This is the classification of Professor Schaff (vol. ii. p. 156), who observes that the first three stages were completed in the fourth century; the fourth reached maturity in the Latin Church of the middle age. The *first* stage is the life of the hermit or cœnobite, who still lived in the church itself; the *second*, that of the solitary hermit, monk, or anchoret; the *third*, that of cœnobite or cloister life in communities of monks, or monasticism in the usual sense of the word; the *fourth*, the formation of *monastic orders* by the union of many cloisters under a common rule and government. The chief terms which describe the monastic life are as follows:—*Monk* (μονάχος) means "a solitary," from μονάζειν, "to live alone" (from μόνος, "alone"); *Anachoret* or *Anchoret* (ἀναχωρητής), one living in retirement (from ἀναχωρέω, "to retire"); *Hermit* (ἐρημίτης), the denizen of a desert (ἐρημία); *Cœnobite*, a member of a community living together (κοινόβιον, *cœnobium*, from κοινὸς βίος, "common life"); *Cloister* (*claustrum*, "a place shut in") is the Latin equivalent of the Greek *Monastery* (μοναστήριον), also called μάνδρα, "stable" or "sheepfold," whence the chief of such a community was called *Archimandrite* (ἀρχιμανδρίτης) as well as *Abbat* (ἀββᾶς, ἀββάτης, *father*), corrupted into Abbot.

[2] Schaff, vol. ii. pp. 156–7.

incredible things told of Paul as unworthy of repetition, Jerome puts wonders enough upon record. He tells us that Paul was in his twenty-third year when he retired, during the Decian persecution (A.D. 251), into the desert of Upper Egypt, where he lived ninety years perfectly unknown. At length Anthony,[1] who had himself reached the age of ninety in the practice of the monastic life, was warned in a vision that a solitary more perfect than himself had been living in the desert ever since he himself was born. He found Paul, and was received by him with a kiss and a smiling face, after he had knocked long at the door of the cave; for the hermit was wont to admit the wild beasts, but to repulse human visitors. The ravens who had fed Paul (like Elijah) for sixty years, now brought a double daily portion of food. On a second visit Anthony found Paul dead in his cave, in the attitude of prayer, and buried him with the aid of two lions, who came wagging their tails and scratched out their old friend's grave in the sand.

It is, however, Anthony himself who ranks as the founder of the monastic life, and whose fame and example gave it the first great impulse.[2] Sprung from an honourable Coptic family, he was born, about 251, at Coma, a village on the borders of the Thebaïd. His parents were Christians; and he early showed a love of contemplative quiet, avoiding the sports of childhood. He was brought up in ignorance not only of secular science, but even of the Greek language. He had a distaste for literature, and preferred to store his retentive memory with the lessons of Scripture, believing, as he afterwards said to his disciples, that "the Holy Scriptures give us instruction enough." Scarcely had the death of his parents, in his eighteenth year, left him a considerable estate, than its use was decided by his hearing in church the words of Christ to the rich young man, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor," &c.[3] (A.D. 270). Soon afterwards, on hearing the words, "Take no thought for the morrow," he gave up likewise to the poor the remnant which he had reserved for the support of his sister, and placed her in a society of religious virgins.[4] He embraced the ascetic life, taking for its rule "Pray without ceasing,"

[1] Custom sanctions this corruption of the proper form Antony (Antonius).

[2] Thus Jerome says of him: "Non tam ipse ante omnes (eremitas) fuit, quam ab eo omnium incitata sunt studia" (*Vita Pauli Theb.* i.). The chief authority for the Life of St. Anthony is the biography by Athanasius, the genuineness of which has been questioned, and which is, at all events, much interpolated.

[3] Matt. xix. 21.

[4] "Εἰς παρθενῶνα, says Athanasius: that is, not 'un monastère de vierges,' as Tillemont translates, for nunneries did not yet exist; but a society of female ascetics within the congregation; from which, however, a regular cloister life might, of course, easily grow." (Schaff, vol. ii. p. 182.)

but also working, not only for the little that he needed to live on, —according to the law, "If any man will not work, neither shall he eat,"—but for more to give to the poor. His first retirement was in the neighbourhood of his village, for such was then the usual extent to which the anchorets carried their separation. He visited those devotees, that he might learn to imitate the gift in which each excelled, whether prayer, or watchfulness, or fasting, or meekness; and, from all, love to Christ and to his fellow-men. About A.D. 270, the longing for greater freedom from sin drove him far from the abodes of men, first to live in a tomb, afterwards in a ruined castle near the Red Sea. Here he spent twenty years, never coming outside the walls, nor admitting the visitors who were attracted by the fame of his sanctity. But at last he went forth to receive and visit the numerous disciples who settled round him in their several cells.

The persecution of Maximin (312) induced Anthony to return to Alexandria, that he might attend on the sufferers and seek the crown of martyrdom. But, when he found that he only won the praise which was a new temptation, he departed to seek, under the guidance of wandering Saracens, a still remoter solitude in a cave on Mount Colzim, between the Nile and the Red Sea, where an old cloister still bears his name. In each retreat he was pursued by temptations which, to his excited imagination, assumed the form of visible allurements to sensual pleasure and personal attacks from the great Enemy. Travellers were awed at the sound of his conflicts with the demons; and the saint was sometimes found bleeding from the wounds they had given him. He lived on bread and salt, a few dates and water, never touching flesh or wine; eating only once a day, usually after sunset; and often fasting from two to five days at a time. He worked at basket-making, and food was brought to him by friends and travellers and the Saracens of the desert; but, in the last years of his retirement, true to the principle that "it is more blessed to give than to receive," he tilled a little garden round a spring shaded by palm-trees, and grew grapes and other fruit for his own support and the refreshment of his visitors. When the wild beasts wasted his garden, he drove them away with the meek reproof—"Why do you injure me, who have never done you the least harm? Away with you all, in the name of the Lord, and never come into my neighbourhood again." He slept on the bare ground or a pallet of straw; his whole dress was a hair shirt and a sheepskin girded about him. He despised the use of oil, and in later years he never washed his feet, thus setting the evil example of the foulness which became a reproach on the ascetic life of hermits and monks. Amidst all his severities, he preserved a winning cheer-

fulness, and was ever ready to give advice and consolation to those who sought from him spiritual strength or aid in sickness and poverty. Prayer, work, the care of the poor, and the healing of quarrels by the love of God, were his chief injunctions; and Athanasius assures us that he cured the sick and demoniac, and wrought other miracles. The reality of these wonders is of less consequence than the example of his faith in the power of prayer, never boasting when his prayer was heard, nor murmuring when it was not heard,[1] but in either case thanking God. And so, too, those who make the conflicts of St. Anthony (or of Luther) with the devil a sort of byword for fanatical imagination should ponder the principles which he laid down in his sermon to the hermits:—"Fear not Satan and his angels; Christ has broken their power; the best weapon against them is faith and piety. . . . The presence of evil spirits reveals itself in perplexity, despondency, . . . evil desires, fear of death. They take the form answering to the spiritual state they find us in at the time. They are the reflex of our thoughts and fantasies. If thou art carnally minded, thou art their prey; but if thou rejoicest in the Lord, and occupiest thyself with divine things, they are powerless. . . . The devil is afraid of fasting, of prayer, of humility, and good works."

On the rare occasions when Anthony left his cell, on some mission of religion or benevolence, he always returned as soon as possible; for (said he), as a fish out of water, so a monk out of his solitude dies. One chief impulse to mix in the affairs of the Church was his hatred of heresy, especially of Arianism. He wrote to Constantine, urging the recal of Athanasius from his first exile, and received an answer full of respect; but he steadily declined the invitations of Constantine and his sons to court. In 351, at the age of 100, he appeared for the second and last time at Alexandria, to support Athanasius. His emaciated form, wrapped in his sheepskin mantle, struck heathens as well as Christians like a visitor from another world, and he converted more heretics and pagans than the Church had won in a whole year. The same zeal against heresy animated the whole body of the monks, who "forsook the wilderness in swarms whenever orthodoxy was in danger, and went in long pro-

[1] This implies two things, which throw light on the alleged ecclesiastical miracles: first, that the power which Anthony seemed to use was always invoked by prayer; and secondly, that the prayer was not always followed by the miracle. The latter is a crucial test of distinction from a real *miracle* (not a special providence), which is a distinct proof and attestation that he who works it is endowed with power from God. Apply this test to the miracles of Christ, and imagine Him praying that the man sick of the palsy might take up his bed and walk, and the man lying as helpless as before!

cessions with wax tapers and responsive singing through the streets, or appeared at the councils to contend for the orthodox faith with all the energy of fanaticism, often even with physical force."[1]

Anthony died in 356, at the age of 105, having charged the two disciples, who had tended him in his last years, to bury his body without embalmment and to keep the place of his sepulture secret. But his bones were discovered (miraculously, it is said) in the reign of Justinian (561), and translated to Alexandria, to Constantinople, and finally to Vienna (*Vienne*) in Gaul, where they wrought great cures during an epidemic of the skin-disease, which is hence called St. Anthony's Fire.

§ 16. The influence of the *Life of St. Anthony*, written by Athanasius, was deeply felt throughout the Church. Chrysostom recommended the book, and it decided Augustine's final renunciation of the world. The example and fame of Anthony caused a rapid spread of monasticism, which was regarded as having taken the place of martyrdom as the surest way to renown on earth and eternal reward in heaven.[2] In Egypt especially, the number of monks in the solitary cells and in the monasteries is said to have equalled the population of the cities. The system spread quickly to other countries. In the wilderness of Gaza, HILARION, the disciple of Anthony, was revered as the father of the Syrian Anchorets, but to escape his admirers, who are reckoned at the number of 10,000, he retired successively to Sicily, Dalmatia, and Cyprus, where he died in 371. His Life was written by Jerome.

We cannot here follow the various developments of the hermit life, ever seeking new forms of retirement and mortification, which culminated in the next century in the strange practice of the *Stylitæ*[3] or "Pillar Saints," of whom the first was ST. SYMEON STYLITES. This shepherd boy of the border between Syria and Cilicia entered a cloister at the age of thirteen, where he is said to have fasted during the whole forty days of Lent for twenty-six successive years. The extravagant forms of his self-inflicted penance at last caused his dismissal from the cloister, and he lived as a hermit on a mountain with an iron chain upon his feet, visited by admiring throngs, with an ostentation of self-sacrifice which contrasts strongly with the spirit of St. Anthony.[4] At length he retired (in A.D. 423)

[1] Schaff, vol. ii. p. 185.

[2] See the conclusion of Athanasius's Life of Anthony; Schaff, vol. i. p. 189.

[3] Στυλίτης (pl. αι, from στῦλος, a pillar). Gieseler points out a heathen precedent for this form of asceticism in the Φαλλαβατεῖς of Syria, who are mentioned by Lucian (*de Dea Syria*, 28, 29).

[4] Various stories are told of Symeon's conflicts with spiritual pride, and the famous monk, Nilus, of Mount Sinai, makes a keen application to him

to a solitary place two days' journey (some forty miles) east of Antioch, where he lived for thirty-six years on the summit of a pillar, the height of which was raised from time to time to bring him nearer to heaven as he approached perfection. "Here he could never lie nor sit, but only stand or lean upon a post (or banister), or devoutly bow; in which last posture he almost touched his feet with his head—so flexible had his back been made by fasting. A spectator once counted in one day no less than 1244 such genuflexions of the saint before the Almighty, and then gave up counting. He wore a covering of the skins of beasts, and a chain about his neck. Even the Holy Sacrament he took upon his pillar."[1]

From his height of perpetual suffering he spoke to the curious and admiring crowds with friendliness, mildness, and love, preached twice a day, wrought miracles, converted thousands of heathens, and obtained the admiration and became the counsellor of the kings of Persia and the Emperors Theodosius II., Marcian, and Leo. The impression made upon his fellow-Christians is testified by the great Church historian and commentator, Theodoret, who ends his account of Symeon with the words: "Should the saint live longer, he may yet do greater wonders, for he is a universal ornament and honour of religion." Symeon died in 459, of a long-concealed ulcer, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and was buried in the metropolitan church of Antioch.[2]

§ 17. The *cœnobite* or social form of monasticism also sprang up in Egypt about the middle of this century. Its founder, or at least its first regulator, was PACHOMIUS, who attained a fame scarcely second to that of Anthony. He also was born in the Thebaïd, but of heathen parents, about 292. While serving in the army of

and his followers the pillar saints, of the text, "He that *exalteth himself* shall be abased." (Gieseler, ii. 2, p. 246; Schaff, vol. ii. p. 195.)

[1] Schaff, vol. ii. p. 192. "The first pillar, which he himself erected, and on which he lived four years, was 6 cubits high; the second, 12; the third 22; the fourth, which the people erected for him, and on which he spent twenty years, was 36, according to Theodoret—others say 40 cubits. The top was only three feet in diameter: it probably had a railing, however, on which he could lean in sleep or exhaustion; so, at least, these pillars are drawn in pictures. Food was carried up to the pillar saints by their disciples on a ladder." The well-known poem of Tennyson gives a fine imaginary view of the saint's experience and self-communing.

[2] Among the later Stylites may be mentioned Daniel (*ob.* 490) near Constantinople, and Symeon the Younger (*ob.* 592) in Syria. The practice did not entirely die out in the East till the twelfth century. In the West it found no favour, the only known example being that recorded by Gregory of Tours, of a saint who lived a long time on a pillar near Treves, but came down at the command of his bishop and retired to a cloister.

Maximin, he was won to Christianity by the kindness of the Christians at Thebes. After spending several years as a disciple of the hermit Palæmon, he was directed in a vision to found a society of monks on the island of Tabennæ, in the Nile, which became the type of all such communities in Egypt (325). Before the death of Pachomius, in 348, the society numbered eight or nine cloisters in the Thebaïd, with 3000 (some say 7000) members, a number which grew in the course of a century to 50,000. The life in all these cloisters was regulated by "the rule of St. Pachomius," which Jerome translated into Latin. "The formal reception into the society was preceded by a three years' probation. Rigid vows were not yet enjoined. With spiritual exercises manual labour was united: agriculture, boat-building, basket-making, mat and coverlet weaving, by which the monks not only earned their own living, but also supported the poor and the sick. They were divided, according to the grade of their ascetic piety, into four-and-twenty classes, named by the letters of the Greek alphabet. They lived three in a cell. They ate in common, but in strict silence, and with the face covered. They made known their wants by signs. The sick were treated with especial care. On Saturday and Sunday the monks partook of the Communion. Pachomius, as abbot or archimandrite, took the oversight of the whole; each cloister having a separate superior and a steward. Pachomius also established a cloister of nuns for his sister, whom he never admitted to his presence when she would visit him, sending her word that she should be content to know that he was still alive."[1] Such was the influence of this profession of a higher life on the natural affections.

The cœnobite as well as the anchoret form of monasticism spread rapidly over the East, and was favoured by some of the most eminent Fathers of the Church, and notably by BASIL THE GREAT[2] in Pontus and Cappadocia. Basil drew up an improved monastic rule, which was translated by Rufinus into Latin: it was accepted by about 80,000 monks before Basil's death (379). Basil made his monasteries centres of education: he and his friend Gregory were the first to unite scientific theological studies with the ascetic exercises of solitude.[3] These leaders found worthy successors in the following century in the Abbot ISIDORE of Pelusium, and the elder NILUS (a pupil of Chrysostom), who founded a monastery on Sinai. This and the monasteries of Nitria in Egypt have become famous for the treasures of biblical and patristic literature which they preserved to be discovered in our own times. The monks of

[1] Schaff, vol, ii. p. 197.

[2] See Chap. XIII. § 3.

[3] Of St. Jerome's enthusiastic support of monasticism, both in the East and West, we have to speak more fully in the next chapter.

Sinai often suffered from the Saracens, to whom they preached; and one of their most bloody persecutions (in 373) is related by the monk Ammonius.[1]

The fanatical excesses and doctrinal aberrations of zealots for monasticism gave birth to new sects and incurred the censure of several local synods. The most important of these was held at *Gangra,* in Paphlagonia (probably between 362 and 370) against the extreme views of Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste in Phrygia, and the first founder of monasteries in Cappadocia and Armenia. The synod not only condemned his refusal to communicate with married priests, but gave a decided voice against the exaltation of celibacy as a state of peculiar holiness.

§ 18. In the West, the spirit of monasticism was first diffused by the visits of Athanasius when an exile, in which he was accompanied by two eminent Egyptian monks, Ammonius and Isidore, as well as through the impression made by his Life of Anthony. Cloisters were founded in the neighbourhood of Rome and in the ruined temples of the city itself, whence the system spread over Italy and the islands and rocky islets of the Mediterranean. Instead of the vestal virgins Rome had convents[2] of nuns, among the first of whom was Marcellina, sister of Ambrose, who himself founded a monastery at Milan, and inculcated celibacy. His pupil Augustine led, with his clergy, a life of voluntary poverty and celibacy, which made his episcopal residence at Hippo a sort of monastery.[3] But he was earnest in condemning the vagrant begging monks, and he wrote a special treatise against the monastic aversion to labour.[4] The duty of work, as well as contemplation, which was inculcated by the leaders of monasticism in the East, was carried out more consistently in the West. Here we find no such fanatics of asceticism as the pillar saints. The monastic communities occupied themselves with agriculture and other forms of labour, with literature and education, and—what was their great glory — the diffusion of Christianity and civilization among the barbarians.

The more fervent Oriental monasticism had its chief Western representative in ST. MARTIN, who has already been noticed for his

[1] Combefis. *Illustrium Christi Martyrum lecti triumphi.* Par. 1660.

[2] The two words *monastery* and *convent* were originally and long used in their proper sense for "an abode of solitaries," and an "assembly" or "community" of the same, without the distinction which now commonly restricts the former to a community of monks, and the latter to one of nuns. The word *convent*, especially, has been used for both down to a recent period.

[3] He speaks of it as a *monasterium clericorum.* See Chap. XIV. § 5.

[4] *De Opere Monachorum.* Thus, too, Cassian says, "A working monk is plagued by one devil, an inactive one by a host."

intemperate zeal in destroying heathen temples and his arrogance in maintaining his episcopal dignity. He was born in Pannonia, of pagan parents, educated in Italy, and served three years as a soldier, against his will, under Constantius and Julian. Having been baptized in his eighteenth year, he lived as a hermit in Italy, and afterwards founded the first monastery in Gaul, near Poitiers. Having been elected bishop, against his wish, by the unanimous voice of the people of Tours, he maintained his monastic life at the head of a new monastery of eighty monks on the opposite side of the Loire. Martin possessed little education, but great natural eloquence, unwearied activity, and fervid zeal, combined with natural kindness and gentleness. "No one ever saw him angry, or gloomy, or merry: ever the same, with a countenance full of heavenly serenity, he seemed to be raised above the infirmities of man:"—such is the character drawn by his biographer, Sulpicius Severus, who places him above all the monks of the East. Like them, he had personal conflicts with the devil, and wrought miraculous cures; but he surpassed them all in thrice raising the dead to life. He died in 397 or 400; and his tomb became one of the chief shrines of pilgrimage in Gaul. From his example monasticism spread rapidly through Southern Gaul, where his most eminent successors were John Cassian (*ob.* 432), an ascetic writer who founded two cloisters for men and women at Massilia (*Marseille*); and St. Honoratus, bishop of Arles (from 426), who founded the monastery which bore his name on the island of Lerina,[1] and which soon produced the famous Vincentius Lerinensis (St. Vincent of Lerins, *ob. cir.* 450), who, though himself a semi-Pelagian, laid down the great test of Catholic truth which has been accepted by the Church of Rome—antiquity, universality, and common consent.[2]

The great development of Western monasticism by ST. BENEDICT of Nursia, the founder of the Benedictine order, belongs also to the end of the fifth century and the early part of the sixth.[3]

[1] Now *St. Honorat*, one of the two *Lerins Isles* off the coast of the *Var* department.

[2] In his *Commonitorium*, written under the feigned name of Peregrinus. His famous canon—"In ipsa item Catholica Ecclesia magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus quod *ubique*, quod *semper*, quod *ab omnibus* creditum est"—appears to have been originally aimed against the doctrines of Augustine, in defence of the semi-Pelagian heresy. There seems no sufficient reason to doubt that Vincent of Lerins was the author of the *Objectiones Vincentianæ*, which place the doctrine of predestination in the most odious light.

[3] See Chap. XVIII. The opposition to celibacy, monasticism, and other prevailing tendencies of the age, will be best considered in connection with the general review of these three centuries (Cent. iv.–vi.).



Clerical Costumes (Mosaic in the Church of St. Vitalis, at Ravenna).

CHAPTER XIII.

FATHERS OF THE NICENE CHURCH.

CENTURIES IV. AND V.

§ 1. General Character of the Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers. § 2. The *Greeks* — EUSEBIUS OF CÆSAREA — His life, theological views, and learning—His *Chronicle*, *Ecclesiastical History*, and other works. § 3. The three great Cappadocians—BASIL THE GREAT, of Cæsarea, a fellow-student with Gregory Nazianzen and Julian — His classical learning and refinement—His monastic retreat: joined by Gregory—The *Philocalia*—Basil made Bishop of Cæsarea—His Hospital—He opposes the Arian zeal of Valens — His theological liberality — His works and Liturgy. § 4. GREGORY NYSSEN, brother of Basil, and also a monk—Bishop of Nyssa—His orthodox zeal and works. § 5. GREGORY NAZIANZEN—His early life and studies—Friendship with Basil, and antagonism to Julian—Retreat with Basil in Pontus—Bishop of Sasima—Alienation from Basil—Bishop of Nazianzus — His labours against Arianism at Constantinople and retirement to an ascetic life—His *Orations* and *Poems*. § 6. DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA, last head of the Catechetical School. § 7. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM—His early life, monastic retreat, and work at Antioch—Made Patriarch of Constantinople — His opposition to the Empress Eudoxia, exile and death—His *Homilies* and *Liturgy*. § 8. EPIPHANIUS OF CYPRUS—His orthodox zeal and great learning — His three books against Heresies—His *Weights and Measures*, and other works. § 9. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM—His great Catechetical Work. § 10. EPHRÆM SYRUS—His hermit life, adorned by legends—His *Commentaries*, *Homilies* and *Poems*—Merit and fame of his *Hymns*. § 11. *Latin Writers*—LACTANTIUS—His Life and Style—His *Divine Institutes*—His Doctrinal

Errors. § 12. HILARY OF POITIERS, the "Athanasius of the West," exiled by Constantius—His work *On the Trinity, Commentaries, and Hymns.* § 13. HIERONYMUS or ST. JEROME—His early life at Rome, learning and ascetic discipline. § 14. His Life at Antioch, in the Desert, and at Constantinople—Study of Hebrew. § 15. Jerome returns to Rome and promotes Monasticism. § 16. His disciples, Paula and Eustochium—His troubles at Rome. § 17. His final departure for the East, and monastic life at Bethlehem. § 18. His great Latin Version of the Bible. § 19. Deaths of Paula, Eustochium, and Jerome. § 20. Works of Jerome.

§ 1. THE Nicene and post-Nicene age was peculiarly rich in teachers and writers who are distinguished for wide learning and high authority as theologians. Their discussions and writings brought the great debated questions of doctrine and discipline to a settlement which was generally accepted by the Church, and so fixed the prevalent type of orthodoxy. "They are justly called *Fathers* of the Church; they belong to Christendom without distinction of denominations."[1] With a few exceptions in favour of eminent heathens, it is true that "they monopolized all the learning and eloquence of the declining Roman Empire, and made it subservient to the cause of Christianity for the benefit of future generations."[2]

§ 2. Foremost among the Greeks stands the spiritual adviser of Constantine, EUSEBIUS OF CÆSAREA,[3] who is often called the father of Church history, and the Christian Herodotus. Born about 260 or 270, probably in Palestine, he was educated at Antioch and Cæsarea, where he formed a close friendship with the learned presbyter Pamphilus, who had collected a large library and founded a theological school, in which Eusebius taught for a long time. Much of his study was given to the writings of Origen, of whom Pamphilus was so devoted an admirer, that he had transcribed most of his works with his own hand.[4] After the death of Pamphilus, Eusebius travelled to Tyre and Egypt, where he attained the rank of a confessor by his imprisonment in the Diocletian persecution. About 315, or later, he was elected to the

[1] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 872. [2] Ibid.

[3] Another title by which he is distinguished among several bishops of the same name, is EUSEBIUS PAMPHILI, Εὐσέβιος (ὁ φίλος) τοῦ Παμφίλου, from the mutual friendship between him and Pamphilus of Cæsarea. The most distinguished of his namesakes were Eusebius of Nicomedia (of whom much has been said above, *ob.* 341); Eusebius of Vercelli (*ob.* 371); Eusebius of Emesa, in Phœnicia (*ob.* 360); and Eusebius of Dorylæum, who took a leading part in the Eutychian controversy in the fifth century.

[4] The earliest work, probably, of Eusebius was an enthusiastic *Apology for Origen*, written in conjunction with Pamphilus, before 309, which afterwards furnished grounds for bitter attacks from Jerome and Epiphanius.

bishopric of Cæsarea, which he held till his death in 340; having modestly declined the patriarchate of Antioch in 331.

We have seen the place he held and the part he took in the Council of Nicæa, where he proposed, in accordance with the views of Constantine, a less decided Creed than that which the Council adopted and which he somewhat reluctantly signed, reserving his own interpretation. His want of sympathy with the extreme orthodox party was shown more strongly when he took part in the Synod of Tyre, which deposed Athanasius (335); and it is remarkable that his *Ecclesiastical History* closes with the victory of Constantine over Licinius (324), without any notice of the Arian controversy. The charge of his secret leaning to Arianism has been made and disputed by many writers, ancient and modern;[1] but the truth seems to be that the whole controversy was distasteful to him, and that he never came to a definite conclusion on the subtleties involved in the debate. His mental attitude has been well described as that of "indecision and doctrinal latitudinarianism, not unfrequent in historians, who become familiar with a vast variety of opinions in different ages and countries."[2] The like pliancy of mind was seen in the readiness of Eusebius to play the courtier to Constantine, who showed him high respect and confidence; but it must be recorded to the honour of Eusebius, that he never used the Emperor's favour for his own private ends.

The great distinction of Eusebius in literature and theology is the wide scope of his learning, which embraced the whole range of Greek literature, heathen as well as Christian; but with little power of critical judgment. Its most useful fruit is his famous *Chronicle*,[3]

[1] Going to the first contemporary authority, we find that Athanasius never charges Eusebius with Arianism, or even semi-Arianism, but gives him full credit for having really abandoned, at the Council, the opinions in favour of Arius which he had held up to that time. For the authorities on both sides, and a discussion of the whole question, see Dr. Samuel Lee's Preliminary Dissertation to his translation of the *Theophania* from the Syriac (pp. xxiv.-xcix.), and Schaff, vol. iii. p. 874. Dr. Lee's conclusion is, "that Eusebius was no Arian; and that the same reasoning must prove that he was no semi-Arian; that he did in no degree partake of the error of Origen, ascribed to him so positively and so groundlessly by Photius."

[2] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 875.

[3] The title of the Greek original (which is only preserved in the extracts embodied in the works of later chronographers, especially Syncellus) was Χρονικῶν κανόνων παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία (Hieron. *de Vir. Illust.* 81); that of Jerome's Latin version is *Chronica Eusebii, s. Canones Historiæ Universæ, Hieronymo interprete.* The Armenian translation, recently discovered at Constantinople, was published (with the Greek fragments and a Latin translation) in two editions, by Mai and Zohrab, Milan, 1818 (and again in Mai's *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* vol. viii. Romæ, 1833), and by J. Baptist Aucher, Venet. 1818; also in Migne's complete edition of Eusebius, vol. i.

founded on the Chronography of Julius Africanus. (See Chap. VI. § 14.) It was the first of those Histories of the World which Christian writers compiled with the view of showing its providential government by the God of the Patriarchs, the Jews, and the Christians, and the fate which befals all heathen empires. The work is in two parts—the first containing an outline of universal history, from the Creation to A.D. 325; the second an abstract of the facts of history, and the dynasties of the various nations, in a tabular form, which is continued in Jerome's Latin translation down to the year 378. Jerome also translated the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, a description of the places mentioned in the Bible.[1]

The *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, from the birth of Christ to the victory of Constantine over Licinius (A.D. 324), has little merit in historical perspective, critical judgment, or literary style. But it is of very high value as a careful collection of facts; still more for its abundant extracts from original authorities, many of which are now lost; and, above all, it stands alone as the original history of the first three centuries, for all the ancient church historians begin where Eusebius leaves off. The time was happily chosen—just when the great struggle with heathenism was at an end, and the Church was settled under a Christian Emperor—for a review of the history which lay within the moderate space of three centuries—less than five lives of ordinary duration—and while much of it was fresh in living memory, by an author who, both in the library at Cæsarea and in the imperial archives, had access to documents of the highest authority and value.

His *Life of Constantine* is justly described by the church historian Socrates as a panegyrical oration rather than an accurate history; and a still higher flight of flattery is reached in the *Eulogy* which Eusebius delivered on the thirtieth anniversary of the Emperor's reign. A third contribution to church history is his tract on the *Martyrs of Palestine*. In his apologetic works Eusebius brings his wide range of learning to support the truth of Christianity. His *Præparatio Evangelica*,[2] in fifteen books, undertakes the refutation of heathenism from Greek literature. This work has a high secondary value for its fragments of and references to works otherwise unknown, and it is almost as important for the study of Greek philosophy as the Chronicle is for ancient history. As its title implies, it does not present the argument for Christianity, but it was designed to predispose the mind, especially of heathens, for

[1] Περὶ τῶν τοπικῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ, *De Situ et Nominibus Locorum Hebraicorum;* in Jerome's works, vol. iii.; a new edition, by Larsow and Parthey, Berol. 1862.

[2] Εὐαγγελικῆς ἀποδείξεως προπαρασκεύη. The work is inscribed to Theodotus, bishop of Laodicea.

the reception of the evidence which is given in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*,[1] in twenty books, of which only ten are extant, containing arguments chiefly from the Old Testament, and addressed principally to the Jews. Both works were written before A.D. 324. The results of the vast stores of learning gathered in these two works are presented in a popular form in the five books of the *Theophania*, or *Divine Manifestation of Christ*, of which fragments only were known till the year 1839, when a complete Syriac version was discovered by Mr. Tattam in a Nitrian monastery, and is now in the British Museum.[2] The discourse *Against Hierocles* is a reply to the attempt to set up Apollonius of Tyana against Jesus Christ.[3] There are but two dogmatic works of Eusebius, of little importance, *Against Marcellus* and *Upon the Church Theology* (also against Marcellus), in favour of the hypostatical existence of the Son. He wrote Commentaries on Isaiah, the Psalms, and Luke, in the allegorical spirit of Origen, but without his Hebrew learning.

§ 3. The province of Cappadocia produced three of the greatest lights of this age, in Basil and the two Gregories. BASIL,[4] surnamed THE GREAT, was born about 329, of wealthy and pious parents, at Cæsarea, the capital of the province. His father, who was a rhetorician, trained him in learning up to the age of eighteen, and then sent him to study at Constantinople, where Basil enjoyed the teaching and friendship of Libanius. He afterwards spent five years (351–355) studying rhetoric, mathematics, and philosophy at Athens, where among his fellow-pupils were his friend Gregory of Nazianzus, and Julian, the future Emperor. Gregory tells us how he and Basil resisted the allurements of the city, of which they knew only two streets,—the one to the church, the other to the

[1] Εὐαγγελικὴ ἀπόδειξις.

[2] It was edited by Dr. Samuel Lee (Lond. 1842), who also published an English translation, with a valuable essay in vindication of the orthodoxy and prophetical views of Eusebius (Cambridge, 1843). The work is generally regarded as an epitome of the two preceding; but Dr. Lee considers that it was composed before them, as a general and popular discussion of the whole question, "and that the other two, illustrating, as they generally do, some particular points only—argued in order in our work—were reserved for the reading and occasional writing of our author during a considerable number of years, as well for the satisfaction of his own mind as for the general reading of the learned."

[3] See Chap. V. § 14.

[4] Βασιλείος and Βασίλιος: Basilius. Of the other Basils, from whom he was distinguished by his title of "the Great," the following deserve mention:—(1) Another Cappadocian, the semi-Arian bishop of Ancyra (336-360). (2) Basil of Cilicia (about A.D. 500), who wrote a lost History of the Church (Phot. *Biblioth.* Cod. 42). (3) Bishop of Seleucia, in Isauria (448-458 and onwards), who took both sides alternately in the Eutychian controversy. His works are published with those of Gregory Thaumaturgus, in the Paris edition of 1622.

schools. Ascetic as he became, Basil vindicates the study of Greek literature, when pursued in subjection to the higher objects of the Christian life; and both his works and those of Gregory are full of classic refinement, blended with the winning but serious spirit of Christianity, especially in dwelling upon the beauties of nature, the great wonders of Creation, and the goodness of its Author.[1]

After teaching rhetoric for some time in his native city, Basil was attracted (360) by the fame of the monastic life to pay a visit to the recluses of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt; which ended in his dividing his property to the poor, and withdrawing to a retreat in the mountain region of Pontus, near the cloister to which his mother and sister had retired. A letter to his friend Gregory gives a description of the romantic beauty of the spot, which contrasts strikingly with the desert abodes of the Egyptian monks. He prizes its solitude as its chief charm; but in a second letter he makes this confession, "I have well forsaken my residence in the city as the source of a thousand evils, but I have not been able to forsake myself;" and he adds the quaint but striking comparison of himself to a traveller who, suffering from sea-sickness in a large ship, gets out into a small skiff only to keep the dizziness and nausea. Still he retains his confidence in solitude, celibacy and ascetic discipline, seclusion from business and occupation in prayer and sacred study, as the necessary means of taming passion and attaining the devout quietude of the soul. Basil induced Gregory to join him in this retreat, where the two friends made a collection of extracts from Origen, entitled *Philocalia*, which is still extant, and drew up some Rules, which had a great influence in extending, as well as regulating, the monastic life.

They were soon called from their retreat, to combat the revival of the Arian heresy under Valens. In 364 Basil reluctantly received ordination as a presbyter, and in 370 he was elected Bishop of Cæsarea and Metropolitan of Cappadocia, where he had fifty country bishops under him. Here he maintained his voluntary poverty and ascetic life, though always sickly, eating bread, salt, and herbs, and wearing but one threadbare garment. He personally tended the sick and poor, and founded near Cæsarea the splendid hospital,

[1] The testimony of Alexander von Humboldt to this spirit in early Christianity is especially valuable:—"The tendency of Christian sentiment was to prove from the universal order and the beauty of nature the greatness and goodness of the Creator;" and he illustrates the effect of this tendency from the glowing and sympathetic descriptions of nature, found first in the apologist Minucius Felix, and afterwards in Basil (for whom he had "long entertained a special predilection"), in Gregory of Nyssa, and Chrysostom. (Humboldt's *Kosmos*, vol. ii. pp. 27, foll., quoted by Schaff, vol. iii. p. 897.)

called after him *Basilias*, chiefly for lepers, who were then treated as outcasts, but whom he did not fear to kiss. A noble instance of Christian heroism, founded on a calm estimate of "aught this world can threaten or indulge," is furnished by his reply to the threats under which the Emperor demanded the submission of the province to Arianism. The prefects of Valens threatened the Archbishop with confiscation, banishment, and death. "Nothing more?" rejoined Basil: "Not one of these things touches me. His property cannot be forfeited, who has none. Banishment I know not, for I am restricted to no place, and am the guest of God, to whom the whole earth belongs. For martyrdom I am unfit; but death is a benefactor to me, for it sends me all the quicker to God, in whom I live and move: I am also in great part already dead, and have been for a long time hastening to the grave." His banishment was about to be pronounced, when (we are told) the Emperor's infant son fell sick. Valens sent for Basil, at whose prayer the child recovered; and the imperial prefect, who had been Basil's enemy, was also raised from sickness through his prayers.

While thus proving his stedfastness to orthodoxy, Basil offended the high catholic party by his liberal dealing with the rising dispute about the deity of the third person of the Trinity; being contented with the confession that the Holy Ghost was not a creature. These contentions helped to exhaust his feeble health; and he died in 379. Basil was distinguished as a church governor, a preacher, and a theologian. His most important works are his 365 Epistles,[1] Five Books against Eunomius, in defence of the deity of Christ, written in 361, and that on the Holy Ghost, written in 375. His Nine Homilies on the History of the Creation,[2] full of allegorical fancies, were highly esteemed in the Church; and he wrote Homilies on the Psalms and on various subjects, and several ascetic and moral treatises. The *Liturgy* ascribed to him is still used in the Eastern Church; but its present form is undoubtedly the gradual product of later ages.

§ 4. GREGORY OF NYSSA,[3] the younger brother of Basil, whom he calls his father and preceptor, was of a more weakly and timid constitution, and fitter for study than for active life. His mind was formed, under his brother's influence, chiefly on the works of Origen. Like Basil, he taught rhetoric for a time in his native city, and then retired to a solitude in Pontus, to lead a life of study

[1] These letters, like those of Jerome, are full of information about his life and times. In fact, the whole of this age is very rich in such autobiographical materials for history.

[2] Ἑξαήμερον, or *Homiliæ* ix. *in Hexaëmeron.*

[3] Γρηγόριος ὁ Νυσσῆνος; Gregorius Nyssenus; Gregory Nyssen.

and asceticism. He was, however, married, and he commends his wife, Theosebia, who seems to have died in 384, as rivalling in piety her two brothers-in-law, Basil and Peter, though they were bishops; but he laments that he is no longer in the condition of virginity, which he highly eulogizes, explaining it, however, as consisting chiefly in the purity of the whole life.

In 372 Gregory was called by Basil to the bishopric of the small town of Nyssa (or Nysa) near Cæsarea. His zeal against Arianism caused his deposition by a synod in 376; but he was restored by Gratian. He was quickly bereaved of his pious brothers and sisters, for two of whom, Basil and Macrina, he pronounced warm eulogies. Gregory attended the Council of Constantinople, which honoured him as one of the pillars of Catholic orthodoxy, and sent him to Jerusalem and Arabia to compose schisms which were threatening to break out. With his testimony to the low state of the churches in Palestine, he has left a pungent saying on the merit of pilgrimage. To a Cappadocian abbot, who asked his advice about a pilgrimage of his monks to the Holy City, Gregory replied, "Change of place brings us no nearer to God; but where thou art, God can come to thee, if only the inn of thy soul is ready. . . . It is better to go out of the body and to raise oneself to the Lord, than to leave Cappadocia to journey to Palestine." All that we know further of Gregory's life is the mention of three more visits to Constantinople, in 383, 385, and 394. He died about the year 395.

His writings are not surpassed by those of any other Father for clear and acute statements of doctrine; of which a conspicuous example is furnished by his work "On the Difference between Ousia and Hypostasis in the Godhead," and his Catechism of Christian doctrine, which was so highly esteemed as to be called "The great Catechetical Treatise."[1] He wrote controversial works, "Against Eunomius" and "Against Apollinaris," and an admirable work "On the Soul and the Resurrection," in the form of a Dialogue with his sister Macrina. Besides her Life and the Eulogy of his brother Basil, Gregory composed biographical Eulogies on St. Stephen, the Forty Martyrs, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Ephrem, and Meletius; also Homilies on the Creation of the World[2] and the Forming of Man; on the Life of Moses, on the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, and the Beatitudes; and several ascetic tracts. Gregory's interpretations of Scripture are strongly tinctured with the allegorical ideas of Origen, of whom he is the closest follower among

[1] Λόγος κατηχητικὸς ὁ μέγας.

[2] "The Hexaëmeron of Gregory is a supplement to his brother Basil's Hexaëmeron, and discusses the more obscure metaphysical questions connected with the subject." (Schaff, vol. iii. p. 907.)

the Fathers of the Church. He departs from the Catholic doctrine in holding the final redemption of all God's intelligent creatures.

§ 5. GREGORY NAZIANZEN, whose zeal for the orthodox faith earned him the title of "Gregory the Theologian,"[1] has been well described as "the third in the Cappadocian triad; inferior to his bosom friend Basil as a church ruler, and to his namesake of Nyssa as a speculative thinker; but superior to both as an orator. With them, he exhibits the flower of Greek theology in close union with the Nicene faith, and was one of the champions of orthodoxy, though with a mind open to free speculation. His life, with its alternations of high station, monastic seclusion, love of severe studies, enthusiasm for poetry, nature, and friendship, possesses a romantic charm."[2] Even Gibbon bears witness to "the tenderness of his heart and the elegance of his genius."

Gregory was a native, either of Nazianzus, where his father was bishop, or of Arianzus, a village in the immediate neighbourhood. He appears to have been born about 330, though the authorities differ as to the date. His mind was formed, and his faith fixed, by his excellent mother, Nonna, of whom he has left an affectionate Eulogy. Having devoted her infant son to God, as Hannah devoted Samuel, she persuaded him to a life of celibacy, that he might have no distraction from his high calling, and a dream decided Gregory to follow her advice. Trained in Greek science, as well as in Scripture learning, Gregory early chose the profession of rhetoric, and pursued his studies at the provincial capital, Cæsarea, where he probably formed his first acquaintance with Basil; then at Cæsarea in Palestine; next at Alexandria, where Athanasius was then bishop; and finally at Athens, where he formed his close and lifelong intimacy with Basil. Of their fellow-student Julian, Gregory formed the most unfavourable opinion, and said, "What a mischief the Roman Government is nurturing!"[3] His antagonism to Julian was vehement through life, and pursued the Emperor after his death in two invectives of unmeasured bitterness.[4] Leaving Athens in his thirtieth year, and being joined on his way home, at Constantinople, by his brother Cæsarius,[5] he returned to Nazianzus.

[1] Θεολόγος, in the same special sense in which the title is given to St. John.

[2] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 909.

[3] Οἷον κακὸν ἡ Ῥωμαίων τρέφει.

[4] Λόγοι στηλιτευτικοί.

[5] "To this Cæsarius, who was afterwards physician in ordinary to the Emperor in Constantinople, many, following Photius, ascribe the still extant collection of theological and philosophical questions, *Dialogi* iv. *sive Quæstiones Theol. et Philos.* 145; but without sufficient ground. He was a true Christian, but was not baptized till shortly before his death in 368. He was afterwards, like his brother Gregory, his sister Gorgonia, and his mother, received into the number of the saints of the Catholic Church." (Schaff, vol. iii. p. 912.)

Having now first received baptism, Gregory adopted a strictly ascetic life; and, after for a time sacrificing his desire for seclusion to assist his father in the management of his affairs, he went to join Basil at his retreat in Pontus. Of the short period which they spent together in prayer, meditation, sacred study, and manual labour, cheered and elevated by the beauties of nature, he writes to his friend with fond regret.[1] On a visit to his home, his father, who had need of his help and knew the wishes of his church, ordained him presbyter against his will (361); and though he fled back to Basil in Pontus, he returned at the call of the church and from a sense of duty to his aged parents, before Easter, 362. Basil—who, it will be remembered, was metropolitan of Cappadocia—appointed Gregory to one of the new bishoprics which he had established as posts of defence against Arianism. This attempt to fix him at the wretched little town of Sasima was a sore trial of his friendship for Basil.[2] It seems, indeed, probable that Gregory never went to his see. After another interval spent in his solitude, we find him at Nazianzus (372), acting as assistant to his father, on whose death[3] he was elected to the vacant bishopric (374). But from this office also Gregory retired again to his solitude, and thence to Seleucia in Isauria, where he received the sad news of Basil's death (379).[4]

From the deep depression into which he was thrown by the loss of his dearest friend, following that of his brother Cæsarius and aggravated by disease of body, Gregory was roused by the call to preach and act the pastor as the champion of orthodoxy in the Arian capital of the Empire. His work at Constantinople, and his election to and resignation of its bishopric (381), have already been related. He spent the rest of his life on his paternal estate at Arianzus, in devout exercises and literary labours, but still taking an active interest in the religious and temporal wants of those around him, and exercising a wider influence on the Church by his letters. His ascetic practices increased even with the advance of age and weakness: "in his poems he describes himself living solitary

[1] *Epist.* ix. (vi. ed. Bened.)

[2] See his pathetic complaint in the poem on his own life (*De Vitâ suâ*, vv. 476, foll.), quoted by Gibbon (chap. xxvii.), and more fully by Schaff (vol. iii. pp. 914–5), who compares it to Helena's complaint to Hermia (in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*), beginning,

"Is all the counsel that we two have shared," &c.

It does not appear that Basil meant to put a slight on Gregory, but that, in his zeal for the common cause, he took no account of hardships; and his own brother's appointment to Nyssa was not much better.

[3] On the occasion of the funeral, Gregory delivered one of his finest orations, in presence of Basil (*Orat.* xviii. Ἐπιτάφιος εἰς τὸν πατέρα, παρόντος Βασιλείου).

[4] His feelings are expressed in a letter to Gregory of Nyssa.

in the clefts of the rocks among the beasts, going about without shoes, content with one rough garment, and sleeping upon the ground covered with a sack."[1] No particulars are recorded of his death, which took place in 390 or 391.

Gregory's high place in ecclesiastical literature is due to his eloquent *Orations*, of which the chief are his five *Theological Orations*,[2] delivered at Constantinople in defence of the Nicene orthodoxy against the Eunomians and Macedonians. The remaining forty-five Orations are eulogies of saints and martyrs, and of his own kindred and friends; and discourses on the events of his own life, on public affairs, and on ecclesiastical festivals. As an orator, Gregory Nazianzen stands first in the Greek Church, or second only to Chrysostom; but his oratory is in the artificial and often extravagant style of that professional rhetoric which laboured in vain to imitate the spontaneous eloquence of a better age. "As a poet, he holds a subordinate though respectable place. He wrote poetry only in later life, and wrote it, not from native impulse, as the bird sings among the branches, but in the strain of moral reflection upon his own life or upon doctrinal or moral themes. Many of his orations are poetical, many of his poems are prosaic. Not one of his Odes or Hymns passed into use in the Church. Yet some of his smaller pieces, Apophthegms, Epigrams, and Epitaphs, are very beautiful, and betray noble affections, deep feeling, and a high order of talent and cultivation. We have, finally, 242 (or 244) Epistles from Gregory, which are important to the history of the time, and in some cases very graceful and interesting."[3]

§ 6. These great lights of the age are connected, by their training and their admiration of Origen, with the Alexandrian School of theology. DIDYMUS OF ALEXANDRIA, the last great head of the catechetical school of that city, deserves especial notice for the number of eminent men who were his disciples, including Jerome, Rufinus, Palladius, and Isidore. He was born about 309, and though he became blind in the fourth year of his age, he learned to read and write by means of characters en-

[1] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 920.

[2] Λόγοι θεολογικοί, so called in the same sense as his title of θεολόγος, which these orations won for him.

[3] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 921. In the fine Benedictine Edition by Caillau (Paris, 1842, and the reprint edited by Migne) the Poems are divided into five classes: I. *Theologica* (a. *dogmatica*, b. *moralia*); II. *Historica* (a. *quæ spectant Gregorium*, περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, *De seipso*; b. *quæ spectant alios*, περὶ τῶν ἑτέρων); III. *Epitaphia*; IV. *Epigrammata*; V. *Christus Patiens*, a long tragedy, with Christ, the Virgin, Joseph, Mary Magdalene, Nicodemus, Pilate, &c., as actors; being the earliest Christian drama.

graved on wooden tablets, and acquired a deep knowledge of philosophy, rhetoric, and mathematics, while he knew the Holy Scriptures almost by heart. He was appointed by Athanasius as teacher in the catechetical school, in which office he laboured more than sixty years, and died at a great age in 395.

Didymus was an earnest advocate of the ascetic life, and was held in high esteem by the Egyptian monks, and in particular by St. Anthony. He was a zealous opponent of Arianism; but he was at the same time an ardent admirer of Origen, as a follower of whose doctrine of the pre-existence and transmigration of souls Didymus was condemned, after his death, by several general councils. Hence he is not ranked among saints. His extant works consist of three books on the Trinity and one on the Holy Ghost (with a Latin translation of the last by Jerome), and some complete Commentaries, as well as numerous other fragments of his exegetical writings. He also wrote a short work against the Manicheans.

§ 7. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, that is, the "Golden Mouthed,"—the well-deserved title conferred on him in the seventh century for his eloquence—crowns the bright line of preachers and expositors of Scripture in the fourth century. He was born at Antioch, A.D. 347, of Christian parents. His father was a military officer, and his mother Anthusa was so distinguished for her virtues, that even the heathen Libanius said of her, "Ah! what women there are among the Christians!" By her bright example, as well as by the training she gave him in the Christian faith and knowledge of Scripture, her son was preserved from the temptations of the most licentious of heathen cities. He was the favourite pupil of Libanius, who declared that he would have chosen for his successor "John, if the Christians had not carried him away." Having entered on the profession of rhetoric, he soon resolved to devote his powers to a sacred use; and Meletius, bishop of Antioch, baptized him and made him a reader. He would have been raised to the bishopric in 370, had he not avoided the election by putting forward his friend Basil. He wrote his famous treatise "On the Priesthood" to excuse his artifice, by describing the deep responsibilities of the sacred office.

The entreaties of his mother, who had been left a widow when John was twenty years old, restrained his desire to follow the prevailing taste for a monastic life; but, on her death, he retired to a cloister in the mountains near Antioch, under the abbot Diodorus, afterwards bishop of Tarsus. The six years which he spent in this retreat were a happy period of preparation, by study and meditation, for the active work that lay before him. Here he wrote several books in praise of the ascetic life, and among them two letters to

reclaim his companion, Theodore (afterwards the famous bishop of Mopsuestia), from the desire to give up his monastic vow and to marry,—a course which Chrysostom describes as nothing short of apostasy from the faith. His own severe discipline broke down his health, and caused his return to Antioch, where he was ordained deacon by Meletius (386), and presbyter by Flavian. In his sixteen or seventeen years' work at Antioch, he acquired high fame as a preacher and expositor, and universal love for his pure and devoted character. It was during this period that he wrote most of his Commentaries.

In 398 he was chosen, without any seeking on his own part, to succeed Nectarius as Patriarch of Constantinople. The union of high culture with pure simplicity of character secured him honour with the court as well as the people, and at the same time preserved him from pride and ostentation. He adhered to his ascetic life, and devoted most of his income to works of charity. He now attained the climax of power and reputation as a preacher;[1] but his denunciations against the vices of the age, and the hypocritical religion of the court of Arcadius, made him powerful enemies. The Empress Eudoxia,[2] who was not spared in his invectives, and the ambitious Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria, secured his condemnation by a secret council of thirty-six bishops at Chalcedon, as a favourer of the opinions of Origen,[3] and on false charges of immorality, ecclesiastical irregularity, and treason; and he was banished by the Emperor (A.D. 403). The indignation of the people, concurring with an earthquake, led to his recal after only three days. But he soon gave new offence by a more unmeasured attack on the Empress. When her silver statue was set up in the church of St. Sophia, with the accompaniment of theatrical entertainments, Chrysostom began a sermon on the death of John the Baptist[4] with this exordium: "Again Herodias rages, again she raves, again she dances, and again she demands the head of *John* upon a charger." He was again condemned by a council and banished (A.D. 404). In his exile

[1] "His sermons were frequently interrupted by noisy theatrical demonstrations of applause, which he indignantly rebuked as unworthy of the house of God. This Greek custom of applauding the preacher by clapping the hands and stamping the feet (called *κρότος*) was a sign of the secularization of the Church after its union with the State. It is characteristic of his age, that a powerful sermon of Chrysostom against this abuse was most enthusiastically applauded by his hearers." (Schaff, vol. iii. p. 938.)

[2] "Eudoxia was a young and beautiful woman, who despised her husband and indulged her passions. She died four years after the birth of her son, Theodosius the Younger, whose true father is said to have been the Comes John. (Comp. Gibbon, ch. xxii.)."—Schaff, vol. iii. p. 704.

[3] Respecting the Origenistic controversy, see above, Chap. VI. § 10.

[4] From the text, Mark vi. 17, foll.

he corresponded with all parts of the Christian world, and appealed to a general council; whereupon his enemies procured from Arcadius an order for his removal to Pityus, on the east shore of the Euxine. He died on the journey, at Comana in Pontus, thanking God even for his sufferings, in words which form a fit motto for his life and work, "Glory to God for all things."[1] (September 14th, A.D. 407.) Thirty years later, his remains were brought back to Constantinople by Theodosius II., who laid them in the imperial tomb with deep reverence, and with prayers for his guilty parents (438).

The *Homilies* of Chrysostom, above 600 in number, are commentaries as well as sermons; being for the most part consecutive expositions of whole books of Scripture, instead of discourses on particular texts. Their subjects are on Genesis, the Psalms, the Gospels of Matthew and John, the Acts and all the Pauline Epistles, among which Chrysostom includes that to the Hebrews. There are other Homilies on separate sections and verses of Scripture; discourses in commemoration of Apostles and martyrs; eight controversial homilies "Against the Jews" (referring to judaizing tendencies at Antioch), and twelve "Against the Anomæans" (the Arians). The palm of eloquence is generally awarded to his twenty-one Homilies to the people of Antioch on the Statues (387), called forth by a sedition in which the people pulled down the statues of the Emperor Theodosius I. and his family. Besides his expository Homilies, Chrysostom wrote Commentaries on the first eight chapters of Isaiah, and on the Epistle to the Galatians. His other works are doctrinal and moral essays in defence of the faith and in praise of celibacy and monasticism, and 242 letters, nearly all of which were written during his exile (403–407).

A *Liturgy* ascribed to St. Chrysostom is used in the ordinary Sunday worship of the Greek Church, that of St. Basil being used during Lent, and on other special occasions. Both are modifications of the Liturgy ascribed to James, the brother of the Lord, and first bishop of Jerusalem, but really a composition of the Nicene or post-Nicene age.[2] The so-called Liturgy of Chrysostom is an abridgment of that of Basil. We are told that Chrysostom shortened the worship at Constantinople on account of the weakness of human nature; but it is not till the eighth century that we find his name applied to the Liturgy in question. In the seventh, it was called the Liturgy of the Holy Apostles.

§ 8. EPIPHANIUS is distinguished in ecclesiastical literature for his work on the Heresies, of which he was a vehement opponent in

[1] Δόξα τῷ Θεῷ πάντων ἕνεκεν.

[2] Among other proofs of this, the Liturgy ascribed to James contains the terms ὁμοούσιος and θεοτόκος.

his public life. He was born near Eleutheropolis in Palestine, between 310 and 320, of poor Jewish parents, (according to a traditional account),[1] and was educated by a rich Jewish lawyer till he became a Christian in his sixteenth year. If this be true, Epiphanius is distinguished as the only convert from Judaism among the post-Apostolic Fathers of the Church. After spending some years among the hermits of Egypt in severe ascetic practices, Epiphanius returned to Eleutheropolis, where he became abbot of a convent, and laboured with Hilarion to spread monasticism in Palestine. In 367 he was chosen Bishop of Salamis (or, as it was newly called, Constantia) in Cyprus, and here he wrote his works against Heretics. Against the Origenist heresies, in particular, he had contracted a special aversion from his intercourse with the monks of Egypt, who had imbued him with their fierce zeal for orthodoxy. He took an active part in the controversies of the time, and in his old age he travelled to Constantinople, expressly to reclaim Chrysostom from his supposed Origenist opinions. He died at sea, on his return from Constantinople, in the year of Chrysostom's first deposition (403).

The zeal, which has caused Epiphanius to be called "the patriarch of heresy-hunters," was shown with equal ardour against the rising use of images; as when he destroyed a picture, either of Christ or of a saint, in a village church of Palestine. The reverence paid to him, as the champion of orthodoxy, during his life, was perpetuated in miraculous legends. He was remarkable for the extent of his learning; and Jerome yields to him the palm, by the epithet of "the five-tongued,"[2] for to the three languages which he himself knew—Greek, Latin, and Hebrew—Epiphanius added Syriac and Egyptian; but his knowledge of Latin was slight. He was entirely defective in sound judgment,[3] and of boundless credulity; his works are full of errors and contradictions, and totally wanting in any grace of style. Still, as Jerome said in his own day, they must be read for their matter, a store of facts about heresies and controversies not to be found elsewhere.

His three works against Heresies are (1) The *Anchor*,[4] or *the*

[1] This tradition is found in the biography of his pupil John; it is accepted by Cave, and derives some support from the knowledge of Hebrew which was possessed by Epiphanius alone of the Fathers, except Jerome.

[2] Πεντάγλωττος.

[3] Jerome, though welcoming Epiphanius as a fellow-champion against Origenism, is quite sensible of his defects. The brief notice in his book *De Viris Illustribus* is highly characteristic (c. 114):—"Epiphanius, Cypri Salaminæ episcopus, scripsit adversus omnes hæreses libros, et multa alia, quæ ab eruditis propter res, a simplicioribus propter verba lectitantur. Superest usque hodie, et in extrema jam senectute varia cudit opera."

[4] Ἀγκυρωτός, *Ancoratus*, or *Ancora fidei Catholicæ*. (Comp. Heb. vi. 19.)

Anchored, a defence of Christian doctrine, in 121 chapters, written in 373, as "a stay for those who are tossed about upon the sea by heretics and devils;" (2) the *Panarium* or *Medicine Chest* of antidotes for those bitten by the serpents of heresy.[1] This is his principal work, and the chief book of reference for the history of the early heresies. Epiphanius enumerates eighty heresies; but the first twenty are improperly so-called, being pre-Christian systems of religion, under the heads of Barbarism (from Adam to the Flood), Scythism, Hellenism, Judaism, and Samaritanism. It is an elaborate but ill-arranged compilation, following in the early parts the similar works of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Hippolytus. The heresies are, however, only described for the purpose of giving their antidotes, in refutations "which, with all their narrowness and passion, contain many good thoughts and solid arguments;"[2] (3) The *Anacephalaiosis*[3] is a mere abridgment of the *Panarium*. The work of Epiphanius on the *Measures and Weights*[4] mentioned in the Bible is still very useful. We have also his tract on the Twelve Gems in Aaron's Breastplate, with allegorical interpretations, and his Commentary on the Song of Songs.

§ 9. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, where he was first presbyter and afterwards bishop (from 350), was eminent as a champion and sufferer for the orthodox faith. In 357 he was deposed by Acacius, the Arian metropolitan of Antioch; but he was restored (361) after the death of Constantius. He was bishop of Jerusalem when Julian attempted to rebuild the temple; and he is said to have predicted the failure from the prophecies of Daniel and of Christ. He died in 386. Cyril's importance in ecclesiastical literature is due to his great catechetical work, in twenty-three discourses (*Catecheses*), which he delivered while presbyter, in the preparation of catechumens for baptism (about 347). The work is the earliest popular compendium of Christian theology.[6] "It follows that form of the Apostles' Creed or the Rule of Faith which was then in use in the churches of Palestine, and which agrees in all essential points with

[1] "Πανάριον, *Panarium* (or *Panaria*) sive *Arcula*;" or "*Adversus* lxxx. *Hæreses*." The author himself speaks of the work as Πανάριον, εἴτ' οὖν κιβώτιον ἰατρικὸν καὶ θηριοδηκτικόν (*Panarium, sive Arculam Medicam ad eorum qui a serpentibus icti sunt remedium*). Epiph. *Epist. ad Acacium et Paulum*, i. p. 7, ed. Oehler. (Schaff, vol. iii. p. 929.)

[2] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 930.

[3] Ἀνακεφαλαίωσις, or *Epitome Panarii*.

[4] Περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν, *De Ponderibus et Mensuris*.

[5] Κατηχήσεις φωτιζομένων (or βαπτιζομένων), *Catecheses Illuminandorum*.

[6] The great catechetical work of Gregory Nyssen was designed rather for teachers.

the Roman; it supports the various articles with passages of Scripture, and defends them against the heretical perversions of his time."[1]

§ 10. EPHRÆM SYRUS, or EPHRAIM THE SYRIAN,[2] though living on the extreme Eastern frontier of the Empire, far from the great centres of ecclesiastical life and controversy, holds one of the highest places in ecclesiastical literature. He was the most eminent divine, orator, and poet of the Syrian Church; and is called the "prophet of the Syrians" and the "harp of the Holy Ghost." He was born early in the fourth century, either at Edessa or Nisibis, in Mesopotamia, and was driven from his home by his father, a heathen priest, for his leaning to Christianity.[3] Under the care of the confessor Jacob, bishop of Nisibis, with whom he went to the Council of Nicæa, he became eminent for his ascetic piety, sacred learning, and orthodoxy. When Nisibis was ceded to the Persians (363), Ephræm withdrew to Edessa, which was now the great seat of Christian learning in Northern Syria.[4] He led the life of a hermit in a cavern near the city, preaching to the monks and people, and contending at once with heathenism and heresy. He made journeys to visit the monks in Egypt and Basil at Cæsarea, who ordained him deacon. He held no higher office in the Church, and avoided the bishopric which Basil wished to confer on him, by playing the fool before his friend's messengers. On their return with the report that they had been sent to ordain a madman, Basil told them that the folly was theirs and Ephræm was full of divine wisdom. His last act was to leave his cell, when Edessa was visited by a famine, to reprove the selfishness of the citizens, whom he moved to place their wealth at his disposal for the relief of the sufferers, while he tended them with his own hands. When the famine abated, he returned to his cell, and died in a few days (A.D. 379).

Ephræm was the father of the school of Syrian learning and piety;[5] and his disciples embellished his life with legends. Among these is related a vision which foretold, in his early days, his vast fertility as a sacred writer. He saw a vine growing from the root of his tongue, whose branches spread on every side to the ends of the earth, loaded

[1] Schaff, vol. i. p. 925.

[2] The Greeks spell the name Ἐφραΐμ, the Latins EPHRÆM.

[3] So says the best authority for his life, the *Acta Ephræmi* in Syriac; but another account makes him the child of Christian parents.

[4] See Cureton's *Ancient Syriac Documents relative to the earliest Establishment of Christianity in Edessa and the neighbouring Countries, from the year of our Lord's Ascension to the beginning of the Fourth Century*. Lond. 1866.

[5] His most celebrated followers were Abbas, Zenobius, Abraham, Maras, and Simeon.

with clusters which grew fresh and heavier as often as they were plucked.

His writings were in the Syriac language; but Greek translations of them were generally read as early as the time of Chrysostom and Jerome. It is uncertain whether Ephræm himself knew Greek. His works consist of Commentaries on the Scriptures, homilies, ascetic tracts, and sacred poetry. The commentaries and hymns, and other writings in metrical prose, are preserved in the Syriac original; his other writings are extant only in Greek, Latin, and Armenian translations. He wrote commentaries on the whole Bible, "from the book of Creation to the last book of grace," says Gregory Nyssen. Of these we have the Commentaries on the historical and prophetical books of the Old Testament and on Job in Syriac, and those on the Epistles of Paul in Armenian. His expositions are based on the Old Syriac or Peshito Version; and his occasional references to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament indicate no more than a slight acquaintance with the language. He composed, according to Photius, more than a thousand Homilies, which were much read in the churches. Those still extant are partly expository, and partly polemical, against Jews, heathens, and heretics. They have much pointed and pathetic eloquence; but are disfigured by the extravagant rhetoric of the age, as well as by its superstitions, especially the exaltation of ascetic virtue, and veneration for the Virgin Mary, for saints, and for relics.

The Hymns of Ephræm were held in the highest esteem and constantly used in the Eastern Church. They were composed as an antidote to the influence of the heretical Syrian hymns of Bardesanes and especially of his son Harmonius, whose elegant diction and melodious metres were imitated by Ephræm. Besides these hymns, Ephræm used a kind of irregular rhythmic measure—that is, an arrangement in lines of an equal number of syllables, falling occasionally into regular metre and rhyme—for all his works in Syriac, except his commentaries. He is said by Sozomen to have written 300,000 verses.

§ 11. First among the *Latin* fathers, and belonging in a great measure to the ante-Nicene age, stands LACTANTIUS,[1] whom Jerome calls the most learned man of his time, and whose eloquence and pure Latin style have won for him the title of the Christian Cicero. He was born of heathen parents; and, though probably a native of Italy, he belongs by his education to the African school of Latin learning, having studied under the famous rhetorician and apologist, Arnobius, of Sicca in Numidia. His first fame was acquired by a

[1] His full name was LUCIUS CÆCILIUS FIRMIANUS LACTANTIUS; whence it has been inferred that he was a native of Firmium (*Fermo*) in Italy.

metrical work entitled *Symposion*, which consisted of a hundred riddles,[1] in hexameter triplets, for the amusement of guests at table. He was invited by Diocletian to Nicomedia, to teach Latin eloquence; but, finding few hearers in that Greek city, he devoted himself to writing. He embraced Christianity either before or during the Diocletian persecution, the cruelties of which he witnessed, though he was not himself a sufferer; and he devoted his rhetorical powers to the defence of the Gospel. In 312, Constantine called him to Gaul, to be the tutor of his son Crispus; and Lactantius lived at the Western court a life of self-denying simplicity. He died at Treves at a great age, about 330.

The fame of Lactantius rests on his great apologetic work, the "Divine Institutes,"[2] a refutation of heathenism, and defence of Christianity, addressed chiefly to the educated classes, replete with learning, and carefully elaborated in style. It appears to have been begun during the Diocletian persecution, and was completed in its present form about A.D. 321, when Lactantius dedicated it to Constantine as the first Christian Emperor. Another apologetic work, in a vehement tone, "On the Deaths of the Persecutors,"[3] is of value for the history of the imperial persecutions of Christianity, from Nero to Diocletian and his colleagues. Besides the tracts *De Opificio Dei* and *De Ira Dei*,[4] we have several fragments of Lactantius in prose and verse.[5]

The power of Lactantius lies in his eloquence and dialectic skill rather than in theology and philosophy. Jerome, while comparing him to Cicero, regrets that he had not shown the same ability in declaring Christian truth as facility in destroying heathen errors.[6] Writing before doctrinal theology was firmly settled, he departed

[1] *Ænigmata.*

[2] *Institutionum Divinarum*, Libri vii. The seven books are on the following subjects:—1. *De Falsa Religione.* 2. *De Origine Erroris.* 3. *De Falsa Sapientia.* 4. *De Vera Sapientia.* 5. *De Justitia.* 6. *De Vero Cultu.* 7. *De Vita Beata.* There is also an abstract of the work by Lactantius himself, entitled *Epitome ad Pentadium Fratrem.*

[3] *De Morte*, or *Mortibus Persecutorum.* The genuineness of the work has been questioned by some high authorities; but its style is that of Lactantius, it suits his time and circumstances, and it appears to be quoted by Jerome under the title *De Persecutione.*

[4] The former treats of the Divine wisdom shown in the constitution of man's nature; the latter vindicates the harmony of God's goodness with His primitive justice, as the necessary consequence of His abhorrence of evil.

[5] Among these are *Carmina de Phœnice*, *De Passione Domini*, and *De Resurrectione Domini.*

[6] Hieron. *Epist.* 58, *ad Paulinum*:—"Lactantius, quasi quidam fluvius eloquentiæ Tullianæ, utinam tam nostra affirmare potuisset, quam facile aliena destruxit."

from what became the standard of orthodoxy on various points, and, though not branded with heresy, he falls short of the rank of an acknowledged Father of the Church. But no ancient Christian writer has been more generally read.

§ 12. HILARY OF POITIERS,[1] so styled from his birthplace and bishopric, was so distinguished for his defence of orthodoxy and opposition to Arianism in Gaul, as to be called the "Athanasius of the West." Born a heathen, about the end of the third century, he was one of those converts who found in the Scriptures that light on the mysteries of life which they had vainly sought from the philosophers. He was already of mature age when he embraced Christianity, with his wife and his daughter Apra. Having been chosen bishop of his native city in 350, he made a decided stand against Arianism, and was banished by Constantius to Phrygia (356). He was recalled (361), and again banished, and lived in retirement till his death in 368.

During his first exile Hilary wrote his great work *On the Trinity*,[2] to which he added various tracts against Arianism and its supporters. His Commentaries on the Psalms and Matthew are for the most part free translations of Origen. His hymns rank next to those of Ambrose.[3] The writings of Hilary are distinguished for thorough knowledge of the Scriptures, deep and earnest discussions of dogmatic theology, and the skill with which he expresses the ideas of his Greek models of thought, Origen and Athanasius, in the less flexible Latin tongue. He contributed much to the settlement of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity and the person of Christ.

§ 13. The fourth century closes and the fifth opens with the life of HIERONYMUS,[4] commonly called ST. JEROME, who was in some respects one of the greatest of the Fathers, the most learned man of his age, and the chief link between the religion and learning of the East and West. His character is well described as exhibiting "extraordinary intellectual gifts and a sincere zeal for the service of Christ, strangely combined with extravagance, love of power, pride, vanity, violent irritability, and extreme bitterness of temper."[5] He was born, probably about 340,[6] at

[1] Hilarius Pictaviensis.

[2] *De Trinitate*, Libri xii. His other polemic works are, *On Synods, or the Faith of the Orientals* (358); tracts *Against Constantius* and *Against Auxentius* (the Arian bishop of Milan); and fragments of a *History of the Synod of Ariminum and Seleucia*.

[3] His famous morning hymn, beginning "Lucis largitor splendide," was written for his daughter.

[4] His full name was Eusebius Hieronymus Sophronius.

[5] Robertson, vol. i. p. 333.

[6] The date of 331, given in the chronicle of Prosper Aquitanus, seems certainly too early, as that of 346 seems too late.

Stridon, on the borders of Pannonia and Dalmatia, of wealthy Christian parents, and thoroughly educated at Rome in that profane learning which he scorned in the ardour of conversion,[1] while his writings are the best vindication of its use. Among his teachers was the heathen rhetorician Donatus, the famous commentator on Terence and Cicero. Though his Christian faith was strongly confirmed by his visits on Sundays to the tombs of the martyrs in the Catacombs, he often confesses with grief that he yielded to the sensual temptations of a great city. On receiving baptism (about 370), he devoted himself to a life of ascetic discipline, joined with literary labour. Either before, or about this time, he travelled to Treves and Aquileia to improve his knowledge; and, on removing from Rome to Antioch, he carried his library with him.

§ 14. At Antioch Jerome attended the exegetical lectures of the younger Apollinaris, and, after visiting the most celebrated hermits in the neighbourhood, he retired to the desert of Chalcis (374). Amidst the severities of his ascetic discipline, he was troubled with the sensual temptations called up by his imagination; and, to strengthen the resistance of penitence and prayer, he found occupation for his mind in the study of Hebrew, which he learnt from a converted Jew. Jerome's seclusion did not prevent his taking a vehement part in the contests for the See of Antioch and the Meletian controversy on the *hypostasis;* and in 377 he left the desert, and was ordained a presbyter by Paulinus, bishop of Antioch, who, however, left Jerome free to travel in pursuit of learning and for the advancement of monasticism. About 380 he went to Constantinople, where the sermons of Gregory Nazianzen against Arianism excited his reverence for that Father. Here he produced the first-fruit of those applications of his Latin tongue and learning to his Greek and Hebrew studies which form his great title to distinction in literature, and that not exclusively ecclesi-

[1] See the comment of Milton (*Areopagitica*, pp. 42–3, Arber's reprint) on the celebrated dream (related by Jerome to his female disciple Eustochium), in which, during a severe illness, he thought that he was dead, and called before the judgment-seat of Christ, where his profession of Christianity was answered by the reproach, "Thou liest; thou art not a Christian, but a Ciceronian; for where thy treasure is, there will thy heart be also." He was severely scourged, and, waking with the pain and marks of the stripes upon him, he took a solemn oath never again to open a heathen book. An answer, even more decisive than Milton's raillery, is furnished by Jerome's own apology for the noble use which he afterwards made of his heathen learning—that it was all only a dream, and even if it were more, his vow was an engagement for the future, not a blotting out of what he remembered of the past ("Dixi me sæculares literas non deinceps lecturum; de futuro sponsio est, non præteritæ memoriæ abolitio").

astical: for it was now that, besides translating the Homilies of Origen on Jeremiah and Ezekiel, he rendered a lasting service to the study of history by his Latin version of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius.

§ 15. Jerome went next to Rome (382), where he lived three years, assisting Bishop Damasus in his correspondence with the Eastern and Western Churches;[1] and it was under his influence that Jerome undertook that revision of the Latin version of the Scriptures which he afterwards completed in the East (see § 18).

At the same time Jerome laboured hard for the establishment of monasticism, which had as yet gained little hold at Rome, and was strongly opposed even by the clergy. Appealing especially to the old noble and wealthy families, who had been among the last to embrace Christianity, he offered them within the Church a new field of distinction and heroism, and invited them to turn their villas into monastic retreats. Such was his success that he boasts of having reversed the saying of St. Paul:[2] "Formerly, according to the testimony of the Apostles, there were few rich, few powerful, few noble among the Christians. Now it is no longer so. Not only among the Christians, but among the monks are to be found a multitude of the wise, the noble, and the rich."[3] His chief disciples were among the ladies of these noble families, whose rank is marked by such names as Marcella, Furia, Asella, Paula, and Fabiola. He gathered them around him to expound the Scriptures, in which some of them were so well read as to put questions beyond his power to answer; and, when he was taunted with instructing the weaker sex, he replied that, if men would ask him about Scripture, he would not occupy himself with women.[4] "He answered their questions of conscience; he incited them to celibate life, lavish beneficence, and enthusiastic asceticism; and flattered their spiritual vanity by extravagant praises. He was the oracle, biographer, admirer, and eulogist of these women, who constituted the spiritual nobility of Catholic Rome."[5] There was much in this teaching to excite spiritual pride; and it has been well observed that, in treating his favourite topic of virginity (often with more than questionable good taste), Jerome always puts forth celibacy as in itself the great merit, rather than the devotion and ascetic discipline for which it gave the opportunity.[6]

§ 16. Two of these noble ladies are most closely connected with

[1] Hieron. *Epist.* cxxiii. 10. On the meaning of the passage, see Robertson, vol. i. p. 335.
[2] 1 Cor. i. 26.
[3] *Epist.* lxvi.
[4] *Epist.* lxv. 1; Robertson, vol. i. p. 335.
[5] Schaff, vol. ii. p. 211.
[6] Robertson, vol. i. p. 337.

Jerome's history—the widowed matron Paula, who had already adopted a strict religious life, and her daughter Eustochium, the first Roman maiden of high birth who devoted her virginity to God. Naturally the Roman nobles looked with suspicion on these intimacies; and Jerome showed little meekness under the groundless calumnies that he provoked. The populace, too, were excited against the monks on beholding the grief of Paula at the funeral of her widowed daughter Blesilla, whose end was thought to have been hastened by her austerities.[1] "See," cried the spectators, "how she weeps for her child after having killed her with fasting!" They called out for the death or banishment of the monks; and Jerome wrote a reproof to Paula for the display of grief which had given this occasion to the enemy.[2] Some of his virgin disciples resented his censures on their inconsistencies of dress and manner; and he made enemies of the Roman clergy, whom he charged, perhaps truly, with ignorance, selfishness, luxury, and rapacity, while they were able to retort complaints of Jerome's arrogance.

§ 17. In disgust at these vexations, soon after the death of Damasus, he left Rome for the East (385), and he was followed to Antioch by Paula and Eustochium, in spite of the moving entreaties of Paula's family that she would not abandon them. The master and his disciples travelled, sometimes together and sometimes apart, through the holy places of Palestine; and here again Jerome has rendered lasting services by his labours in identifying the sites of Scripture history. Proceeding to Egypt, they passed some time with the monks of Nitria; and Jerome's thirst for learning led him to attend the lectures of Didymus, the last great master of the catechetical school of Alexandria.

In 386–7 they took up their permanent abode at Bethlehem, which had now already become a great resort of pilgrims and residence of religious devotees, by whom Paula was regarded with high reverence. She supplied Jerome, in his little cell, with the bread, water, pulse, and coarse clothing, which was all that he would accept. After a time, the sale of his remaining patrimony enabled him to build a monastery, and a hospital open to all except heretics.

§ 18. Jerome's chief occupation was on the Latin version of the Scriptures which he had begun at Rome. He was at first content with correcting the old Latin version (now known as the 'Italic') from the Septuagint text in Origen's Hexapla,[3] as he had corrected the Gospels at Rome from the Greek Testament; but he was led on

[1] Both Paula and Blesilla learnt Hebrew, and vied with one another in repeating the Psalms in the original language. [2] *Epist.* xxxix. 5.

[3] He procured his copy from the library at Cæsarea.

to the great undertaking of a translation direct from the Hebrew—a marvellous work for one man in that infant age of critical learning. He was rewarded as Origen had been before him, and many another since, down to our own age. He had been denounced at Rome as a corrupter of the Gospels, and now he was accused of daring to improve on the inspired version of the LXX., and of bringing a "Barabbas of the synagogue" to disparage the books which the Apostles had delivered to the Church.[1] Even Augustine wrote to dissuade him from the task, on the narrower grounds (also familiar in later times) that previous translators could have left little room for improvement, and that a Latin version disagreeing with the LXX. would be a dangerous source of perplexity and ground of cavil.[2] Jerome's replies were in part satisfactory to his friend; and he persevered in completing the work which became the foundation of the Latin version, used as the authoritative edition of the Scriptures in the Latin Church, by the name of the VULGATE (*Editio Vulgata*, i. e. "in common use").[3]

§ 19. While Jerome was prosecuting these labours, besides an extensive correspondence with Augustine and other leaders of the Church, and with Christians who looked to him as their spiritual director, Paula and Eustochium joined him in eager study of the Scriptures, and spent their time and substance in works of charity. The daughter devotedly tended her mother, whose ascetic self-discipline was increased, instead of being relaxed, as her age advanced. After building several monasteries, both for women and men, she gave away what was left of her property; replying to Jerome's remonstrances, that she wished to die in poverty, and to be indebted to charity for her shroud. To charity also she commended her daughter, who had nothing of her own while her mother lived, and was left with the charge of a multitude of poor recluses, and with the burthen of debts which Paula had contracted to keep up her almsgiving. Paula died after a residence of about twenty years at

[1] This strange estimate of Jerome's efforts to correct the LXX. by the original Hebrew text is due to Rufinus, who, from being Jerome's devoted friend and admirer, had become his bitter enemy. Absurd as it seems, it was paralleled by a like accusation brought against the students of the Greek Testament by the admirers of the Vulgate, at the restoration of learning; and, even in our own day, we have been told that Greek has none of the uses which Latin has for the divine!

[2] Augustin. *Epist.* xxviii.; Hieron. *Epist.* lvi. cxii. cxvi.; Robertson, vol. i. p. 341.

[3] This phrase is often applied by Jerome himself to the LXX., as the translation of ἡ κοινὴ ἔκδοσις, as that Version was already called. On the whole subject of the Latin Versions of the Bible see the *Dictionary of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. VULGATE.

Bethlehem, and was buried with a splendid funeral in the Church of the Nativity (404). Eustochium died fifteen years later, and Jerome followed her in the next year, having reached the age of eighty-nine (A.D. 420).

Jerome's is one of the three greatest names among the Latin fathers of this age. Of the other two, AMBROSE has claimed our notice in the history of this century; and his great disciple, AUGUSTINE, belongs more properly to the following age, not only in time, but as the chief author of a new development of doctrinal theology.

§ 20. The voluminous writings of Jerome may be classed under four heads:—

I. EPISTOLÆ: *Letters* to private friends, bishops, and others, on a great variety of subjects, personal, theological, ecclesiastical, polemical, and moral. They extend over the half century from his baptism to his death, and make up the number of 150 (three of which, however, are spurious), including those addressed to Jerome, and some between other correspondents relating to him.

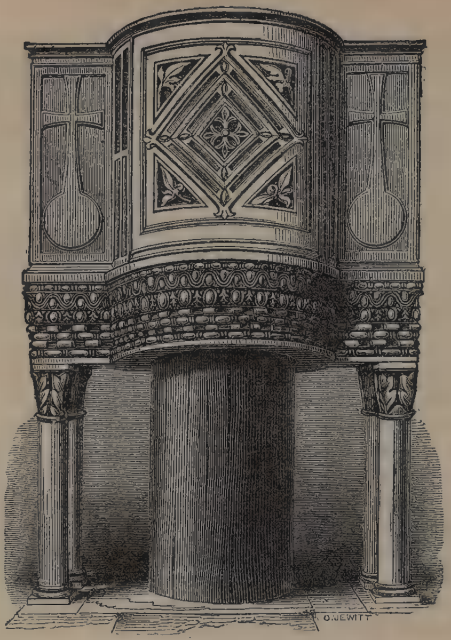
II. TRACTATUS, sive OPUSCULA; including, among others, *Lives* of the Hermits *St. Paul*, *St. Hilarion*, and *St. Malchus*; a translation of the monastic *Rule of St. Pachomius*; writings against various heretics; his three books in answer to the attacks made upon him by his former friend, Rufinus of Aquileia; an explanation of all the Hebrew proper names that occur in the Scriptures; and especially his *De Viris Illustribus*, or *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, a series of 135 short biographies of the most eminent Christian teachers.

III. COMMENTARII BIBLICI, on a great number of the books of the Old and New Testament.

IV. BIBLIOTHECA DIVINA; his Latin Version of the Scriptures.

His translations of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, and of the same writer's work on the topography of the Holy Land, have been already mentioned (§ 2).[1]

[1] The earlier editions of Jerome's works, by Erasmus, 9 vols. fol., Basil. 1516 (and reprints), by Marianus Victorinus, 9 vols. fol., Rom. 1566 (and reprints), and the grand Benedictine edition, by Pouget and Martigny, 5 vols. fol., Paris. 1693–1706, are all superseded by the edition of Vallarsi, 11 vols. fol., Veron. 1734–1742, reprinted with some improvements, in 11 vols. 4to., Venet. 1766.



Ambo of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.

CHAPTER XIV.

AUGUSTINE AND THE PELAGIAN CONTROVERSY.

A.D. 354–429.

§ 1. Controversies of the Fifth Century in the East and West: the *Nestorian*, *Eutychian*, and *Pelagian*. § 2. AUGUSTINE—His *Confessions*—His early Life and Studies. § 3. His moral and intellectual Errors—Manicheism —His Life at Carthage, Rome, and Milan. § 4. Influence of Ambrose, and Conversion of Augustine. § 5. Death of his Mother; his stay at Rome, and return to Africa—His involuntary Ordination—He is made Bishop of Hippo—His Death. § 6. Works of Augustine: I. Autobiographical; the *Confessions*, Retractations, &c.: II. Philosophical; *Dialogues;* III. Apologetic; the *City of God:* IV. Doctrinal: V. Polemical; *On Heresies*, and against Manicheism, Donatism, and Pelagianism: VI. Exegetical: VII. Practical and Ascetic Works. § 7. Influence of Augustine on Theology—The Latin Catholic system. § 8. The *Pelagian Controversy*—Doctrines of the Church on Sin and Grace—Different Views

in the East and West. § 9. Life and Works of PELAGIUS—His connection with CŒLESTIUS. § 10. Their Visit to Africa—Accusations of Heresy—Augustine writes against the Pelagians. § 11. Pelagius in Palestine — Opposed by Jerome, and accused by PAULUS OROSIUS — Councils in Palestine. § 12. Appeals to Rome—Decisions of INNOCENT I. and ZOSIMUS—Condemnation of Pelagianism—Subsequent History of the Doctrine in the East and West. § 13. Semi-pelagianism.

§ 1. THE transition from the fourth to the fifth century, which forms the epoch of the final severance of the Eastern and Western Empires, is marked also by two great lines of theological development and controversy in the Eastern and Western Churches. Not that either was indifferent to any great question affecting the common faith, but each became the special field of discussions that arose from the circumstances of the churches and the ideas and character of their leaders. While the union of the divine and human natures in the person of Christ engaged the speculative genius of the East, passing on from the question of His coëqual deity to the mysteries involved in His twofold nature, the West saw the rise of the great controversy concerning the relation of God's supreme ordination of all things, and His sovereign grace, to the free will and efforts of Man in his fallen state; a controversy which has lasted ever since, while men of every age

> "have reason'd high
> Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate—
> Fixt fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute—
> And found no end, in wandering mazes lost."

These controversies are known as the *Nestorian* and *Eutychian* in the East, and the *Pelagian*, in connection with which the genius of the great Augustine left its lasting impress on the theology of the West.

§ 2. The earnest and affecting 'Confessions of St. Augustine,' written in his forty-sixth year, furnish us with the facts of his earlier life, and give a deep insight not only into his personal character, but also into the elements of moral consciousness which united with his views of Scripture to mould his theology. "They are a sublime effusion, in which Augustine, like David in the 51st Psalm, confesses to God, in view of his own and succeeding generations, without reserve, the sins of his youth; and they are at the same time a hymn of praise to the grace of God, which led him out of darkness into light, and called him to service in the kingdom of Christ. . . . The reader feels on every hand that Christianity is no dream or illusion, but truth and life, and he is carried along in adoration of the wonderful grace of God."[1]

[1] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 990.

AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS was born at the village of Thagaste in Numidia (not far from Hippo Regius, his future bishopric) on the Ides (13th) of November, A.D. 354. His father, Patricius, a man of curial rank, but narrow circumstances, was a heathen, but received baptism before his death. His mother, Monica, shines forth as one of the brightest examples of piety in the early Church. From his parents Augustine derived the passionate sensibility of the African nature, and the affectionate sympathies which were cherished by the love of his mother, while his opening mind was trained by her noble intellect. She caused her infant son to be entered as a catechumen; but the baptism, which he earnestly desired in a sudden and dangerous illness, was deferred lest he should incur the deeper guilt of sin after baptism.[1] His father made efforts beyond his means to provide an education which might secure his son an honourable and lucrative employment, and sent him to the schools of Madaura and Carthage. His abilities were early manifest; but his application was irregular and his choice of studies capricious, especially in a neglect of Greek, which he laments that he could only remedy imperfectly in later life.[2] About the time when he went to Carthage, at the age of seventeen, Augustine lost his father; and a rich citizen of Thagaste, named Romanian, aided his mother to bear the expense of his education.

§ 3. The youth had already been enticed into those moral and intellectual wanderings, amidst which he was preserved from ruin by the sense of religion impressed on him by his mother's care, and embodied in the grand sentence at the beginning of his Confessions; "Thou hast made us for thyself, and—" the following words fall of themselves into a metrical motto—

"Our heart is restless till it rest in Thee." [3]

At the age of eighteen, he was already, by a concubine, the father of a boy, whom he named Adeodatus. In the following year, the reading of Cicero's "Hortensius" awakened in his mind a longing for higher wisdom, in search of which he turned to the Scriptures, but was repelled by their simplicity. That internal conflict between the knowledge of the good he had been taught and the conscious-

[1] We have seen how strongly this motive for late baptism was urged by Tertullian, the great light of the African Church.

[2] This great example of the evil of neglecting the highest organ of the utterances of the human mind in secular and sacred literature is the more conspicuous from the manifest influence which a *Latin* organ of expression has had on the theology of the Western Church. Witness, among the very foundations of the faith, the difference between *credo* and πιστεύω.

[3] *Conf.* i. 1:—"Fecisti nos ad Te, et inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in Te."

ness of the sin into which he had fallen, of which his theology afterwards attempted to solve the mystery and remedy, may account for the charm he saw in the Manichean doctrines, which were then spreading widely and secretly, even among the clergy and monks.[1] He became an outer member of the sect, from his nineteenth to his twenty-eighth year; but he soon began to discover the hypocrisy and sensuality which were thinly veiled by false philosophy and ascetic professions; and a famous Manichean bishop, to whose arrival at Carthage Augustine had looked for a solution of his doubts, proved to be as inconsistent in life and as empty in his fluent discourse as the other leaders. Augustine, who had been teaching grammar and rhetoric at Thagaste and Carthage, disgusted at the disorderly habits of the students, now removed to Rome (383), where he gave up Manicheism only to fall into scepticism, varied with vain struggles for clearer light from the study of Plato. After about six months, finding his income precarious, as the Roman students had the habit of deserting a professor without paying for his lectures, Augustine was glad to obtain an appointment as a public teacher of rhetoric at Milan, whither his mother followed him to watch his wandering course (384).

§ 4. Augustine had meanwhile become a hearer of Ambrose, at first only to judge of his far-famed eloquence; but his mind was gradually opened to conviction. He resumed the profession of a catechumen, and turned again to the study of Scripture, and especially the writings of St. Paul. He now found difficulties vanish, as he felt the simple adaptation of the truth to his spiritual wants. He was still subject to the passions of his lower nature; but the forces were gathering for the crisis which was to change his heart and mind and life. A fellow-countryman, coming to visit him, related some details of the lives of St. Anthony and other hermits, which struck Augustine the more as his attention had never been given to the monastic life. In its then primitive freshness, he saw all the beauty and grandeur of its self-denial and devotion to God alone, and this rebuke of his self-indulgence excited the most violent agitation. One day in September 386, the tumultuous conflict of thought drove him forth from the company of his dearest friend, Alypius, to the garden of the villa Cassiciacum, where he threw himself under a fig-tree, and, in a passion of tears, prayed for deliverance from the bondage of his sins. The voice of a child from a neighbouring house broke in upon his solitude, singing, "Take up and read." Accepting it as a voice from heaven, he went home and opened his Bible at the passage:[2]—"Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but *put ye*

[1] See above, Chap. IX. § 15.

[2] Rom. xiii. 13, 14.

on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." He at once felt that, by the power of the Spirit, he "put on the Lord Jesus Christ," and was transformed into a new man. His sense of the constant nearness of God, who had at length been found by him, is expressed in powerful language befitting every redeemed soul:—"I have loved Thee late! And lo! Thou wast within, but I was without and was seeking Thee there. And into Thy fair creation I plunged myself in my ugliness; for Thou wast with me, and I was not with Thee. . . . Thou didst breathe, and I drew breath, and breathed in Thee." In the history of conversions, that of Augustine is marked beyond all gainsaying as resembling that of Paul in its sudden decisiveness (though in both cases after long preparation), and as only second to that of the Apostle in its consequences to the Church. At the ensuing vintage vacation Augustine resigned his professorship, and retired into the country with his mother and some chosen friends. On Easter Eve (387) he was baptized by Ambrose, with his son Adeodatus and his friend Alypius, who afterwards became Bishop of Thagaste.

§ 5. Having sold his goods for the benefit of the poor, and devoted his life to the service of Christ, Augustine was induced by his mother to return to Africa. But they had only reached Ostia, to begin the voyage, when Monica died in her fifty-sixth year, in the arms of her son, rejoicing in the fulfilment of her unfailing faith and prayers for his conversion. Augustine remained above a year at Rome, where he wrote two books contrasting Christian and Manichean morality, and some other works. About the end of 388, he resumed his voyage to Carthage, and retired to a small estate at his native village, where he spent three years in meditation, study, and writing, with his friends Alypius and Euodius.

He was now so well known and esteemed, that he was afraid to show himself in any city where a bishopric was vacant; but he could not long escape ordination. He had accepted an invitation to Hippo, where there was no such vacancy, and was sitting as a hearer, when the bishop, Valerius, referred in his sermon to the need of another presbyter in the church. The acclamations of the people named Augustine for the office, and he reluctantly received ordination (391). Valerius, who, being a Greek, did not preach with ease in Latin, often put forward Augustine in the pulpit, and gave him a large share in the administration of the church. Four years later, on the ground of his own age and infirmity, Valerius obtained Augustine's[1] consecration as his colleague (393), and died shortly

[1] Both Augustine and Valerius were then ignorant that the eighth Nicene canon forbad the establishment of two bishops in the same city,

afterwards. Augustine held the bishopric for thirty-five years; and, though the city of Hippo ranked below Carthage, the character of its bishop made him the recognized leader of the African Church.[1] He led a life of mild asceticism with his clergy in the same house, which was also a school of theology, and sent forth ten bishops and many of the lower orders.[2] No woman was permitted to enter the house, or to see him alone; and the rule extended even to his sister, whom he set over one of the monasteries which he founded for women. He wore the black dress of the Eastern cœnobites, with a cowl and leathern girdle, and lived almost entirely on vegetables. The common meal was seasoned with reading and free conversation, in which the character of an absent person was never allowed to be touched. He preached frequently, often daily, in his own church, and whenever he visited the cities of the province. But by his letters and influence he laboured through the whole Western Church, and affected the Eastern also, especially in contending against the Manichean, Donatist, and Pelagian heresies. In his seventy-second year his friend Heraclius was chosen to be his colleague in the bishopric; and he died four years later during the siege of Hippo by the Vandals (Aug. 28th, 430). Thus, the greatest light of the African Church lived almost to witness the fatal blow given to it by these barbarous Arians. The library which, as his sole property, he left to the church, was preserved from the sack of the city, which was utterly destroyed by the Vandals, so that he had no successor in the bishopric.

§ 6. The vast body of works, on which Augustine laboured during his whole life, are divided into the following classes, besides some lost rhetorical essays and discourses written before his conversion:[3]

I. *Autobiographical,* including the *Confessions* and *Retractations,*

except in cases where one of them was a reconciled Novatianist (Possid. viii.; Robertson, vol. i. p. 413).

[1] His fame is still preserved by the name of *Rumi Kebir*, "the great Christian," by the Arabs of the city, which is best described in the words of Gibbon:—"The maritime colony of *Hippo*, about 200 miles west of Carthage, had formerly acquired the distinguishing epithet of *Regius*, from the residence of the Numidian kings; and some remains of trade and populousness still adhere to the modern city, which is known in Europe by the corrupted name of Bona." The modern town was built from the ruins of Hippo, at a distance of two miles, and was rebuilt by the French in 1832.

[2] "Combining, as he did, the clerical life with the monastic, he became unwittingly the founder of the Augustinian order, which gave the reformer Luther to the world" (Schaff, vol. iii. p. 994). The Augustine or Austin Friars appeared first in the eleventh century.

[3] Among these were a treatise "On the Beautiful and Fit" (*De Pulchro et Apto*), and Orations and Eulogies delivered at Carthage, Rome, and

the former acknowledging his personal sins, the latter his theoretical errors. The *Confessions*, written about A.D. 400, are in thirteen books: the first ten giving, in the form of a continuous prayer and confession to God, an account of his life down to his return to Africa; while the last three (with a part of the tenth) form an appendix treating of speculative and theological philosophy and the Mosaic cosmogony, in tacit opposition to the Manicheans. The Confessions proper form a book not to be described or praised, but to be read as the masterpiece of all similar works, which have more or less been modelled upon it. In the *Retractations*, written in 427, Augustine employed the evening of his life in reviewing his own works in chronological order, in the spirit of the texts which he quotes as mottoes:—"In the multitude of words, there wanteth not sin:"[1] and seeking to withdraw "every idle word" that he had uttered, before being called to "give account thereof in the day of judgment;"[2] for "if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged."[3] The result leaves the great features of his theological system untouched; but the spirit of the work makes it "one of the noblest sacrifices ever laid upon the altar of truth by a majestic intellect acting in obedience to the purest conscientiousness."[4] There is also a large autobiographical element in the numerous *Letters* of Augustine,[5] and in the *Questions* and *Answers*,[6] in which he embodied for general use his discussions of the many questions submitted to him by friends and pupils.

II. *Philosophical Works*, partaking also of a theological character, in the form of Dialogues, composed partly in his retirement at the Villa Cassiciacum, near Milan, where he spent half a year before his baptism in instructive and stimulating conversation, in a sort of Academy or Christian Platonic banquet, with Monica, his son Adeodatus, his brother Navigius, his friend Alypius, and some cousins and pupils; and partly during his second residence at Rome, and his retirement after returning to Africa.[7] "These works exhibit as yet little that is specifically Christian or churchly; but they show a Platonism seized and consecrated by the spirit of Christianity, full of high thoughts, ideal views, and discriminating argument. They were designed to present the different stages of

Milan; besides works on grammar, dialectics, rhetoric, geometry, and arithmetic. The works of this class in the Appendix to the Benedictine editions are spurious, though some of them still find defenders.

[1] Prov. x. 19. [2] Matt. xii. 36. [3] 1 Cor. xi. 31.

[4] Morell Mackenzie, in Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Biog.*, Art. AUGUSTINUS.

[5] The Benedictine edition gives 270 (including Letters to Augustine) in chronological order, from A.D. 386 to 429.

[6] *Quæstiones* and *Responsiones*.

[7] It is unnecessary to enumerate these works.

human thought by which he himself had reached the knowledge of the truth, and to serve others as steps to the sanctuary. They form an elementary introduction to his theology. He afterwards, in his *Retractations*, withdrew many things contained in them."[1] But the philosophical element pervaded all his works; and, by his refutation of the Pagan and Manichean systems, and his profound discussions of Divine omnipotence and human freedom, of the origin of evil, and other foundations of human life in its relation to God, he has done more service to true philosophy than any other Father.

III. Among his *Apologetic Works*, that on the "City of God" stands pre-eminent. It was called forth by the great crisis of the falling Empire of Rome, when the Pagans renewed the old argument against Christianity, that the gods of the State were proving their anger for its apostasy from the old worship.

The capture of Rome by the Goths (410) was the immediate occasion of the work, which Augustine began in 413 and finished in 426. Its object is to contrast the cities of earth, the human polities which are transitory in their very nature—from the beginning of the world to imperial Rome—with the eternal "city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God."[2] The first ten books meet the objections to Christianity from the calamities of the times, and other arguments for heathenism; the other ten contrast the worldly and spiritual polities in their origin, their course, and their end. The work forms a fit climax to the series of early Christian apologies, as well as "the first attempt at a comprehensive philosophy of history under the view of two antagonist currents or organized forces, a kingdom of this world, which is doomed to final destruction, and a kingdom of God which will last for ever."[3]

IV. His *Theological Works* of a doctrinal character include a defence of faith against the Gnostic knowledge (392);[4] a Discourse on the Apostles' Creed[5] delivered before a Council at Hippo, at the request of the bishops, while Augustine was still a presbyter (393); four books On Christian Doctrine[6] (397–426), and another catechetical manual;[7] and a compendium of Christian Faith and Morals, written towards the close of his life at the request of Laurentius (421 or later).[8]

V. Augustine's *Polemic* writings are at once the most copious source of information on the history of doctrine in the primitive

[1] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 1008. [2] Heb. xi. 10, 16. [3] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 1011.
[4] *De Utilitate credendi.* [5] *De Fide et Symbolo.*
[6] *De Doctrina Christiana*, Libri iv.
[7] *De catechizandis rudibus.*
[8] *Enchiridion*, or *De Fide, Spe, et Caritate*, also entitled *Manuale ad Laurentium.*

Church, and the fullest exponent of the theology which he developed in conflict with all the chief heresies of his age. Two are of a general character: that *On the True Religion* (390),[1] maintaining that it was to be found with the Catholic Church, and not with the heretics and schismatics; and that *On Heresies*,[2] giving an account of 88 heretical sects, from the Simonians to the Pelagians (428–430). His special controversial works are a multitude of tracts against the particular heresies of Manicheism, Donatism, Arianism, Pelagianism, and semi-Pelagianism, equally remarkable for their force of argument and their freedom from personal antipathy.

VI. His *Exegetical* works, in the form of Commentaries and Homilies, are more remarkable for edifying thought than critical exposition. For the niceties of criticism he was ill-fitted by the habit of his mind, which turned rather to general views of truth, and also by his ignorance of Hebrew and his imperfect knowledge of Greek.

VII. His *Practical* and *Ascetic* works comprise 396 short Discourses on Scripture texts, festivals, the lives of Apostles, saints, and martyrs, and other themes, and various treatises on morals and the ascetic and monastic life.

§ 7. Augustine is conspicuous above all the Fathers, and indeed above all Christian teachers between St. Paul, his great teacher, and Luther, his disciple, for his influence on the formation of doctrinal theology, especially in the Western Church. It was through his efforts that the Canon of Scripture (inclusive, however, of the Apocrypha) was finally settled in its present form by the Councils of Hippo (393) and Carthage (397). From him the Manichean heresy received its deathblow, and the Nicene doctrine of the Trinity was developed by the double procession of the Holy Ghost, as a fixed article in the creed of the Western Church. The questions about the twofold nature of Christ only began to agitate the East about the time of his death;[3] but he had already announced the formula of Pope Leo the Great, "Two natures in one person." But Augustine's chief distinction is as "the principal theological creator of the *Latin-Catholic* system, as distinct from the Greek Catholicism, on the one hand, and from evangelical Protestantism on the other. He ruled the entire theology of the Middle Age, and became the father of scholasticism in virtue of his dialectic mind, and the father of mysticism in virtue of his

[1] *De Vera Religione.*

[2] *De Hæresibus ad Quodvultdeum;* addressed to a deacon at Carthage.

[3] "He was summoned to the Council of Ephesus, which condemned Nestorianism in 431, but died a year before it met. He prevailed upon the Gallic monk, Leporius, to retract Nestorianism. His Christology is in many points defective and obscure." (Schaff, vol. iii. p. 1018.)

devout heart, without being responsible for the excesses of either system."[1] "He had a creative and decisive hand in almost every dogma of the Church, completing some and advancing others. The centre of his system is the *free redeeming grace of God in Christ, operating through the actual historical Church.* He is Evangelical or Pauline in his doctrine of sin and grace, but Catholic (that is Old Catholic, not Roman Catholic) in his doctrine of the Church. The Pauline element comes forward mainly in the *Pelagian* controversy, the Catholic-churchly in the *Donatist;* but each is modified by the other."[2]

§ 8. Augustine's part in the Donatist controversy has already been noticed;[3] the *Pelagian* is of deeper and more universal interest, involving the great questions of man's sinful nature and his redemption, of God's sovereign grace, and its harmony with the free will of man. Before Augustine, we find no attempt to give definite form to these doctrines, beyond the common assertion of man's moral apostasy and accountability, the curse of sin and the need of redeeming grace. The Greek fathers insisted most on the freedom of man's co-operation with divine grace, in opposition to Gnostic dualism and fatalism, while the Latin fathers laid the greater stress on man's hereditary sin and guilt and God's sovereign grace. It was through Augustine's teaching that the Western Church affirmed the supremacy of the divine part in the whole work of redemption, from its eternal design to its eternal accomplishment, making even human freedom to will good the fruit of divine grace, so as to give God all the glory; while Pelagianism ascribes the chief part to man's free will and effort, and reduces divine grace to a mere auxiliary in the work of conversion and holiness.[4]

§ 9. PELAGIUS,[5] a native British monk, born about the middle of

[1] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 1018.

[2] Ibid., pp. 998, 999. The same historian observes that Augustine "adopted Cyprian's doctrine of the Church, and completed it in the conflict with Donatism by transferring the predicates of unity, holiness, universality, exclusiveness, and maternity, directly to the actual Church of the time, with a firm episcopal organization, an unbroken succession, and the Apostles' Creed."

[3] Chap. X. § 9.

[4] The three forms of the doctrine have been described by the technical terms of the *synergism* (*i. e.* "working together") of the Greek Church, which makes the divine grace and human will co-ordinate powers; the *divine monergism* ("sole working") of Augustine; and the *human monergism* of Pelagius. The *semi-Pelagianism*, which prevailed in the West after the death of Augustine, and reappeared in the Protestant Church as *Arminianism*, has a close affinity to the Greek synergism.

[5] The name Πελάγιος (Pelagius) appears to have been assumed as the Greek and Latin equivalent (from πέλαγος, *pelagus*, "sea") of his native Celtic name *Mor-gan* (or *Mor-cant*, "sea-brink"), which marks him as a

the fourth century, is spoken of respectfully by his strongest opponents. His keen intellect was well trained by learning, especially in the Greek theology of the school of Antioch. His character was gentle and his life blameless; but his calm virtue was that of the self-reliant ascetic. In one of his letters he says, "As often as I have to speak concerning moral improvement and the leading of a holy life, I am accustomed first to set forth the power and quality of human nature, and to show what it can accomplish." We know nothing of his life till he appears at Rome, where, says Augustine, "he lived very long and kept the best company." There, already in advanced age (as he tells us himself), he wrote a brief Commentary on the Epistles of Paul (404);[1] and he gives, as an eye-witness, a vivid description of the sack of Rome by Alaric (410).[2]

In the course of his earnest labours to reform the morals of the corrupt city, he won over to the monastic life an advocate of distinguished birth, named Cœlestius. "It was from this man, younger, more skilful in argument, more ready for controversy, and more rigorously consistent than his teacher, that the controversy took its rise. Pelagius was the moral author, Cœlestius the intellectual author, of the system represented by them. They did not mean actually to found a new system, but believed themselves in accordance with Scripture and established doctrine. They were more concerned with the ethical side of Christianity than with the dogmatic; but their endeavour after moral perfection was based upon certain views of the natural power of the will, and these views proved to be in conflict with the anthropological principles which had been developed in the African church for the previous ten years under the influence of Augustine."[3]

§ 10. When the two friends passed over from Italy to Africa, in 411, they seem to have had so little fear of being regarded as heretics, that they went first to Hippo in order to visit Augustine. He, being absent at Carthage, replied in a cordial tone to a letter addressed to him by Pelagius. At Carthage, however, the desire of Cœlestius to be ordained a presbyter called forth a discussion of his opinions; and Paulinus, a deacon of Milan,[4] charged him, before a council at Carthage (412), with several errors discovered in his

native of the sea-shore. The famous monastery of Bangor-ys-coed ("Bangor under the wood"), for which he is sometimes claimed, was founded a century after he left Britain.

[1] "This Commentary, which has been preserved among the works of Jerome, displays a clear and sober exegetical talent." (Schaff, vol. iii. p. 791.)

[2] *Epist. ad Demetriam, ap.* Augustin. *Epist.* No. 142.

[3] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 792.

[4] Paulinus afterwards wrote the Life of Ambrose at the request of Augustine.

works. The most important of these were the following:—That Adam was created mortal, and would have died, even if he had not sinned; that Adam's fall injured himself alone, not the human race; that, consequently, children come into the world in the same condition in which Adam was before the fall; that the human race neither dies in consequence of Adam's fall, nor rises again in consequence of Christ's resurrection; that the Law, as well as the Gospel, leads to the kingdom of heaven; that even before Christ there were sinless men; and that children dying in infancy, even though unbaptized, have eternal life. Instead of meeting the charge by directly defending or disowning these propositions, Cœlestius treated them as mere speculative questions, on which different opinions were held in the Church. On his refusing to recant, he was excommunicated by the synod; and he took his departure for Asia, where he was ordained a presbyter at Ephesus. His doctrines, however, spread both in Africa and Sicily; and Augustine, who had taken no part in these proceedings, wrote several tracts against the new opinions, but in a tone of respect and forbearance towards Pelagius himself (412–415).

§ 11. Meanwhile Pelagius had gone to Palestine and gained many followers, especially among the Origenists. Jerome wrote against him with characteristic vehemence, while contemptuously avoiding the mention of his name. But the opposition of Jerome, besides its strong personal spirit, was rather against the supposed Origenism of Pelagius, than from zeal for the Augustinian doctrines; for even in his treatise against the Pelagians, which Augustine praises, his teaching on the freedom of the will and predestination is of a "semi-Pelagian" complexion.

The foremost antagonist of Pelagius was one of Jerome's pupils, Paulus Orosius, a young Spanish presbyter, who had been sent by Augustine to Jerome as the bearer of letters relating to the controversy, and had stayed to study under the great teacher in Palestine. He came forward as the accuser of Pelagius at a synod held by John, bishop of Jerusalem, stating that Cœlestius had been condemned at Carthage, and that Augustine had written against his opinions. John, who was a great admirer of Origen, showed a strong leaning to Pelagius, and gave great offence to the other party by permitting him, though he was only a layman, to sit among the presbyters. As both parties belonged to the Western Church, the synod determined to refer the controversy to the Bishop of Rome, Innocent I. (402-417); and, meanwhile, a second synod, held at Lydda (Diospolis), acquitted Pelagius of participation in the opinions of Cœlestius, which he himself somewhat disingenuously spoke of as foolish but not heretical.

§ 12. In 416 Pelagianism was again condemned by two North African synods, and their sentences were communicated to Pope Innocent, whose judgment was also requested in a confidential letter from Augustine and four other African bishops. He seized the occasion to praise the Africans for referring the matter to the Church of St. Peter, and fully approved their condemnation of Cœlestius and Pelagius. A letter, which Pelagius had written in defence of his orthodoxy, did not reach Rome till the death of Innocent (417). His successor, Zosimus (417–418), listened with favour to these assurances, as well as to those of Cœlestius, who now came to Rome; and he addressed strong letters of censure to the African bishops, whom he enjoined to submit to the authority of the Roman see. They, however, met at Carthage, to protest against the judgment of Zosimus, and drew up eight (or nine) canons defining and anathematizing the Pelagian heresies (418). They also obtained edicts from the Emperor Honorius against the Pelagians. Zosimus, who had a very imperfect understanding of the controversy, now turned right round, and issued an encyclical letter to all bishops of the East and West, anathematizing Pelagius and Cœlestius, approving the decisions of the Council of Carthage, and pronouncing sentence of deposition and banishment on all who should refuse to subscribe the encyclical (418). Eighteen Italian bishops were accordingly deposed; but most of them recanted and were restored. One of their number, however, Julian, of Eclanum in Campania, proved himself, in banishment, the ablest, most learned, and most systematic defender of Pelagianism, and a vehement opponent of Augustine.[1] The exiled bishops, as well as Cœlestius, were received kindly at Constantinople by the patriarch Nestorius, but the Emperor Theodosius II. commanded them to leave the city (429).[2]

Two years later the third Œcumenical Council, at Ephesus, included Cœlestius in its condemnation of Nestorius, and communicated to Pope Celestine its approval of the acts of the Western councils against the Pelagians. "Pelagianism was thus externally vanquished. It never formed an ecclesiastical sect, but simply a theological school. It continued to have individual adherents in Italy till towards the middle of the fifth century, so that the Roman bishop, Leo the Great, found himself obliged to enjoin on the bishops by no means to receive any Pelagian to the communion of

[1] Augustine wrote a large treatise against Julian, *Contra Julianum Libri VI.*; and another, also in six books, which was left unfinished at his death, *Opus imperfectum contra secundam Juliani responsionem.*

[2] We have no information about the later life and death of Pelagius or Cœlestius. Julian is said to have ended his life as a schoolmaster in Sicily (A.D. 450), after giving up all his property for the poor during a famine.

the Church without an express recantation. . . . . The position of the Greek Church upon this question is only negative; she has in name condemned Pelagianism, but has never received the positive doctrines of Augustine. She continued to teach synergistic or semi-Pelagian views, without, however, entering into a deeper investigation of the relation of human freedom to divine grace."[1]

§ 13. Midway between the heresy of Pelagius and the Augustinian doctrines of free and irresistible grace and of absolute predestination, there arose a strong and highly-respected party in the Church, which advocated the views described in the Middle Ages by the term *Semi-pelagianism*. The leader of this party was a contemporary of Augustine, John Cassian, an eastern monk, whom we have mentioned as the founder of convents for men and women at Massilia;[2] and his opinions obtained much favour in Southern Gaul. It is needless here to describe the points of difference which Augustine himself regarded as not deviating from his doctrine in essentials.[3]

After the death of Augustine, the defence of his doctrines was zealously maintained in Gaul by two laymen, PROSPER of Aquitaine[4] and Hilarius. Going to Rome, they obtained from Pope Celestine a *Letter to the Bishops of Gaul*, eulogizing Augustine, and discouraging the whole controversy as unprofitable (431). The Semi-Arian views were upheld by the famous S. Vincent of Lerins and by Faustus, bishop of Riez (towards the end of the 5th century), who wrote a celebrated treatise "On Grace and Free Will." But the writings of Faustus were condemned by Pope Gelasius in a decretal epistle;[5] and the Semi-pelagian tenets were condemned by synods at Orange (529) and Valence (530). But the views of Cassian were still widely popular, especially among the monks; and we shall see them ultimately prevailing in the Gallican Church (Chap. XXII. §§ 14–18).

[1] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 801.

[2] Chap. XII. § 18; where see also what is said of Vincentius Lerinensis. The principal work of John Cassian is his 'Conferences' of Egyptian monks on true asceticism (*Viginti quatuor Collationes Patrum*).

[3] See the treatises *De Prædestinatione Sanctorum* and *De Dono Perseverantiæ*, in which he combats the opinions of Cassianus and his followers, while speaking of them personally with high regard.

[4] Besides his numerous tracts on this controversy, Prosper wrote *Poems*, and a *Chronicle* (if not two: see *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography*, *s. v.*)

[5] Patrolog. lix. 164. This decretal "is memorable as containing the earliest Roman catalogue of forbidden books."—Robertson, vol. i. p. 549.



Ancient Syrian Church of the Sixth Century.

CHAPTER XV.

THE NESTORIAN AND EUTYCHIAN CONTROVERSIES.

TO THE FOURTH GENERAL COUNCIL AT CHALCEDON, A.D. 451.

§ 1. *Christological Controversies*, on the Divine and Human Natures in Christ—Opposite Views of the Schools of Alexandria and Antioch—Part taken by the Roman Church—The five Stages of the Controversy. § 2. The *Apollinarian Heresy*. § 3. The *Nestorian Controversy*—DIODORUS of Tarsus and THEODORE of Mopsuestia—NESTORIUS, Patriarch of Constantinople, preaches against the epithet *Theotokos*, "Mother of God." § 4. He is condemned by CYRIL of Alexandria and Pope CELESTINE—Part taken by JOHN of Antioch and THEODORET, Bishop of Cyrus. § 5. The Third *Œcumenical Council* at Ephesus—The parties of Cyril and Nestorius condemn each other—Feeble Decision of THEODOSIUS II.—A compromise is effected, and Nestorius made the victim. § 6. Continuance of the Nestorian Doctrines at Edessa—The Nestorian Church in Persia. § 7. Its missionary and civilizing energy—In Arabia—In India: the "Christians of St. Thomas"—In Central Asia: "Prester John"—

The present Nestorians—§ 8. The *Eutychian Controversy*—DIOSCURUS of Alexandria—Monophysite Doctrine of EUTYCHES—Combatted by THEODORET—FLAVIAN, Patriarch of Constantinople—Pope LEO I. THE GREAT: his *Letter to Flavian*. § 9. The *Latrocinium*, or Robber Synod of Ephesus—Deposition and Murder of Flavian. § 10. MARCIAN succeeds Theodosius II.—The Fourth *Œcumenical Council*, at Chalcedon—Condemnation of Dioscurus and the Robber Synod—New Confession of Faith—The See of Constantinople declared second to Rome, with equal rights.

§ 1. THE greatest divisions of theological opinion in the Church have always arisen from attempts to reconcile co-ordinate truths, each resting on its own evidence, but the one seeming logically to exclude the other. While the Western Church was agitated by the great question between divine sovereignty and man's free will, the Eastern Church was disputing over another stage in the controversy concerning the divine and human natures in Christ. The Arian controversy, which had been concerned chiefly with the essential relations of the Word or Son of God to the Father, in their co-existence from the past eternity, was succeeded by another concerning the relation between the divine and human natures in the person of the incarnate Christ.[1] The seeds of this controversy also may be found in the fertile and suggestive speculations of Origen. The Alexandrian school, imbued with his mystical spirit, regarded the union of the two natures in Christ as so complete, as to seem to merge his humanity in his divinity, or at least to mix the human nature with the divine; a view which was afterwards developed into the *Monophysite*[2] heresy. The school of Antioch or Syria, led by Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, inclined to the opposite extreme of an abstract separation of the two natures. "In both cases, the mystery of the incarnation, the veritable and permanent union of the divine and human in the one person of Christ, which is essential to the idea of a Redeemer and Mediator, is more or less weakened or altered. In the former case the incarnation becomes a *transmutation* or *mixture*[3] of the divine and human; in the latter a mere *indwelling*[4] of the Logos in the man, or a *moral union*[5] of the two natures, or rather of the two persons. It was now the problem of the Church, in opposition to both these extremes, to assert the

[1] As, in the technical language of the Church historians, the former controversy has been called *theological*, so the latter is styled *christological*, and its subject *christology*. The Pelagian controversy is, in like manner, distinguished by the terms *anthropology* and *anthropological*.

[2] That is, the recognition of only one nature in the incarnate God: from *μόνος*, *sole*, and *φύσις*, *nature*. The student should remember the *quantity* of the *ŭ*, *Monophўsite*.

[3] Σύγκρασις. [4] Ἐνοίκησις. [5] Συνάφεια.

personal unity and the *distinction of the two natures* in Christ with equal solicitude and precision. This she did through the Christological controversies which agitated the Greek Church for more than two hundred years with extraordinary violence. The Roman Church, though in general much more calm, took an equally deep interest in this work by some of its most eminent leaders, and twice decided the victory of orthodoxy, at the Fourth General Council and at the Sixth, by the powerful influence of the Bishop of Rome."[1] The whole course of the controversy includes five successive stages: (1) The *Apollinarian* controversy, on the question of the full humanity of Christ; (2) The *Nestorian* controversy, down to the rejection of the *double personality* of Christ by the Third Œcumenical Council, at Ephesus (A.D. 431); (3) The *Eutychian* controversy, to the condemnation of the doctrine of *one nature* only in the person of Christ by the Fourth Œcumenical Council, at Chalcedon (A.D. 451); (4) The *Monophysite* controversy, to the Fifth General Council, at Constantinople, A.D. 553; (5) The *Monothelite* controversy, ending with the rejection of the doctrine of *one will*, by the Sixth General Council, at Constantinople (A.D. 680).

§ 2. We have already had occasion to speak of the two theologians of the Alexandrian school, named Apollinaris, or more properly Apollinarius,[2] father and son, who, in their zeal for the Nicene doctrine, denied the existence of a rational human soul in Jesus Christ, and contended that the place of such a soul was supplied by the divine Logos. The doctrine was first suggested by the elder Apollinaris, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, and more fully developed by the younger, who was a presbyter of the same church. It was at first treated as a speculation rather than a heresy. It was rejected by a council at Alexandria (362), but without condemning its author; and Athanasius, who highly esteemed the younger Apollinaris for his services to the Catholic cause, wrote against his errors without naming him.[3] It was not till 375 that he began to form a separate heretical sect; and he died in 390.

His followers diverged into various modes of stating his opinions, in opposition to which the Catholic Church insisted on the full and perfect humanity of Christ, in soul as well as body and animal life. The Apollinarians were condemned by councils at Rome, under Bishop Damasus (377 and 378), and by the General Council of

[1] Schaff, vol. iii. pp. 707–8.

[2] The name *Apollinarius* (Ἀπολλινάριος) is given by all the Greek Fathers, and by Jerome (*Vir. Illust.* c. 104): but the form *Apollinaris* is used by most ecclesiastical historians.

[3] Epiphanius, in relating the beginning of the controversy, speaks of him as "the aged and venerable Apollinaris of Laodicea, dear even to the blessed father Athanasius, and, in fact, to all the orthodox."

Constantinople (381); and imperial decrees were directed against them (388, 397, and 428). The remains of the sect were ultimately merged in that of the Monophysites.

§ 3. A view directly opposite to the Apollinarian was developed in the same and the succeeding period by two distinguished theologians of the school of Antioch—DIODORUS, bishop of Tarsus (*ob.* 394), and THEODORE, bishop of Mopsuestia, in Cilicia (393–428), who virtually represented Christ as having a twofold personality, by the complete distinction of his divine and human natures. But the heretical sect which maintained this view derived its name from NESTORIUS, who was at first a monk, then a presbyter at Antioch, and finally Patriarch of Constantinople (A.D. 428). "He was an honest man, of great eloquence, monastic piety, and with the spirit of a zealot for orthodoxy; but impetuous, vain, imprudent, and wanting in sound practical judgment. In his inaugural sermon he addressed Theodosius II. with these words:—'Give me, O Emperor, the earth purified of heretics, and I will give thee heaven for it; help me to fight the heretics, and I will help thee to fight the Persians.'"[1] He obtained from the Emperor new edicts against the Arians, Novatians, and other heretics; but, as we have seen, he endeavoured to protect the Pelagians, with whom he sympathised in their doctrine of free will, but not in their denial of original sin. It was his very zeal for the purity of Christian doctrine that made Nestorius an unintentional heresiarch.

The extreme zeal for Nicene orthodoxy, joined with a tendency to the beginnings of Mariolatry, had introduced into the worship of the Church, at Constantinople and elsewhere, the epithet "Mother of God,"[2] which had already been applied to the Virgin Mary by Origen and some of the fathers of the Alexandrian school, as Alexander, Athanasius, and Basil. Of course none of them used the term in the absurd and blasphemous sense that a creature could give birth to the Creator, but to signify that Jesus Christ had, at his very birth, the perfect union of the divine and human natures. But the Antiochene theologians maintained that Mary could only give birth to the human person of Christ, which became the dwelling-place of the Deity. Thus Theodore of Mopsuestia, objecting vehemently to the term *theotokos*, says, "Mary bore Jesus, not the Logos, for the Logos was, and continues to be, omnipresent, though He dwelt in Jesus in a special manner from the beginning. Therefore Mary is strictly the mother of *Christ*, not the mother of *God*. Only in a figure can she be called also the mother of God, because God was in a peculiar sense in Christ.

[1] Socrates, *H. E.* vii. 29; Schaff, vol. iii. pp. 715–6.

[2] Θεοτόκος, *Deipara, genitrix Dei, mater Dei.*

Properly speaking, she gave birth to a man in whom the union with the Logos had begun, but was still so incomplete that he could not yet (till after his baptism) be called the Son of God."[1]

When Nestorius became Patriarch of Constantinople, he found, as he tells us, some calling Mary the Mother of God (*θεοτόκος*), while others called her the Mother of Man (*ἀνθρωποτόκος*). Following Theodore, he proposed the middle term, Mother of Christ (*Χριστοτόκος*); and both he and the presbyter Anastasius, whom he had brought from Antioch, preached against the objectionable phrase. Thenceforward the term became the watchword of what was soon called the Nestorian controversy, as the term *homoousios* had been of the Arian. The popular feeling was inflamed by the monks, who were generally of the Alexandrian school. They contradicted Nestorius in the pulpit and insulted him in the street; while he retaliated by calling in the civil power to punish the monks with imprisonment, and even corporal chastisement.

§ 4. The leader of the opposition at Constantinople was Proclus, bishop of Cyzicus, who proclaimed the honour due to the Virgin in the real spirit of Mariolatry. On the wider stage of the Church a far more important antagonist arose in CYRIL, bishop of Alexandria (from about A.D. 412); a man of great energy, and in learning far superior to Nestorius, but of a most passionate and disputatious temper, and surpassing in arrogance and violence his uncle and predecessor, Theophilus, the persecutor of Chrysostom. With him the dispute was quite as much one of ambition about the authority of the rival patriarchates, as of zeal for orthodox doctrine. Cyril wrote letters to Nestorius, to the Emperor Theodosius, his wife Eudocia and his sister Pulcheria, and finally to POPE CELESTINE I. (422–432), and various bishops both of the East and West. Celestine, already offended by the countenance which Nestorius had given to the Pelagians, held a council at Rome, which condemned and deposed Nestorius (430); a remarkable instance of authority assumed by Rome over Constantinople. Cyril, rejecting the proffered mediation of a fourth patriarch, John of Antioch, held a council at Alexandria, at the desire of Celestine, which pronounced twelve anathemas against Nestorius, who replied by twelve counter anathemas, charging his opponents with the Apollinarian heresy. Among the eminent men now drawn into the controversy was the great expositor and church historian, THEODORET, bishop of Cyrus in Syria (from about A.D. 420), who wrote against Cyril at the request of John of Antioch.

[1] Quoted by Schaff, vol. iii. p. 717. It will be seen how little this figurative sense, in which Theodore admits the use of the term, differs from the meaning with which it was adopted by the orthodox.

§ 5. The controversy seemed now to demand the decision of the universal Church; and the Emperors of the East and West, Theodosius II. and Valentinian III., convened a *Third Œcumenical Council* to meet at Ephesus,[1] at Pentecost, A.D. 431. Theodosius, unable to attend in person, was represented by Count Candidian, the captain of his body-guard. The Emperor gave his special protection to Nestorius, who was the first to arrive with sixteen bishops and an armed escort. But his party was far outnumbered by that of Cyril, who came attended by fifty Egyptian bishops, besides monks, *parabolani*,[2] slaves, and seamen, under the banner of St. Mark and the Holy Mother of God. His cause was supported by Memnon, archbishop of Ephesus, with forty suffragan bishops of Asia and twelve from Pamphylia, and by the general voice of the clergy and monks of Asia Minor. Pope Celestine was represented by two bishops and a presbyter, who affected the judicial authority of the Roman see, but were really on the side of Cyril.[3] But these papal envoys did not arrive till after the first sittings of the council, and the chief supporter of Nestorius, John of Antioch, was detained on the journey, with his bishops.

Without waiting for their arrival, Cyril opened the council (June 22nd), disregarding the protest of the imperial commissioner. Nestorius, who refused to appear till all the bishops should be assembled, was condemned by the unanimous voice of this imperfect council, who anathematized himself, his doctrine, his faith, his followers, and all who should hold fellowship with him or should refuse to anathematize him. This first sitting was closed, late at night, by the sentence of deposition, subscribed by about two hundred bishops:—"The Lord Jesus Christ, who is blasphemed by him, determines through this holy council that Nestorius be excluded from the episcopal office, and from all sacerdotal fellowship." The sentence was communicated to him next day by an edict, in which he was called a new Judas. But he sent an indignant protest to the Emperor, whose commissioner declared the decrees invalid. Under this official protection, John of Antioch, arriving a few days later with forty-two bishops, proceeded at once to hold a separate council in his own lodgings, which deposed Cyril and Memnon, and excommunicated the other bishops of their party. The ensuing scenes of mutual recrimination, intrigue, and violence

[1] With regard to the place of meeting, Schaff observes that it was "where the worship of the Virgin Mother of God had taken the place of the worship of the light and life dispensing virgin Diana;" and that the popular feeling at Ephesus, as at Constantinople, was in opposition to Nestorius.

[2] See above, Chap. XII. § 11.

[3] Augustine had been summoned by a special imperial mandate, but he died (as we have seen) the year before the council met (Aug. 28th, 430).

were disgraceful alike to both parties. When the papal envoys at length arrived, Cyril held a second session (July 10th), followed by five more, making seven in all, in which the council issued several circular letters and six canons against the Nestorians and Pelagians.

Both parties now appealed to the Emperor, whose favour for Nestorius was overpowered by the demonstrations of the monks and people of Constantinople. He adopted the feeble compromise of confirming the deposition alike of Nestorius and of Cyril and Memnon, and sent a high officer, John, to Ephesus, to publish the sentence, arrest the deposed bishops, and try to effect a reconciliation. The bishops of the majority, who claimed to be the Council, petitioned the Emperor to release Cyril and Memnon, as not having been deposed by them; while the other party attempted to vindicate their orthodoxy by transmitting to the Emperor a creed, in which the disputed word *theotokos* was admitted, as expressing the *unconfused union*[1] of the two natures in Christ. Theodosius summoned eight representatives of each party to argue the question before him at Chalcedon; amongst whom were the Roman deputies on the one side, and John of Antioch and Theodoret on the other. The conference, however, led to no result, and the Council of Ephesus was dissolved in October 431. Cyril and Memnon were set free from their prison at Ephesus; and, Nestorius having been already sent back to his cloister near Antioch, Maximian was appointed his successor in the see of Constantinople. The result, therefore, of these confused proceedings was to brand Nestorius with heresy.

Two years later the more moderate of the Antiochian party made a compromise with their victorious opponents. The patriarch John sent to Cyril a creed, drawn up by Theodoret, which asserted the twofold nature in Christ, but applied to Mary the phrase "Mother of God" to express the *union without confusion* of the divine and human natures,[2] and "because God the Logos was made flesh and man, and united with himself the temple (*i.e.* humanity), even from the conception; which temple he took from the Virgin." Cyril sent an answer, adopting this confession with some further explanations, and agreeing to the restoration of communion, on the condition that the condemnation of Nestorius should be confirmed. The Antiochenes accordingly joined in anathematizing his "wicked and profane innovations;" and the unhappy ex-patriarch was made the victim of restored peace. Dragged from his cloister, after four years of quiet retirement, to successive places of exile in Arabia and Egypt, he bore with meekness the perse-

[1] Ἀσύγχυτος ἕνωσις.
[2] Κατὰ ταύτην τὴν τῆς ἀσυγχύτου ἑνώσεως ἔννοιαν.

cutions he had once so arrogantly inflicted, and wrote the story of his own life under the title of a "Tragedy."[1] He died some time after 439, but the exact time and place are unknown; though tradition has assigned him a grave in Upper Egypt, upon which the Monophysite Jacobites annually cast stones in sign of execration. His writings were burnt by order of Theodosius II.; and the condemnation of Nestorius was extended to his deceased teacher, Theodore of Mopsuestia.

§ 6. The Nestorian doctrines, however, lingered in the famous theological school of Edessa, till it was dissolved by the Emperor Zeno (489). Several teachers of the school found a refuge in the neighbouring empire of Persia, where the Nestorian theology had already taken root; and they were favoured by the kings out of opposition to the Roman Empire. Barsumas, bishop of Nisibis (435–489),[2] founded a theological school, which greatly helped to perpetuate the Nestorian doctrines, as well as to spread Christianity in the East. Adopting the name of *Chaldæan* or *Assyrian Christians* (while called *Nestorians* by their opponents), they held a council at Seleucia on the Tigris, and renounced connection with the Church of the Roman Empire (498). They had a patriarch, whose see was first at Seleucia-Ctesiphon (496–762), and afterwards at Bagdad, where he bore the Arabic title of *Yazelich* (*catholicus*). In the thirteenth century he had no less than twenty-five metropolitans under him.

§ 7. The Nestorian Church well redeemed whatever taint of heresy hung about its origin by the missionary zeal which spread Christianity from Persia to Arabia and India, Tartary and China. With their religion, they diffused Greek and other learning, and founded schools and hospitals. It was from a Nestorian monk, named Sergius, that Mohammed is supposed to have derived his knowledge of Christianity; and the sect, protected by him, imparted to the Arabians much of the culture which they, in their turn, brought back to the West.[3] In India, the Nestorian missionaries have left the permanent fruit of their labours in the Christians of the Malabar coast, who, with less reason, trace their first evangelization to the Apostle Thomas. Next to him, they reverence the memory of Theodore and Nestorius in their Syriac liturgy, and they own subjection to the Nestorian patriarchs. With the exception of a

[1] See the Fragments in Evagrius, *H. E.* i. 7.

[2] This Barsumas must not be confounded with the contemporary Monophysite abbot Barsumas, a saint of the Jacobites.

[3] See the important remarks of Alexander von Humboldt (*Kosmos*, vol. ii. p. 247, f.) on the connection of Nestorianism with the culture and physical science of the Arabians, quoted by Schaff, vol. iii. pp. 731–2.

compulsory connection with Rome through the agency of the Jesuits under the Portuguese rule in that part of India (1599–1663), they have enjoyed the free exercise of their religion. They now form a community of about 70,000 souls under their priests and elders.

The Christianity founded by the Nestorians in Central Asia was famed throughout Europe in the Middle Ages by the fabulous accounts of their convert, the priest-king John (*Prester John*), of the Kerait, to whom several Popes sent unsuccessful missions. This Christian state, if it ever existed, was overthrown by Zenghis Khan, and very slight traces of Nestorian Christianity are left in Tartary and China. In their chief seats on the Tigris and Euphrates, the Nestorians were cruelly persecuted by the Mongols, and they were almost exterminated by Timour (Tamerlane) at the end of the fourteenth century. A remnant still survives in Kurdistan and Armenia, under a patriarch, whose seat was at Mosul on the Tigris,[1] from 1559 to the seventeenth century, and since then in a retired valley on the borders of Turkey and Persia. The people are poor and ignorant, and have been much reduced by war, plague, and cholera. They are, however, willing recipients of the teaching of Protestant missionaries; and hopes are entertained of their proving the best medium for again spreading Christianity among their Mohammedan neighbours, as their ancestors did among the heathen.[2] Another portion of the Nestorians, especially those in the cities, have joined the Roman Catholic communion. They are called Chaldæans—the ancient name of the whole community—and are under the government of a patriarch at Bagdad.

§ 8. The Nestorian controversy was speedily followed by, or rather naturally gave birth to, the *Eutychian*, in which the orthodox and heretical parties in some degree changed places, by a reaction against the Alexandrian doctrine. The Council of Ephesus, in condemning Nestorius, attempted no definition of the orthodox view of the two natures in Christ. The creed adopted as a compromise was distasteful to many of Cyril's followers, and he himself explained it quite differently from Theodoret and the other divines of Antioch.

On his death, in 444, he was succeeded by Dioscurus (444–451), a man of far less ability, and of a still more passionate and ambitious spirit, who aimed at exalting his see to supremacy over the Eastern Church. With this view he put himself at the head of the Monophysite party, in open antagonism to the school of Antioch.

[1] This town is on the west bank of the Tigris, opposite to the site of Nineveh.

[2] The mission to the Nestorians is conducted by the American Board of Foreign Missions.

The chief theological champion of the Monophysite doctrine was EUTYCHES, an aged presbyter and archimandrite in Constantinople, respected for his personal character, but described by Pope Leo the Great as "very ignorant and unskilled." He maintained that our Lord, after his incarnation, had not in any sense two natures, but one only, and this the nature of God who had become flesh and man. "The impersonal human nature is assimilated and, as it were, deified by the personal Logos, so that his body is by no means of the same substance (*ὁμοούσιον*) with ours, but a divine body. All human attributes are transferred to the one substance, the humanized Logos. Hence it may and must be said: God is born; God suffered; God was crucified and died. He asserted, therefore, on the one hand, the capability of suffering and death in the Logos-personality, and, on the other hand, the deification of the human in Christ."[1]

Theodoret attacked the Eutychian doctrine as a compound of various heresies, and defended the Antiochian confession in three dialogues (447); and he was supported by Domnus, patriarch of Antioch, against the charge of dualizing heresy brought against him by Dioscurus. Both parties sought support from the imperial court, and the controversy was transferred to Constantinople. At a synod held by the patriarch Flavian, Eutyches was deposed and excommunicated, and the council adopted the confession, "that Christ, after the incarnation, consisted of two natures in one substance (*hypostasis*) and in one person, one Christ, one Son, one Lord" (448). This decision was approved by the authority of LEO I., bishop of Rome (440–461), surnamed THE GREAT, who now appears in the character, which he maintained during his pontificate, of arbiter in the disputes of the Eastern Church. He expressed his opinion in several letters, especially one to Flavian, "which forms an epoch in the history of Christology, and in which he gave a masterly, profound, and clear analysis of the orthodox doctrine of two natures in one person" (449).[2]

§ 9. Dioscurus now prevailed on the Emperor to summon a General Council, which met, like the last, at Ephesus (August 449), and well earned the designation of *Latrocinium* or *Synod of Robbers*.[3] A hundred and thirty-five bishops met under the presidency of Dioscurus, who was supported by an armed guard and a

[1] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 737.

[2] Ibid., vol. iii. p. 738. This *Epistola Dogmatica ad Flavianum* was sent with another addressed to the Council of Ephesus; and the two were afterwards adopted, under the name of the "Tome of St. Leo," by the Council of Chalcedon, and obtained almost the authority of a creed. Some, indeed regarded it as a miraculous production, corrected by St. Peter himself.

[3] *Σύνοδος λῃστρική, Latrocinium Ephesinum.* It is first so called by Leo the Great, in a letter to Pulcheria (July 20th, 451). On account of its

more formidable force of monks and *parabolani*. The delegates of Leo could not obtain a hearing for his Epistle to the Council. Eusebius of Dorylæum, who had accused Eutyches at Constantinople, was howled down by the monks with cries of "Let him be burnt alive! As he has cut Christ in two, so let Eusebius be cut in two." Eutyches was at once absolved, on repeating the Nicene Creed and anathematizing all heresies. Then the condemnation of Flavian and Eusebius was loudly demanded, especially by the monks of Eutyches; and Dioscurus hastened to proclaim their deposition. In vain did Flavian protest against this violent assumption; and when the Bishop of Iconium, clasping the knees of Dioscurus, entreated him not to proceed, the haughty president exclaimed, "Would you make a sedition? Where are the guards?" As if by a preconcerted signal, the soldiers rushed in, armed with swords and clubs, and carrying chains and fetters, followed by a mob of monks and *parabolani*. The bishops of Flavian's party were beaten and carried off in chains, and he himself was so maltreated that he died of his wounds three days later, at an obscure village in Lydia, to which he was banished by the council; all the members having been awed by this violence into signing his deposition. The deacon Hilarus, who alone refused, had to fly for his life, and, after many hardships on his long journey, carried to Leo the report of this miscalled "Council of the Universal Church." Not only Flavian, but Domnus, Theodoret, and Leo himself were included in the sentence of deposition and excommunication. The decrees of the council and its sentences against the bishops were ratified by the imperial edicts of Theodosius II. and Valentinian III.

§ 10. On the arrival of Hilarus at Rome, Leo convened a synod, which pronounced the proceedings at Ephesus null and void; and he addressed letters of protest to Theodosius and his sister Pulcheria, and to the Church at Constantinople. Theodoret also appealed to the Emperor against the sentence of deposition. Though Leo won the sympathy of Valentinian and his mother Placidia, when they visited Rome at the Feast of St. Peter (450), Theodosius persisted in approving the acts of the "Robber Synod;" but his death in the same year (July) made a complete doctrinal revolution. The able and virtuous senator MARCIAN, who succeeded to the Eastern Empire by his marriage with Pulcheria, the sister and heiress of Theodosius, was favourable to Leo; and the new patriarch Anatolius, though appointed Flavian's successor by the influence of Dioscurus, now took the same side.

outrageous violence, and still more because of the reversal of its proceedings by the Council of Chalcedon, this synod is not included in the list of Œcumenical Councils.

In May 451, Marcian convened a *Fourth Œcumenical Council* to meet, not however in Italy, as Leo wished, but in the East, at Nicæa, in the hope that it might rank with the First Council in authority and in restoring peace to the Church. Such, however, was the tumultuous behaviour of the two parties on their assembling, that the sittings were at once transferred to Chalcedon, on the bank of the Bosporus opposite to Constantinople. The council, which was opened in the church of St. Euphemia on the 8th of October, 451, was the most numerous of all the Œcumenical Councils,[1] and only second in doctrinal importance to that of Nicæa. It was composed entirely of Oriental bishops, with the exception of two Roman bishops and a presbyter, as the delegates of Leo, and two African bishops. But the Western Church was not ill represented by the high authority which Leo had earned in the controversy, and his legates now first took the place of clerical presidents in an Œcumenical Council.

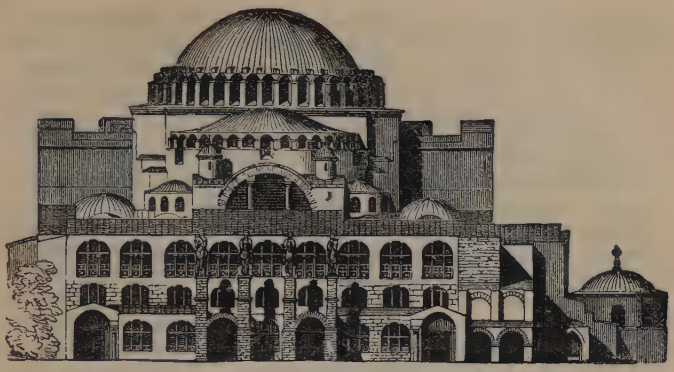
The six lay commissioners,[2] who presided as representatives of the Emperor, had some trouble in calling the bishops to a sense of the indecency of the tumultuous cries[3] with which each party assailed its opponents, especially Theodoret on the one side, and Dioscurus on the other. The outcry against Theodoret was only appeased by his consenting to anathematize Nestorius and all who did not call Mary the "Mother of God," or who divided the one Christ into two Sons. But the indignation against Eutyches and the Robber Synod was so much the stronger, that most of the Egyptians went over to the other side. At the first sitting the proceedings of the Robber Synod were annulled, the orthodoxy of Flavian was affirmed, and Dioscurus, after vainly seeking to extenuate his share in the violence perpetrated at Ephesus, was deposed and committed to custody. The second session was occupied in reading the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed,[4] two letters of Cyril, and Leo's famous Letter to Flavian, which was greeted with applause and cries of "This is the faith of the Fathers! This is the faith of the Apostles! So we all believe! Anathema to him who believes otherwise! Even so did Cyril teach. Peter hath spoken by Leo." The third session was held for the formal trial of Dioscurus on various charges of avarice, injustice, and immorality; and being thrice cited without appearing, he was deposed from the clerical office, and afterwards banished by the Emperor to Gangra, in Paphlagonia, where he died three years later. Eutyches was likewise banished.

[1] The number of bishops is variously stated, from 520 to 630.
[2] Ἄρχοντες, *judices*.
[3] Ἐκβοήσεις δημοτικαί.
[4] See Chap. XI. § 7.

The fourth and fifth sessions were devoted to the most important work of adopting a confession of the Catholic faith, consisting of the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed, with the addition of a statement of the doctrine in dispute (almost in the terms of Leo's Epistle), by which Christ is "acknowledged in two natures,[1] without confusion, without conversion, without severance, and without division." On the public reading of this confession, all the bishops repeated the cry, "This is the faith of the Fathers! This is the faith of the Apostles! To this we all agree! Thus we all think!" Their concord was confirmed by those anathemas on all dissentients, without which no affirmation of the truth was now thought valid. The formal ratification of the new creed was made at the sixth session, in presence of the Emperor and Empress, who were hailed as another Constantine and Helena. When Marcian gave thanks to God for the restoration of the true faith, and promised to punish all authors of new controversies, the bishops exclaimed, "Thou art both priest and king, victor in war, and teacher of the faith."

The remaining sessions, making sixteen in all, were occupied with various matters of jurisdiction and order, and with the enactment of 28 canons, by the last of which the Patriarch of Constantinople was declared second in rank to the Bishop of Rome, but with equal rights. Leo protested against this canon, because it was based on the civil rank of the two capitals. For the see of Rome he claimed the supremacy and authority derived from its founder, St. Peter, the chief of the Apostles; while he objected to the elevation of Constantinople above the apostolic sees of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. The Council ended on the 1st of November. Its decrees were accepted by both the Eastern and Western churches, and effect was given to them by imperial edicts which condemned all Eutychians to banishment and their writings to the flames.

[1] There are two readings of this phrase: the present Greek text having ἐκ δύο φύσεων ("*of* two natures"), and another reading, preserved in the Latin version, ἐν δύο φύσεσιν, *in duabus naturis*. The latter appears to be the original form, directed expressly against the Monophysite error, in the interest of which the ἐν may have been changed to ἐκ, as if it might mean one nature arising out of the confluence of two. (See the full discussion of Schaff, vol. iii. p. 745.)



St. Sophia, at Constantinople.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE MONOPHYSITE AND MONOTHELITE CONTROVERSIES IN THE EASTERN CHURCH.

FROM THE COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON TO THE SIXTH GENERAL COUNCIL AT CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 451–681.

§ 1. Sequel of the *Monophysite Controversy*—Violent Conflict of the Parties—Schisms at Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch—The Emperor LEO I. enforces the Decrees of Chalcedon. § 2. Accession of ZENO and usurpation of BASILISCUS, who supports the Monophysites—Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople—Restoration of ZENO. § 3. Fall of the Western Empire; but nominal perpetuation of the Roman Empire, with Zeno as sole Emperor—Influence on the Eastern Empire and the Papal Power. § 4. The *Henoticon* of Zeno: its failure—Schism between Rome and Constantinople—State of Parties at the time of Zeno's death. § 5. The Emperor ANASTASIUS—Deposition of Bishops—Riots at Constantinople. § 6. JUSTIN I.—Restoration of Orthodoxy—Reconciliation with Rome. § 7. Edicts against Heretics—Remonstrances of THEODORIC, King of Italy—Embassy of Pope John I. to Constantinople—His return and imprisonment by Theodoric. § 8. JUSTINIAN I.—His character and religious policy—The Church of St. Sophia—The Schools of Athens closed—Laws against Pagans and Heretics. § 9. The Empress Theodora supports the Monophysites—The Patriarch Anthimus—Popes Silverius and Vigilius. § 10. Renewal of the Origenist Disputes in Palestine—Theodore Ascidas—Edict against the "Three Articles" of Nestorianism—Pope Vigilius at Constantinople—His Quarrel with the Emperor. § 11. The *Fifth General Council*, the Second of Constantinople, condemns the Three Articles—Partial Reaction against Monophytism—Political Result;

Byzantine Church constitution — Schism in the Western Church. § 12. Heresy and Death of Justinian—JUSTIN II.: his Edict of Toleration — End of the Monophysite Controversy within the Empire — § 13. The *Monothelite Controversy*—The Patriarch Sergius and Theodore of Pharan—The *Ecthesis* of the Emperor HERACLIUS. § 14. CONSTANTINE III., HERACLEONAS, and Martina—CONSTANS — The Patriarch Pyrrhus and Pope Theodore I.—The Patriarch Paul—The *Type* of Constans—Its Condemnation by Pope Martin I.—His cruel Treatment—Popes Eugenius, Vitalian, and Adeodatus II.—CONSTANTINE IV. and Pope Agatho. § 15. The *Sixth General Council:* the Third of Constantinople—Condemns the Monothelites, and defines the orthodox Doctrine—Its Condemnation of a Pope concurred in by another Pope. § 16. Monophysite churches existing to the present time: (1) The *Jacobites* of Syria and Mesopotamia; (2) The *Armenian* Church; (3) The *Coptic* Church of Egypt, and the Church of *Abyssinia;* (4) The *Maronites* of Mount Lebanon.

§ 1. THE mutual congratulations of the bishops and Emperor at Chalcedon are now read in the light of the proverbial irony of history, and both the extremes which they forbad—the Nestorian and the Monophysite—are represented by sects in existence at the present day. We may here throw a forward glance at the subsequent course of the controversy, for which the Council of Chalcedon proved but a new starting-point. Its confession and decrees were violently impugned, especially in Egypt and Palestine, by a large party, who rejected indeed the Eutychian doctrine of the *absorption* of the human nature into the divine, and granted that the nature of Christ was *composite*, but took their stand on the *oneness* of that nature. From the time of the Council of Chalcedon, all who held this view were included by the Catholics under the common name of *Monophysites*,[1] while they in turn stigmatized the adherents of the Chalcedonian symbol as *Dyophysites*[2] and Nestorians. The great formula of the Monophysites was "*God has been crucified*"; and this they embodied in their liturgical worship as an addition to the Catholic *Trisagion* or *Sanctus*, "Holy God! Holy Almighty! Holy Immortal! *who hast been crucified* for us, have mercy upon us!" Hence they were also called *Theopaschites*,[3] a term almost exactly equivalent with the *Patripassians* of earlier times.

The general character of these complicated controversies, which convulsed the Eastern Church for just a century, from the Fourth General Council, at Chalcedon, to the Fifth at Constantinople (451–

[1] Μονοφυσῖται, from *μόνη φύσις*, *one only nature*. "They conceded the *ἐκ δύο φύσεων* (as even Eutyches and Dioscurus had done), but denied the *ἐν δύο φύσεσιν* after the *ἕνωσις*." (Schaff, vol. iii. p. 763.) [2] Δυοφυσῖται.

[3] Θεοπασχῖται, *i. e.* those who held that *God suffered* in the passion of Christ.

553), is thus described by Professor Schaff:[1]—"The external history of the controversy is a history of outrages and intrigues, depositions and banishments, commotions, divisions, and attempted reunions. Immediately after the Council of Chalcedon bloody fights of the monks and rabble broke out, and Monophysite factions went off in schismatic churches." Of these schisms a very brief notice will suffice. In Palestine a monk named Theodosius was set up in opposition to the patriarch Juvenal of Jerusalem (451–453). He was countenanced by the Empress Eudocia, widow of Theodosius II., who was won back to the Catholic faith chiefly by the persuasions of Simeon Stylites. Meanwhile Theodosius was deserted by his adherents and Juvenal was restored.

At Alexandria the use of military force, with much bloodshed, was needed to support the new patriarch Proterius, elected as successor to Dioscurus (452). On the death of the Emperor Marcian (457), two Monophysite leaders, Timothy Ælurus[2] and Peter Mongus,[3] raised a new sedition, supported by an excited mob. Timothy was consecrated as patriarch by two deposed bishops, and Proterius was murdered in the baptistery of his cathedral, and his corpse was horribly insulted. The new Emperor, LEO I., "the Thracian" (*Thrax*)[4]—the first prince who was crowned by an ecclesiastic, Anatolius, the patriarch of Constantinople—began his reign by confirming the acts of his predecessor concerning religion. In reply to a requisition to the principal bishops and monks of all the provinces,[5] he received their unanimous approval of the Council of Chalcedon and condemnation of the election of Ælurus, who was banished to Cherson. At Antioch, Peter the Fuller[6] was twice raised to the patriarchate by the Monophysites, and twice expelled, in the reign of Leo.

§ 2. Leo died in 474, leaving an infant grandson, LEO II., the son of his daughter Ariadne and her Isaurian husband, who had changed his native name for the Greek ZENO, and who obtained the purple by the suspicious death of the infant Emperor within a year. But Zeno fled to Isauria at the threat of a rebellion by the widow of Leo I.; and the Senate proclaimed her brother BASILISCUS Emperor (475). He rewarded his Monophysite supporters by recalling their

[1] Vol. iii. pp. 764–5.

[2] Αἴλουρος, the Cat.

[3] Μόγγος, the Hoarse.

[4] From the death of Theodosius II. the Empire fell to a succession of military adventurers, whose lives, and the civil history of their reigns, may be read in the *Student's Gibbon*.

[5] This appears to have been a device for obtaining a judgment equivalent to that of a General Council, without the trouble, and (as parties now stood) the danger, involved in convening such an assembly.

[6] Ὁ γναφεύς, *Fullo*. It was he who introduced into the liturgy the formula, "God was crucified for us."

banished bishops, Timothy Ælurus and Peter the Fuller, and took upon himself—what no former Emperor had done, except as confirming the decisions of a Council—to publish an encyclical letter,[1] condemning the Council of Chalcedon, and laying down definitions of faith. The edict was subscribed by the new patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and five hundred other bishops.

But the Patriarch Acacius,[2] whose religious policy had been hitherto courtly and equivocating, now came forward as the decided champion of the expelled Emperor and the creed of Chalcedon, and roused the monks and populace by his preaching. Daniel the Stylite, to whom both parties had sent envoys as the most revered oracle of the age, came down from his pillar and appeared at Constantinople to confirm the orthodox faith by miracles and denounce judgments on the usurper. Zeno was now marching against the capital, supported by barbarian levies and by the whole orthodox party. Basiliscus issued a new edict,[3] reversing his encyclical and approving the faith of Chalcedon. But it was too late. On the approach of Zeno, he took refuge in a church, and is said to have been delivered up by Acacius to the vengeance of his rival (477). Most of the bishops who had subscribed the encyclical made their submission to the faith of the restored Emperor. Peter the Fuller was again ejected from the see of Antioch. Timothy Ælurus had died in the same year, and Peter Mongus, who had been irregularly consecrated as his successor, was expelled, but not banished; and we shall presently find new troubles arising from his renewed claims to the see of Alexandria.

§ 3. The restoration of Zeno was attended by an event of the greatest moment in the history of the Roman Empire. The Emperor Valentinian III., the last descendant of the great Theodosius in the West, had been killed in 455, having survived the real overthrow of his empire by the barbarians, though its nominal existence was prolonged for twenty years under the brief reigns of eight successors. The last of these, who by a strange coincidence bore the names of the founder of Rome and of her imperial line, ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS, was deposed by the barbarian chief Odoacer, and made a formal abdication of the Empire (476).

But this act, though truly called the Fall of the Western Empire, was something quite different *in form*; and its form involved consequences of real importance in the civil and ecclesiastical history of the three following centuries. Nothing was further from the intention of the Romans than to confess that the Empire of Rome had come to an end. The Senate, which, from the rise of Augustus

[1] Ἐγκύκλιον.

[2] Elected Patriarch of Constantinople in 471.

[3] Ἀντεγκύκλιον.

to the fall of Augustulus, had always been in theory the supreme authority as much as it was during the Republic, and had often used that authority in disposing of the vacant purple, now decreed the reunion of the Empire under the Emperor who reigned at Constantinople. They sent an address to Zeno, representing that the West no longer needed a separate emperor; and Zeno appointed the barbarian chief, whom his troops had saluted king of Italy, as his Vicar, with the title of *Patrician*. It was likewise with a commission from Zeno that the great Theodoric, fourteen years later, overthrew Odoacer, and founded the kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy.

The new rulers of the West seem to have been proud of the prestige derived from their nominal connection with the old Roman Empire, of which many forms and institutions were continued; while the sovereigns at Constantinople claimed to be still *Roman Emperors*, and enforced their claim when the opportunity offered, so as for a time to recover a large part of their old dominion in the West. Thus the tradition of the Old Empire was preserved at Rome, till it was replaced by the new *Roman Empire* of Charles the Great (A.D. 800). This view throws light, not only on the relation of the Eastern Emperors to the West, but on the growing power of the Pope, as a living and present representative of Rome's imperial authority in religion, co-ordinate with the civil authority which had now become a dead letter, or was at best in a state of suspended vitality.

§ 4. Soon after the accession of Zeno, the violence of the controversy had so far abated, and the Monophysites had given up so much of the strict Eutychian doctrines, that a new compromise seemed practicable. By the advice of Acacius, Zeno issued a proposal, addressed primarily to the patriarchate of Alexandria, but intended for acceptance by all the churches, under the title of *Henoticon*, or Form of Union.[1] While anathematizing both Nestorius and Eutyches, it declared the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed to be the only binding symbol, thus tacitly receding from the Confession of Chalcedon, which was referred to in terms which the Catholics considered disparaging. Avoiding any distinct mention of the single or twofold nature of Christ, it stated that He is "consubstantial with the Father as touching his Godhead, and with us as touching his manhood," and that "the miracles and sufferings were of one and the same Person." It contained no reference to Leo's Letter to Flavian; and, being put forth without any consultation with Rome, was sure to be rejected there. In fact, the Henoticon offended both

[1] Ἑνωτικόν, literally, "conducive to union," from ἑνόω, to make one (ἕν).

parties, created a new division among the Monophysites themselves, and opened a schism between the churches of Rome and Constantinople, which lasted five-and-thirty years.

This last result was partly due to a new dispute about the bishopric of Alexandria. On the death of the restored patriarch Timothy (482), a successor was elected, John Talaia, whom the Emperor rejected as having been connected with a rebellious officer. Talaia, banished from Alexandria, took refuge at Rome; and Peter Mongus, the expelled Monophysite patriarch, was reinstated in the see, on his subscribing the Henoticon. Upon this the extreme Eutychians renounced his authority, and formed a separate sect, called the *Acephali*,[1] to conciliate whom Peter anathematized the Council of Chalcedon and the letter of Leo to Flavian, and took severe measures against such of the Catholics as refused to submit to him. The latter applied for aid to Rome, and two successive popes, Simplicius and Felix III.,[2] wrote in his favour both to Zeno and Acacius, who nevertheless adhered to Peter. Felix cited Acacius to Rome, to answer for holding communion with the heretical patriarch, and caused an Italian synod to pronounce his deposition and excommunication in an unprecedented form, "as having been condemned by the judgment of the Holy Spirit and by *apostolical authority*, so that *he should never be unloosed from the anathema pronounced against him.*"[3]

The people of Constantinople were warned that all who adhered to the patriarch would be excommunicated by the Roman Church; and many of the stricter monks[4] renounced his authority for that of Rome. In short, the whole Eastern Church was treated by the Romans as heretical for its refusal to break with Acacius. John Talaia, still excluded from Antioch, was placed by Felix in an Italian bishopric. Peter the Fuller—who, like his namesake at Alexandria, had been restored to the see of Antioch on signing the

[1] Ἀκέφαλοι, "headless," because they had no bishop.

[2] St. Leo the Great was succeeded in 461 by St. Hilary; he by St. Simplicius in 468; and he by St. Felix in 483. To avoid confusion, we follow the custom of calling this Pope Felix III., though it is hardly correct, as it appears to involve the recognition of a Felix II., who was an intruder set up by the Arians against Liberius, A.D. 355.

[3] Harduin. ii. 831–2; Robertson, vol. i. p. 524. "A patriarch was properly amenable only to a general or other great council; but it was pretended that Acacius fell under the condemnation of the Council of Chalcedon, as having communicated with persons whose opinions were there condemned." The assumption was the more glaring, as the charge against Acacius was not that of heresy, but only the holding of communion with heretics.

[4] Especially those called *Acœmetæ* (Ἀκοιμήται, i. e. *sleepless*), because by means of classes they took turns in keeping up an unintermittent course of worship.

Henoticon—died in 488; and Acacius died in 489, and was succeeded[1] by Euphemius, a zealous opponent of the Monophysites. Peter Mongus died in 490. "At the death of Zeno, in 491, the Church, instead of having been united by his Henoticon, was divided into three great parties. Antioch, under Palladius, and Alexandria, under Athanasius, were Monophysite; Jerusalem held with Constantinople; while Rome and the West stood aloof."[2]

§ 5. ANASTASIUS,[3] by his marriage with the widow of Zeno, succeeded to the Empire, with so high a reputation for piety and virtue, that he was greeted with the cry, "Reign as you have lived." But his orthodoxy was suspected by the patriarch Euphemius, and his memory is branded by Catholic writers as a heretic and persecutor. The truth seems to be that he attempted to hold the balance between the two parties, on the basis of the *Henoticon*, and that he used strong measures against the zealots of both extremes, who kept the Eastern patriarchates in constant commotion throughout his long reign. The overtures made by the Emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople for reconciliation with Rome were haughtily spurned by Pope Gelasius (492–496); the conciliatory proposals of whose successor, Anastasius II. (496–498), were cut short by his death; and the next Pope, Symmachus (498–514), treated the Emperor Anastasius as a heretic.

The patriarch Euphemius, who had only consented to the Emperor's elevation on his promise to maintain the faith of Chalcedon, was deposed and banished on what the Catholics call a false political charge;[4] and his successor, Macedonius, had the same fate (A.D 511 or 512). The patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, Flavian and Elias, were deposed for Nestorianism, though both made large concessions to the Monophysite doctrine (512 and 513). The introduction of the words "who was crucified for us"[5] into the liturgy of Constantinople, by the monk Severus,[6] had already caused a collision between the orthodox and the Monophysites; but when, after the deposition of Macedonius, the Emperor attempted to enforce the order of the new patriarch, Timothy, for the use of the clause, the capital became the scene of riot, fire, and murder; the statues of Anastasius were thrown down, and he himself fled from the city; and it was only by his public humiliation and offer to abdicate, that the people were won back to quiet and submission

[1] After Fravitta, who only held the patriarchate for four months.
[2] Robertson, vol. i. p. 525.
[3] He was sixty years old, and reigned twenty-seven years, A.D. 491–518.
[4] "Falso damnatus." Marcellin. A.D. 496. (*Patrol.* li.) Robertson, vol. i. p. 526.
[5] See above, § 1.
[6] He afterwards succeeded Flavian as Patriarch of Antioch.

(512). The cause of orthodoxy was again taken up by Vitalian, an insurgent Gothic or Scythian chief, who ravaged Thrace, and forced the Emperor to consent to recal the banished bishops, to acknowledge the decrees of Chalcedon, to renew communion with Rome, and to call a General Council, at which the Pope should assist (516). But the agreement with Rome was frustrated by the extravagant demands of Pope Hormisdas (514–523), the successor of Symmachus, and the Emperor died two years later (518).

§ 6. JUSTIN I., originally a Dacian peasant who had been enrolled in the guards of Leo and had risen to high rank and wealth, was now made Emperor by the acclamations of the soldiery.[1] The new prince and the new patriarch, John,[2] complied with the popular outcries for a change of religious policy. Severus of Antioch and the other Monophysite bishops were deposed, and most of them fled to Alexandria, where the party was too strong to be uprooted. The result of this concourse was a new series of disputes, which divided the Monophysite party into a great number of minor sects whose names are as complicated as their opinions.[3] To effect a reconciliation with Rome, the Emperor agreed to the demands of Hormisdas for the erasure of the names of Acacius and all the bishops who had held communion with him, from the *diptychs*, or tablets on which all who were in the fellowship of the Church were enrolled. But the concession excited such disturbances in some cities, that Hormisdas was induced to consent to the retention of some of those whom the Orientals regarded as orthodox, and to empower the patriarch Epiphanius (the successor of John) to receive back the Eastern churches into communion with Rome. Thus ended this stage of the Monophysite controversy, which had been complicated by the schism between Rome and Constantinople.

[1] He was already sixty-eight years old, and reigned for nine years (A.D. 518–527).

[2] The successor of Timothy, who had died shortly before Anastasius.

[3] These divisions turned chiefly on the degree in which the humanity of Christ differed from ordinary human nature. The names of the sects were derived both from their leaders and their tenets. Thus the *Severians* (followers of Severus of Antioch), stigmatized as *Phthartolatræ* (i.e., adorers of the corruptible), held that the body of Christ before the resurrection was mortal and corruptible; while the *Julianists* (from Julian, bishop of Halicarnassus), or *Aphthartodocetæ*, approached near to the older *Docetæ* in holding that Christ's body was incorruptible from the first. The *Themistians* (from Themistius, a deacon of Alexandria), or *Agnoëtæ*, taught that Christ, in his state of humiliation, was not omniscient. The *Ktistolatræ* and *Aktistetæ* held severally the opposite opinions, that His body was created and uncreated. The *Niobites* (followers of Stephanus Niobes, the most consistent of the Monophysites) rejected every attempt to distinguish the two natures, as they had become one in Christ.

§ 7. Justin went on to prove his zeal for orthodoxy by edicts against heretics, who, as well as Jews, Samaritans, and Pagans, were forbidden to practise their religion, and excluded from civil and military office, while Manicheans were condemned to death (523). Though the Gothic soldiery of the Empire, who were Arians, were exempted from these decrees, they gave offence to Theodoric, king of Italy, who had seen in the reconciliation between the Pope and the Eastern Church a danger that his subjects might look to the Emperor as their civil head. The edicts were also at variance with that toleration which Theodoric had proclaimed to all except the practisers of Pagan rites; for the Gothic convert to an heretical faith had asserted the great principle, long since forgotten by the Christian Church, "We cannot impose religion by command, since no one can be made to believe against his will."[1] He wished to secure the same toleration for his Arian fellow-believers in the East; and, after remonstrating with Justin by letter, he sent an embassy to Constantinople, headed by Pope John I.[2] This first Bishop of Rome who had ever visited Constantinople was welcomed with unbounded reverence, and Justin received a second coronation at his hands (526). This inflamed Theodoric's jealousy anew; and, though John succeeded in the chief object of his mission, a pretext was found for throwing him into prison, where he soon died.[3]

§ 8. Justin died about a year after Theodoric, having shortly before associated in the empire his nephew JUSTINIAN I.[4] (527), whom he had sent for from his native Dacian village and brought up as his heir. Justinian's first act was to confer an equal share of authority on his wife THEODORA, whose beauty and talents had raised her from a

[1] Comp. Chap. XVII. § 7. The judicial murders of the famous Boëthius and his father-in-law Symmachus do not concern us here, except as it has been believed that Boëthius was, at least in part, a victim to his Catholic faith. But it is very doubtful whether the author of the 'Consolation of Philosophy' was a Christian at all, and the theological works ascribed to him are of very questionable genuineness. (See F. Nitzsch, *Das System des Boëthius*, Berlin, 1860; and Dean Stanley's article *Boëthius* in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*.)

[2] Pope from 523 to 526.

[3] On the relations of Theodoric to the Papacy, see Chap. XVII. § 13.

[4] JUSTINIANUS is the adoptive derivative of JUSTINUS. Justinian was born near Sardica (the modern *Sophia*), and was forty-five years old at his accession, and reigned thirty-eight years and a half, A.D. 527–565. The chief historian of his reign is the Byzantine rhetorician PROCOPIUS, secretary of Belisarius, and senator and prefect of Constantinople, of whom Gibbon says:—"According to the vicissitudes of courage or servitude, of favour or disgrace, Procopius successively composed the *history*, the *panegyric*, and the *satire* of his own times."

servile birth, the despised profession of a buffoon actress, and a life of prostitution, to be his associate in the empire, and who exercised an unbounded sway over his mind. It belongs to the civil historian to describe the mingled splendour and weakness, virtues and vices of this famous Emperor; the reconquest by his generals, Belisarius and Narses, of a large part of the lost Western Empire in Africa and Spain, Sicily and Italy; his wars with the Persians, and his celebrated digest of the Roman Laws; all which had also a great influence on ecclesiastical affairs.

In religion he aimed to recover the supreme authority of Constantine, and to restore the Church as well as the Empire; to unite divided factions, reclaim heretics, and establish the standard of orthodoxy for all future time. "In all these undertakings he fancied himself the chief actor, though very commonly he was but the instrument of the Empress or of the court theologians and eunuchs; and his efforts to compel a general uniformity only increased the divisions in Church and State."[1] He affected a life of austere piety;[2] spent much of his time in religious studies, mingled in theological controversies, and assumed to regulate matters of faith, discipline, and worship. The means for his munificence in building churches and hospitals were supplied by acts of extortion, oppression, and corruption of justice.

Among the "Edifices of Justinian," which Procopius describes in a special book, the most splendid was the church of *St. Sophia* (the eternal Wisdom). Built first by Constantine, as the cathedral of his new Rome, the church was burnt down at the time of Chrysostom's banishment, and again in the great riots caused by the blue and green factions of the Circus in 532.[3] The new edifice was guarded against a like fate by being built entirely of stone and marble, with clamps of iron; and Justinian exclaimed on the day of its dedication, "O Solomon, I have surpassed thee!" The splendid dome, which the architects boasted of hanging in the air, without any visible support on earth,[4] was almost destroyed by

[1] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 768.

[2] Procopius, however, says that, while self-denying as to food, drink, and sleep, he was very dissolute in morals. (*Hist. Arcana*, 12, 13; Robertson, vol. i. p. 534.)

[3] See Gibbon's famous account of these factions of the Circus and the riots, called *Nika*, from their watchword, at the celebration of Justinian's *Quinquennalia*. Even the rival colours of the charioteers were made symbols of theological disputes, the blues being regarded as champions of orthodoxy and of the Emperor, but more especially of the Empress Theodora, who had been insulted by the green faction in her childhood.

[4] A false constructive principle, in which, it has been observed, the architects of the heavenly *Sophia* showed little earthly *wisdom*.

an earthquake (557), and was rebuilt with an increased height. The restored church was dedicated a second time in the thirty-sixth year of Justinian's reign (562), and a law was issued providing it with an establishment of 60 priests, 100 deacons, 40 deaconesses, 90 sub-deacons, 110 readers, 25 singers, and 100 ostiaries.[1]

Justinian took the final step for the extinction of Paganism by an edict closing the schools of the Neoplatonists at Athens, where it was still taught as an esoteric doctrine (529). Another edict of the same year excluded both Pagans and heretics from all civil and military offices, and allowed them three months to abjure their false religions on pain of banishment, or, at the least, the loss of all civil rights. The edict had its effect in a great increase of outward conformity to Christianity and orthodoxy; but it provoked an insurrection of the Samaritans, and also some terrible examples of fanatic constancy, as when a body of Phrygian Montanists shut themselves up in their churches, which they set on fire and perished in the flames.



Justinian and Theodora (from mosaics at St. Vitalis, Ravenna).

§ 9. The standards of orthodoxy established in the creeds of the four General Councils—Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon—were embodied as laws in Justinian's Code. But Theodora, who had become a votary of ascetic practices and Monophysite doctrines, obtained the appointment of Anthimus, a secret enemy of the Chalcedonian faith, to the patriarchate of Constantinople (535). His heresy, however, was exposed by Pope Agapetus I. (535–6), whom the Gothic king of Italy had sent on an embassy to Justinian; and Anthimus was first deposed as having been uncanonically translated, and was then found guilty of heresy by a council held by his successor, Mennas (536).

Though foiled in this case, the Empress availed herself of the death of Agapetus at Constantinople as an opportunity for seating a

[1] Justin. *Novell.* iii. 1:—"Ample as this provision may seem, the law was set forth as a check on the practice of bishops, who had been in the habit of ordaining clergy without any limit, and without considering whether the church had the means of supporting them." (Robertson, vol. i. p. 535.)

Monophysite on St. Peter's throne. The Archdeacon Vigilius, who had accompanied Agapetus, was persuaded to be a candidate, and to promise to condemn the Council of Chalcedon. Meanwhile, however, the sub-deacon Silverius, son of Pope Hormisdas, was elected at Rome; but next year Belisarius, who had recovered the ancient capital and was besieged in it by the expelled Goths,[1] deposed Silverius and sent him a prisoner to the East on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the enemy,[2] and Vigilius was elected, paying Belisarius 200 pounds of gold for his interest. But both the temper of his clergy and his own orthodox professions to Justinian made it impossible for him to perform his promises to Theodora.

§ 10. These complications were increased by a new outbreak of the Origenist disputes among the monks of Palestine. Appeals were carried to Justinian, who wrote to Mennas, censuring certain opinions of Origen; and this condemnation was confirmed by a synod at Constantinople, and subscribed by the four Eastern patriarchs and by Pope Vigilius. Upon this, Theodore Ascidas, a monk of Origenist opinions, who had great influence over Justinian, after himself signing the anathemas against Origen, attempted to divert the Emperor's zeal into another channel. He persuaded him that the obstinate Acephali of Alexandria might be reconciled to the faith of Chalcedon by the condemnation of the Nestorian, or suspected, bishops whom that Council had acknowledged.

Accordingly Justinian issued an edict, known as that of the "Three Articles or Chapters,"[3] condemning (1) the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia *in toto;* (2) the writings of Theodoret against Cyril; and (3) the letter of Ibas, bishop of Edessa, to the Persian bishop Maris, complaining of the outrages committed by the party of Cyril. "Thus was kindled the violent controversy of the *Three Chapters*, of which it has been said that it filled more volumes than it was worth lines."[4]

[1] See the *Student's Gibbon*, pp. 317–319.

[2] Having been first banished to Patara in Lycia, Silverius was sent back to Italy by Justinian for a further investigation of his case; but Vigilius contrived to have him seized and carried off to the island of Palmaria, where he died of hunger. He is canonized by the Church of Rome.

[3] Τρία κεφάλαια, *tria capitula*. This term signifies properly brief propositions under which certain errors are summed up and anathematized; but in this case it describes the *writings themselves* (and in the case of Theodore the *person*) which are condemned. Hence they are also called ἀσεβῆ κεφάλαια, *impia capitula*, and the ensuing General Council confirmed the condemnation in these terms:—"*Prædicta* igitur *tria capitula* anathematizamus, id est, *Theodorum impium* Mopsuestenum cum *nefandis ejus conscriptis*, et *quæ impie* Theodoretus *conscripsit*, et *impiam epistolam* quæ dicitur Ibæ."

[4] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 770.

All bishops were required to subscribe the anathemas. Those of the East generally submitted, many of them, including the four patriarchs, with great reluctance, and some were banished for refusal. In the West there was a strong opposition, especially in Africa, where the churches lately delivered from Vandal oppression showed their old resistance to the yoke of civil power, Roman or barbarian.[1] Even Pope Vigilius did not dare to sign the edict; and, lest he should head a new schism between the East and West, he was summoned to Constantinople and detained there seven years. The Empress Theodora[2] persuaded him to bind himself by a secret engagement to support the Emperor's edict; and his attempts to persuade the Western bishops led to his excommunication by an African synod. At length Vigilius proposed a General Council, to which Justinian assented, binding the Pope anew to support him by an oath taken on the nails of the cross as well as on the Gospels. But when, as a further safeguard against the Pope's using the Council for his own aggrandizement, the Emperor required him and the other bishops to sign a dictated confession of faith, Vigilius excommunicated all who should comply, and took sanctuary, with the Archbishop of Milan, beneath the high altar. After the people had been horrified by an attempt to drag them out by violence, in which the holy table was nearly overturned, Vigilius accepted the oaths pledged for his safety; but, finding himself watched by the imperial guards, he again fled to the church of St. Euphemia at Chalcedon. He was with difficulty persuaded to return to Constantinople, and absented himself from the ensuing Council. During his absence at Chalcedon, the patriarch Mennas died, and was succeeded by Eutychius, a partisan of the Emperor.[3]

§ 11. In May 553, the *Fifth General Council*, being the second held at Constantinople, met under the presidency of Eutychius. It was an assembly of the Eastern Church, to which all the 165 bishops belonged, except five Africans. This breach of the promise of a fair representation of the Western Church was urged by Vigilius (besides the plea of ill-health) as a reason for his refusal to attend the Council, to which he was repeatedly summoned. On his attempt, with sixteen other bishops, to take the middle course of condemning the impugned writings, but not their authors, in a paper called the *Constitutum*, Justinian produced the written

[1] See Chap. XVII. § 4.

[2] She died the year after the arrival of Vigilius at Constantinople (546).

[3] He had recommended himself to Justinian by finding a precedent for the condemnation of deceased heretics in Josiah's burning of the bones of those who had sacrificed on Jeroboam's altar at Bethel (2 Kings xxiii. 16).

engagement which Vigilius had made to him. For this breach of faith the Emperor demanded the erasure of the Pope's name from the diptychs, while professing his own desire to remain in communion with the Roman Church. The Council complied; they confirmed by their anathema the Emperor's condemnation of the three articles, but they saved the authority of the Council of Chalcedon by also anathematizing all who held that it countenanced the three articles; and they confirmed the decisions of that and the previous General Councils.[1]

Thus the controversy issued in a partial reaction towards the Monophysite doctrine by the condemnation of the Antiochene theology, but without renouncing the Confession of Chalcedon. This negative declaration of doctrine is quite insignificant in comparison with the political result. Justinian's great aim was to establish the supremacy of the civil power in ecclesiastical matters, especially as against the claims of the Roman see; and from that time the Church of the East had its character fixed, as a national church under its own bishops, controlled by the supreme authority of the Emperor, and yielding to Rome the respect due from the younger to the elder, but nothing more.[2]

Vigilius, after protesting at first, wrote a humiliating submission to the decisions of the Council, and was suffered to depart for Rome; but he died on the voyage, at Syracuse (555). Pelagius[3] was chosen his successor by the influence of Justinian; and for the first time the Emperor assumed authority to confirm the election of a Pope.[4] With the aid of Narses, Pelagius enforced the decrees of Constantinople by deposition, banishment, and civil penalties, but they were generally resisted in the West. The bishops of Northern Italy, Illyria, and Africa, separated from Rome; and the schism was only partly healed by Pope Gregory the Great about the end of the century.[5]

[1] No distinct mention seems to have been made of Origenism; for the Eleventh Anathema, in which Origen is condemned with other heretics, is probably spurious. The reason of the omission may be that a local synod at Constantinople had already promulgated fifteen anathemas against Origen.

[2] An interesting parallel might be drawn between the Byzantine and the Anglican Church in this respect.

[3] Pelagius I. was Pope from 555 to 559.

[4] It must be remembered that Justinian acted, not as the Byzantine, but as the Roman Emperor, *de facto* as well as *de jure;* for he was now in possession of Rome and Italy, and also of Africa and Spain.

[5] The metropolitan of Aquileia (who appears to have assumed the title of Patriarch on this occasion), with the bishops of Istria, maintained the separation from Rome for yet another century, till 698 or 701.

§ 12. By sanctioning the Confession of Chalcedon, the Fifth Council failed to reconcile the Monophysites to the Church. Justinian himself, in his old age, incurred the taint of Monophysite heresy by putting forth an edict, probably under the influence of Theodore Ascidas, sanctioning the doctrine of the *Aphthartodocetæ* (564). Another controversy and persecution was imminent, when Justinian died at the age of eighty (Nov. 14, 565).

His successor, JUSTIN II.,[1] at once put forth an edict of toleration, and the Monophysite controversy died out in the Roman Empire, except in some parts of Syria and Egypt. The heresy was also maintained, like Nestorianism, beyond the limits of the Empire; and it is still the creed of what may be called "the ancient *national* churches of Egypt, Syria, and Armenia, in distinction from the orthodox Greek Church, and the *united* or Roman Church of the East."[2]

§ 13. To complete the history of the whole controversy, it is necessary to glance forward to its sequel in the *Monothelite* dispute of the seventh century. About 622, the Emperor HERACLIUS[3] attempted to heal the Monophysite schism on the basis of the doctrine started by Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, and Theodore, a bishop of Pharan in Arabia, that, in the twofold nature of Christ, there was but "*one will*,[4] and one life-giving operation," namely, the Divine will, controlling the human. Cyrus, bishop of Phasis, one of the Emperor's advisers, being made by him Patriarch of Alexandria, effected a reconciliation with the Monophysites on the basis of nine articles, one which stated that our Lord "wrought the acts appertaining both to God and man by one *theandric* (i.e. *divinely-human*) operation. This compromise, which the Monophysites regarded as a triumph, provoked a controversy, which the Emperor endeavoured to settle by an edict called the *Ecthesis*, or Exposition of the Catholic Faith, forbidding the discussion of the question, which was at the same time stated in terms inclining to the Monothelite view (639). The Ecthesis was rejected by Pope John IV.,[5] and Heraclius thereupon disowned it, as having been pressed upon him by Sergius, who was now dead (640).

[1] Justin II. was Justinian's nephew, the son of his sister Vigilantia. He reigned thirteen years, 565–578.

[2] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 773. Most of their rites and doctrines are the same as those of the orthodox Greek Church, but they know nothing of purgatory and indulgences; their worship is simpler than either the Greek or Roman, and it is conducted in the old vernacular tongues, which are now dead languages. See further in § 16.

[3] He reigned thirty-one years, from 610 to 641. See Chap. XXI. § 1.

[4] Hence the name of the party, *Monothelites*, or, more properly, *Monotheletes* (μονοθελῆται), which is first found in John of Damascus.

[5] John IV. was Pope from 640 to 642.

§ 14. Heraclius died in 641, leaving the empire to his two sons, CONSTANTINE III., the son of his first wife, Eudocia, and HERACLEONAS, the young son of his niece and second wife, Martina. Constantine, who was now thirty years old and always in weak health, died in three months; the people rose against Martina, as the suspected author of his death; she was expelled with her son; and CONSTANS II.,[1] the young son of Constantine, was proclaimed Emperor. The patriarch Pyrrhus, accused of being the accomplice of Martina, fled to Africa, where he entered into a controversy with Maximus, a noble Byzantine who had become a monk, and was one of the ablest opponents of the Monothelite doctrine. After a public disputation in the presence of the governor of the province, Pyrrhus confessed his error, and went with Maximus to Rome, where he was received by Pope Theodore I.[2] as Patriarch of Constantinople (645). Pyrrhus proceeded to Ravenna,[3] the seat of the imperial Exarch, and, probably in the hope of recovering his see, retracted his orthodox confession; upon which he was excommunicated in a most solemn form by a council called by the Pope.

After some correspondence with the new Byzantine patriarch Paul, Theodore proceeded to excommunicate him, and he retorted by persecuting the adherents of Rome. At this juncture Constans withdrew the Ecthesis and put forth a new edict, called the *Type*, or Model of Faith, drawn up by Paul, which abstained from the doctrinal statements that had given offence in the Ecthesis, and repeated the prohibition of discussion under new penalties (648). The injunction was little likely to be heeded when the Churches of Africa, Italy, and Greece were urging Rome to defend the Catholic faith; and in 649 Martin I.[4] convened a council,[5] which affirmed the doctrine of two natural wills and operations, the Divine and human, in "the same one Lord Jesus Christ, willing and working our salvation both as God and man;" and anathematized Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, and the patriarchs Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul,

[1] He was eleven years old, and reigned twenty-seven years, 641–668.

[2] Pope from 642–647.

[3] Ravenna, which Honorius made the residence of his court, as a refuge from the Gothic invasions (404), remained the capital of the Gothic kings, and, after the recovery of Italy to the Empire, that of the *Exarchs*. See Chap. XVII. §§ 8, 9.

[4] Pope from 649 to 655.

[5] This is called the First Lateran Council, from its being held in the Basilica of Constantine, or the Lateran Basilica, adjoining the Lateran, which was the palace of the Popes from the time of Constantine to the return of the Holy See from Avignon in 1377. It takes its name from the old Roman family of the Laterani, whose house stood upon the site. The minor Lateran Councils must not be confounded with the five famous General Councils held in the Basilica in 1123, 1139, 1179, 1215, and 1512.

together with the "most impious" Ecthesis and Type, which were ascribed to Sergius and Paul, rather than to the Emperors who issued them. Martin announced the decrees of the Council, in equally strong language, to the Emperor and the bishops both of the East and West. In 653 the Exarch came to Rome, seized the Pope, and sent him a prisoner to Constantinople, on a charge of various treasons. After suffering great cruelties and indignities, he was banished to Cherson, and lingered there in want of the necessaries of life, till he was released by death (655). Maximus was carried to Constantinople at the same time, with two of his disciples, and, after repeated attempts both to convict them of political crimes and to make them abjure their faith, they were mutilated of their tongues and right hands, and banished to Lazica in Pontus, where Maximus died in 662. The fate of Martin awed his successors, Eugenius and Vitalian;[1] and the latter paid court to the tyrant Constans when he came to Rome, and plundered the Pantheon[2] and other churches.

His successor, Adeodatus,[3] revived the controversy and broke off communion with Constantinople; but, in response to the invitation of Constantine IV., that delegates might be sent to Constantinople to confer on the questions in dispute, Pope Agatho assembled a synod of 125 Western bishops, four of whom represented churches beyond the bounds of the Empire.[4] Monothelism was condemned, and representatives both of the Council and the Pope were sent to Rome, with a letter from Agatho, intended to have a like effect with the famous Epistle of Pope Leo to Flavian.

§ 15. Constantine now determined, instead of the intended conference, to convene an Œcumenical Council of the Empire;[5] the last recognized as such by all the leading Churches of Christendom.[6] This *Sixth General Council*—the *Third of Constantinople*[7]—

[1] Eugenius I. was Pope, 655–657; Vitalian, 657–672.

[2] The Pantheon, which had been a church since the time of Phocas, was stripped by Constans of its bronze roof. For the other crimes and fate of this tyrant, who was murdered at Syracuse in 668, see Gibbon. His son, Constantine IV., Pogonatus (the Bearded), reigned seventeen years, 668–685.

[3] Pope 672–676. His successor, Donus, the successor of Vitalian, died before the arrival of the letter which was addressed to him (678). Agatho was Pope from 678 to 682.

[4] These were Mansuetus of Milan, primate of the Lombard Church, Wilfrid of York, and two bishops of the Franks.

[5] No representatives were summoned from nations not subject to the Empire.

[6] See note on the Œcumenical Councils, at end of Chap. VII.

[7] It is also called the *First Trullan*, from the vaulted room (*trullus*) of the palace in which it met.

assembl ' in November 680, and held eighteen sessions, to September 681. It was presided over by the Emperor in person, the chair being left vacant when he was absent; and its order contrasted favourably with most preceding councils. The writings of the Monothelites were examined, and compared both with orthodox standards and with statements of doctrine which had been condemned by former councils. George, the patriarch of Constantinople, followed by all his bishops, accepted the decrees of the Pope and the Roman Synod. The chief opponent was Macarius, who attended as Patriarch of Antioch, though his see was overthrown by the Mohammedan conquerors; and he was excommunicated by the Council. A monk named Polychromius offered a creed, the truth of which he staked on his power to raise a dead man to life; and his failure was punished with anathema and deposition.

The Council not only condemned the Monothelite heresy and its leaders,[1] but defined the orthodox doctrine of Christ's person in the following terms:—"We, in like manner,[2] agreeably to the teaching of the holy Fathers, declare that in Him there are *two natural wills* and *two natural operations*, without division, change, separation, or confusion. And these two natural wills are not contrary, as impious heretics pretend; but the human follows the Divine and Almighty will, not resisting or opposing it, but rather being subject to it.[3] . . . . As his flesh, though deified, was not destroyed by his Godhead, so too his human will, although deified, was not destroyed."[4] The usual imperial confirmation, with penalties against all dissentients, followed the decisions of the Council. The new Pope, Leo II.,[5] earnestly recommended their acceptance throughout the West, and expressly concurred in the condemnation of Pope Honorius.

[1] Among those anathematized by name was Pope Honorius I. (625–640), who had made a distinctly Monothelite profession of faith in reply to an appeal of the Patriarch Sergius. "*We confess*" (are the words of Honorius) "*one will* of our Lord Jesus Christ." This condemnation of a Pope by a General Council has proved a standing puzzle for Roman Catholic writers. What must it be since the proclamation of Papal infallibility in all declarations of doctrine?

[2] After reciting the earlier decisions of the Church as to the Incarnation of our Lord.

[3] Here, in fact, the controversy turns essentially on the same point as the Pelagian, the mystery of the free action of the human will, but in harmony with and subjection to the Divine; these being in two persons in the case of mere man in his relation to God, but in one person in Christ, whose human nature was "in all points like unto his brethren," sin being excepted.

[4] Hard. vol. iii. p. 1400; Robertson, vol. ii. p. 53.

[5] Agatho died (682) before the return of his legates from Constantinople. Leo II. was Pope, 682–684.

§ 16. The existing churches, referred to above (§ 12) as remnants of the Monophysites, form four branches: in Asia, the Syrian *Jacobites*, the *Armenians*, and the less ancient *Maronites*; and in Egypt and Ethiopia, the *Copts* and *Abyssinians*.

(1) The *Jacobites* of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia are so called from their œcumenical[1] metropolitan, Jacob, surnamed *Baradai* or *Zanzalus*[2] (541–578), who laboured with devoted zeal and activity, in long journeys and in the garb of a beggar, to strengthen the persecuted sect, and revived the patriarchate of Antioch, which still gives the head of the Jacobite Church his title, though he commonly resides at Diarbekir, in Armenia. He traces his succession from the Monophysite patriarch Severus,[3] but he is always named Ignatius, after the great apostolic bishop of Antioch. The Jacobite monks are rigorous ascetics and grossly superstitious. Some of the Jacobites have united with the Church of Rome.

(2) The *Armenians* are the most numerous of the Monophysite communities, and one of the most interesting remnants of the ancient Christianity outside of the Roman Empire. About the beginning of the fourth century, King Tiridates III. and the mass of the nation were converted by Gregory the Enlightener,[4] the first patriarch and chief saint of the Armenian Church. In the first half of the fifth century, the Scriptures were translated from the Peshito Syriac Version and the Greek[5] by Mesrob (or Mjesrob), who invented the Armenian alphabet, and thus made the beginning of a native literature. His pupil, Moses of Chorene, wrote a history of Armenia, which is our chief source of information about its early records and traditions, as well as for the events of his time.[6] After resisting the attempts of their Persian masters[7] to force the Magian religion upon them, the Armenians found that toleration would be more easily given to a form of Christianity condemned by the church and prince of the rival empire; though this may not have been their sole motive for adopting the Monophysite faith. They date from

[1] That is, not restricted to a single province.

[2] "From his beggarly clothing. *Barâdai* signifies in Arabic and Syriac a horse-blanket of coarse cloth, and τζάνζαλον is *vile aliquid et tritum.*" (Schaff, vol. iii. p. 775.)

[3] See above, § 6.

[4] Ὁ φωτιστής, *Illuminator.*

[5] First from the Syriac, and afterwards revised or re-translated from the LXX. and N. T. by Armenian scholars who were sent to Alexandria to study Greek.

[6] We have several valuable translations of Greek works in Armenian, such as the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, already mentioned.

[7] Armenia was made a Roman province by Trajan, and, after being long disputed between the Romans and the Parthians and Persians, it became finally subject to Persia in 369. The country is now divided between Turkey, Persia, and Russia.

552, as the era of their severance from the orthodox Greek Church; and at the Synod of Thwin[1] (595) they condemned the decrees of Chalcedon, and declared for the *aphthartodocetic* doctrine of the incorruptible body of Christ. For a long time they had only one patriarch, or *Catholicus*, who resided at Sebaste, and afterwards in the monastery of Ejmiadsin, their holy city at the foot of Ararat, near Erivan; but as they spread abroad through their great commercial activity, they established patriarchal sees at Jerusalem (1311), at Sis in Cilicia (1440), and, after the fall of the Byzantine Empire, at Constantinople (1461). As in the case of the Jacobites, a portion of the Armenians have joined the Church of Rome, under the name of *United Armenians*.[2] The order called *Mechitarists*, from their founder the Abbot Mechitar (*ob.* 1749), have become famous for their labours in Armenian literature and education, having their headquarters at a monastery on the island of San Lazzaro, near Venice.

(3) Of equal antiquity is the *Coptic* Church of Egypt, with its sister Church of Abyssinia.[3] The name COPTS designates the native race of Egypt (the words themselves perhaps being of identical origin),[4] whose nationality (though of course mingled with Greek and Arab blood) has remained conspicuous during the twenty-two centuries of Greek, Roman, Arab, and Turkish domination, and whose language, still preserved in the church rituals, was a living tongue within recent memory. The fervid temper and irrepressible spirit of this native race affects the whole history of the Egyptian Church, and appears concentrated in the monks, who were the violent supporters of the Athanasian theology against the Arian, and of the Alexandrian against the Antiochian. In Egypt the chief standard of the Monophysites was the aphthartodocetic or "incorruptibilist" doctrine of Christ's body. After the Council of Chalcedon, Alexandria continued, as we have seen, the head-quarters of the Monophysite

[1] This city, also called Twin, Tevin, Tovin, or Dobin, was at that time the capital of Armenia.

[2] Their union with Rome dates from the Council of Florence, in 1439.

[3] Respecting the conversion of the Ethiopians by the Alexandrian missionaries, Frumentius and Ædesius, in the fourth century, see Chap. XII. § 1.

[4] According to what seems the most probable etymology of the Greek name Αἴ-γυπτ-ος, "the land of Copt." On the other derivations of the name, and the survival of the Coptic language, see the *Student's Ancient History of the East*, chap. i. § 17, p. 27. For the present state of the Copts, see Lane's *Modern Egyptians*. Dean Stanley says: "The Copts are still, even in their degraded state, the most civilized of the natives: the intelligence of Egypt still lingers in the Coptic tribes, who are on this account used as clerks in the offices of their conquerors, or as registrars of the water-marks of the Nile."—*Lectures on the Eastern Church*, p. 95.

party, who were much more numerous than the Catholics; and the imperial support given to orthodox patriarchs was resisted in sanguinary riots.[1] In 537 they chose a patriarch of their own in opposition to the orthodox patriarch who was imposed on the Church by Justinian. Since that time the Coptic Church, as it is called in opposition to the orthodox Greek Church, has always had its own patriarch of Alexandria, who claims to be the true successor of St. Mark, St. Athanasius, and St. Cyril. He is always elected against his will from among the monks, and leads a life of ascetic devotion. His usual residence is at Cairo, and his jurisdiction extends over twelve bishops in Egypt, Nubia, and Abyssinia, including the *Aberna* (*i.e.* "our Father") or Patriarch of Abyssinia, whom he chooses and anoints. He alone ordains the clergy, not by the imposition of hands, but by breathing on[2] and anointing them. The latter is one of several Jewish practices retained by the Coptic Church, including circumcision and the Jewish law of meats.

The fierce hostility between the orthodox and Monophysite parties, often breaking out into sanguinary riots,[3] helped to make Egypt an easy prey to the Arabs (A.D. 641), whom the Copts at first welcomed as deliverers, but by whom they were afterwards cruelly persecuted. Their numbers have dwindled from about 2,000,000 to 150,000 or 200,000, of whom some live in Cairo,[4] and the rest in Upper Egypt. They are sunk in poverty and ignorance, even the priests reading nothing but the service in Coptic, which they no longer understand. The monks, however, have unconsciously performed an inestimable service by preserving treasures of literature in the Coptic, Syriac, and Arabic languages, most of which manuscripts have been lately secured for the British Museum. There are extant two Coptic versions of the Scriptures, both imperfect: the Lower Egyptian or Memphitic, and the Upper Egyptian or Thebaic, called also the *Sahidic*, from the Arabic name of the province.

The sister or rather daughter Church of Abyssinia is more interesting, as it presents the case of a semi-barbarous nation, in the

[1] The antagonism to the civil power, and the *national* character of the schism, are seen in the name of *Melchites*, i.e. "imperialists," by which the Monophysites called the Catholics. "Gibbon says that this name was unknown till the tenth century; Pagi, that it is as old as the reign of Marcian." (Robertson, vol. i. p. 546.)

[2] See John xx. 22.

[3] At the installation of the Patriarch Apollonius (551), it is said that 200,000 persons were slain in one day; "a statement which, though doubtless exaggerated, must have had some frightful truth for its foundation." (Gibbon, vol. iv. p. 388; Robertson, *l. c.*)

[4] The number of Copts in Cairo is given by some as low as 10,000; by others, as high as from 30,000 to 60,000.

highlands of the Upper Nile, retaining the Christianity which is traced back by history to the fourth century, and by tradition to the Apostolic age. But its Christianity is darkened by gross ignorance and superstition, and is still more mingled with Jewish elements than in the Coptic Church. The Abyssinians practise circumcision and abstain from eating unclean meats; they observe the Jewish Sabbath as well as the Christian Lord's Day, and a yearly festival of lustration (like the day of atonement), when the whole nation is rebaptized; they have a model of a sacred ark, called the Ark of Zion, which is honoured with offerings, and forms the central point of their public worship. They pay reverence to saints; to pictures, but not images; to the cross, but not the crucifix. The zeal for the Monophysite doctrine, which has died out in the sister churches, lives among them in full force; and the Council of Chalcedon is accounted an assembly of fools and heretics. Their Ethiopic Bible, which some believe to date from the time of the first Alexandrian missionaries, contains the Book of Enoch.[1]

(4) The youngest of the sects which survive as memorials of this great dispute is that of the *Maronites*, who sprang from its later development, the *Monothelite* controversy. There stood in the valley of the Orontes, between Apamea and Emesa, as early as the sixth century, a great monastery dedicated to St. Maron,[2] and governed at the end of the seventh century by another John Maron (*ob.* 701). By his zeal the Monothelite opinions were spread through the whole Christian population of Mount Lebanon, which consisted chiefly of refugees from the Saracen conquest of Syria. After the rejection of the Monothelite doctrine by the Sixth General Council (681), they remained almost its sole adherents, and formed a separate community, with Maron as their first patriarch. His successors, who still claim to be patriarchs of Antioch, reside commonly in the monastery of Kanobin, in the glen of Kadisba on Mount Lebanon, a few miles below the famous cedars. The patriarch is elected by the bishops, but receives his robe of investiture from Rome; for, as a result of the Crusades, the Maronites became reconciled to Rome from 1180 and onwards.[3] In the sixteenth century, Gregory XIII.

[1] "The *Chronicles of Axuma* (the former capital of the country), dating from the fourth century, receive almost the same honour as the Bible." (Schaff, vol. iii. p. 778.)

[2] Probably the Maron who lived about the end of the fourth century, to whom Chrysostom wrote during his exile, and whose Life was written by Theodoret. The name of *Maronites*, which originally denoted the monks of the convent, is first applied to the sect, as heretics, by John of Damascus, in the eighth century.

[3] There is, however, a remnant of the Maronites who hold the Roman Church in abhorrence.

founded a college at Rome for the education of a select number of their youth, to go back and labour at home. This school produced those great Oriental scholars, the two Assemanni (in the eighteenth century), and its influence may be traced in the thorough devotion of the Maronites to the Church of Rome. They still, however, retain their own Syriac ritual and their own fast-days, communion in both kinds, and a married priesthood. They are spread over the whole range of Lebanon, being estimated at about a quarter of a million, and they form also small communities in all the large towns, from Aleppo to Nazareth. The Maronite monasteries are more numerous proportionately than those of any other Christian community; there being 82 cloisters of monks and nuns in Lebanon. But the people, entirely subject to the clergy, are ignorant and superstitious, though brave and industrious, their cultivated lands being the garden of Syria. They suffer much from their hereditary foes, the fanatic Mohammedan Druses, who perpetrated a great massacre of the Maronites in 1860.



Ciborium of St. Apollinare in Classe, at Ravenna



Lombardic Chapel at Friuli.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CHURCHES OF THE NEW TEUTONIC KINGDOMS. PROGRESS OF THE PAPACY.

CENTURIES V. AND VI.

§ 1. Invasions of the Barbarians—Their Arian religion—Character of their Christianity. § 2. The VISIGOTHS—Sack of Rome by Alaric—Athaulf made General of Rome—The BURGUNDIANS, SUEVES, and VANDALS in Gaul and Spain—Kingdom of the Visigoths. § 3. The VANDALS in Africa—Persecution by Genseric—His Sack of Rome. § 4. Persecution by Hunneric — Eugenius, Bishop of Carthage — Mock Disputation at Carthage—Increase of the Persecution—The African Confessors—Hunneric's Successors—Reconquest of Africa by Belisarius—Extinction of Arianism in the Province. § 5. Kingdom of the FRANKS in Gaul—Baptism of Clovis—Bishop Remigius—Conquests and Crimes of Clovis—His relations to the Gallic Church—His Death and Burial. § 6. Spread of Christianity by the Franks—Corrupt Character of their Religion—

Crimes and Vices of the Merovingians—End of Arianism in Burgundy and Spain. § 7. Kingdom of the OSTROGOTHS in Italy—THEODORIC THE GREAT—His religious Toleration and Favour to the Catholics—Tyranny of his later years—His death. § 8. Decline of the Gothic kingdom, and reconquest of Italy by Belisarius and Narses—The LOMBARD kingdom in Italy. § 9. The Exarchate of Ravenna—Low State of Rome—Her Life preserved by the Church. § 10. Growth of the Papal power—INNOCENT I.—ZOSIMUS I.—BONIFACE I.—Protest of the African Church—CELESTINE I. § 11. Advance of the Papacy under LEO I. THE GREAT—In Spain, Sicily, Africa, and Gaul—Case of Hilary of Arles, and law of Valentinian III. § 12. Leo and the Eastern Church—The Patriarch Anatolius. § 13. HILARY I.—SIMPLICIUS—Fall of the Western Empire, and increased importance of the Pope—Election of FELIX III.—Authority claimed by Odoacer—Election of SYMMACHUS decided by Theodoric against the anti-pope Laurentius—Synod of the Palm—The Pope exempt from human judgment—Nomination of FELIX IV. by Theodoric. § 14. The Bishops of Rome under Justinian—New Regulations for Elections—The Lombard Conquest: increased importance of the Bishop of Rome. § 15. Growth of Papal jurisdiction—Authority of Decretal Epistles—Dionysius Exiguus. § 16. Rome and the Eastern Patriarchs—Title of Œcumenical Patriarch given to the Bishops both of Constantinople and Rome.

§ 1. WHILE these subtile disputes were dividing the Eastern Church and hastening its fall, the mighty revolution which befel the West laid the foundation of the Christian states of medieval and modern Europe. It belongs to civil history to relate those successive irruptions and settlements of the Barbarians, during the fifth century, a slight notice of which will suffice to introduce the history of their several churches. The Teutonic nations, to whose race most of the barbarian conquerors belonged, had in many cases received some knowledge of Christianity by intercourse with the Empire and service in her armies, and by the labours of missionaries from the Visigoths, whose settlement within the Danube and conversion to the Arian form of Christianity have already been related;[1] and, as their successive hordes overran province after province of the Empire, they readily adopted the faith of the people whom they conquered.[2] The influence of the Goths (who were the first barbarian settlers), and perhaps the greater mystery of the orthodox doctrine, will account for the fact that most of the conquerors adopted Arianism at first, or came round to it after

[1] See Chap. XII. § 1.

[2] It must be remembered that these were not conquests of extermination, like those of the Angles and Saxons in Britain, where Christianity was subverted in the conquered parts of the island, or was only preserved (to make the statement safer) among the small remnant who may have survived as slaves.

being converted by orthodox teachers, as was the case with the Burgundians on the Rhine and the Vandals in Africa. The prevailing character of their new faith is well described by a recent historian of the Church:[1] "The conversion of barbarian tribes, unlike that of the Romans, usually began with the prince; and after his example the multitude pressed to the font. Among those who had been converted by such a process, it will be readily conceived that there was very little understanding of their new profession; that their Christianity was of a rude kind, and long retained a mixture of ideas derived from their old superstitions. Yet, with all its defects, both in doctine and in morality, and although it held but a very imperfect control over the conduct of those who professed it, the Christianity of those nations did much to soften their ferocity, and greatly mitigated the sufferings of the more civilized races which they subdued." These conquests had also, in a great measure, the effect of extirpating the last remnants of paganism, as a destroying fire burns out the lurking pestilence.

§ 2. The GOTHS, who led the van of the conquering Barbarians, were for some time hardly kept at bay by the great Theodosius, whose death marks the turning-point in the defence of the Empire. Having overrun Thrace, Dacia, and Macedonia, ALARIC passed Thermopylæ and devastated Greece (395), and was invested by Arcadius with the title of Duke of Illyricum. In 402 he crossed the Alps, Honorius flying before him from Milan to Ravenna; and in 410 he sacked Rome. On his death just afterwards, Honorius confessed his conquest by appointing Alaric's brother-in-law, Athaulf, a general of Rome.

Meanwhile (405) a mingled host of Vandals, Suevi, and Burgundians, with the Scythian Alans, repulsed by Stilicho from Northern Italy, fell upon Gaul; where the BURGUNDIANS, settling in the eastern highlands, from about Geneva to the Rhine, became nominal subjects of the Empire, and were converted to Christianity; while the Vandals, Sueves, and Alans overran the southern parts and passed the Pyrenees into Spain. Athaulf, as general of Rome, led his Goths to the deliverance of the invaded provinces; and, after his assassination in 415, his successor Wallia, having driven back the VANDALS behind the Sierra Morena, where their name survives in that of *Andalucia* (from *Vandalusia*), received the province of Aquitania as his reward, and founded the great *kingdom of the Visigoths*, on both sides of the Pyrenees, in which he was immediately succeeded by Theodoric I. (418).[2] This was the first of the

[1] Robertson, vol. i. p. 503.

[2] Theodoric was killed in the great battle on the plain of Champagne (the *Campi Catalaunici*), near *Châlons-sur-Marne*, where his Visigoths,

great Teutonic kingdoms that rose on the ruins of the Empire. Its Christianity was Arian. The heathen SUEVES, who obtained for their portion of the conquest the western provinces of Galicia and Lusitania, were converted by the Latin bishops to orthodox Christianity; but they were soon forced to renounce it for the Arianism of their more powerful neighbours. The Gothic kingdom was extended over the South of Spain, when the Vandals were invited into Africa by the Roman Count Boniface, to support him against his rival Aëtius.[1]

§ 3. Led by their fierce and cruel king, GENSERIC, who ranks with Alaric and Attila among the great scourges of the falling Empire, 50,000 Vandals crossed the Straits, and, having been joined by large bodies of Moors, overran all Africa; the strong cities of Carthage, Cirta, and Hippo Regius alone holding out (429). We have seen that Augustine died during the siege of Hippo, which was taken and destroyed, after Boniface and the inhabitants had escaped by sea (431). The conquest was completed by the capture of Carthage in 439; and the Arian Genseric began a fierce persecution of the Catholics:[2] but his attention was diverted by his constant plundering expeditions on the coasts of Sardinia and Corsica, Sicily and Italy. It is said that, when embarking on an expedition, and asked by his pilot against whom he meant to sail, he was wont to reply, "Against those with whom God is angry."

In 455 Genseric was invited to Rome by the Empress Eudoxia, to obtain revenge for the murder of her husband, Valentinian III. Pope Leo I. again went forth with his clergy to intercede with a barbarian conqueror—this time a Christian, though of a strange type—and obtained a promise that the city should be spared from fire, and the inhabitants from death, and from torture to make them disclose their treasures. The plunder of Rome lasted a fortnight,[3] and the

in league with the Romans under Aëtius, defeated the hosts and stopped the conquests of Attila, whose overthrow is a turning-point in the history of Europe and of Christendom. Attila retreated into Italy, and was ravaging the country north of the Po, when Pope Leo I. sought an interview with him at Mantua, and persuaded him to retire on receiving a large sum of money (452). Attila died in the following year, and the hasty fabric of his empire at once dissolved.

[1] For their rivalry, and the civil history of this period, see the *Student's Gibbon*, chap. xvii.

[2] "The Vandal persecution is related by Victor, bishop of Vite, himself a Catholic confessor, whose work is edited by Ruinart (*Historia Persecutionis Vandalicæ*, Paris, 1699), and is reprinted in vol. lviii. of Migne's *Patrologia*." (Robertson, vol. i. p. 512.)

[3] "Genseric's expedition against Rome was, in one respect, favourable to Christianity, inasmuch as, by carrying off a number of statues, and by stripping the Capitol of its thickly-gilt bronze roof, he removed from the

Vandals carried back a host of captives, amongst whom were Eudoxia and her two daughters. The sufferings of the captives were relieved by the devoted labours of Deogratias, bishop of Carthage, who sold the church plate to ransom some of them and to supply the wants of others. After the death of Deogratias in 457, no bishop was allowed to be consecrated in the province of Africa, and thirty years later only three of its 164 sees were occupied.

§ 4. The sufferings of the Catholics under Genseric proved but a foretaste of their cruel persecution by Hunneric, who succeeded his father in 477. Hunneric had married the captive princess Eudocia, the daughter of Valentinian III. and Eudoxia; and the intercession of her sister, Placidia, supported by the Emperor Zeno, obtained for the Catholics of Carthage permission to choose a bishop, but only on the condition that all the privileges granted to them should be allowed to the Arians in the East. The new bishop, Eugenius, soon made such an impression on the Vandals themselves, that the Arian clergy were alarmed, and the fury of Hunneric was directed first against proselytes and those who were suspected of becoming such.[1] On the mere charge of intimacy with the Catholics, the Arian patriarch and many of his clergy were burnt alive, and many of Hunneric's own relations were put to death. The profession of Arianism was imposed as a condition of public employment; and all who refused to make it were banished. Nearly 5000 of the Catholic bishops and clergy were exiled to Mauritania, with most cruel treatment; and the virgins of the church were tortured, to make them confess guilty intercourse with the clergy.

These cruelties were followed up by the mockery of summoning both parties to a public debate at Carthage (Feb. 1, 484). The Arian patriarch Cyrila, who was seated as president on a lofty throne, cut short the debate on the plea that he could not speak Latin. As if the Catholics had been worsted, Hunneric ordered all their churches to be closed in one day, and the church property to be transferred to the Arians. By an edict, which recited the penalties imposed on Arians by the imperial laws, he not only subjected the Catholics to the same, but forbad any one to give them food or lodging, on pain of being burnt, with his house and family. He next required all the bishops to swear fealty to his son Hilderic as his successor. Forty-six who refused were sent to cut wood in Corsica; while their plea, that Christians ought not to swear, was made a pretext for banishing the great majority (302 in number) who had

sight of the Romans objects which recalled to mind the religion of their forefathers." (Robertson, vol. i. p. 501, who cites Procop. *Bell. Vand.* i. 5.)

[1] Officers were stationed at the doors of the Catholic churches, with orders to scalp all Vandals who should attempt to enter.

taken the oath. No less than 88 bishops yielded to persecution or cajolement, and abandoned the Catholic faith.

Amidst the barbarities of this persecution, one incident demands special notice. Some Catholics of Typasa, who refused to acknowledge the Arian bishop and persisted in celebrating their own worship, were punished by the amputation of their right hands and the cutting out of their tongues by the root; yet they continued to speak as before! The fact rests on conclusive evidence; but the assumption of a miracle is not needed to explain it.[1]

In the heat of the persecution, Hunneric died by the same loathsome disease as Herod (484). Under his four successors, the Catholics still suffered in various degrees, though with some intervals of toleration, till the dominion of the Vandals was overthrown by Belisarius (534). But the province, long famed for its exuberant fertility and teeming population, had been utterly ruined by the barbarian devastations and by famine and pestilence, having lost (as is computed) five millions of inhabitants. The number of bishoprics was reduced to one-half or one-third; and Arianism was extirpated in the destruction of the Arians themselves.

§ 5. Returning to the Teutonic conquerors of Europe, we find the second of the great Christian kingdoms founded by the FRANKS. It belongs to civil history to trace the appearance of this great confederacy on the Lower Rhine, and their incursions upon Northern Gaul, where the SALIAN FRANKS established a kingdom early in the fifth century. After varying vicissitudes of hostility and alliance with the Romans, the independent kingdom of the Franks was founded by CLOVIS,[2] whose marriage with Clotilda, a Burgundian princess brought up in the Catholic faith, gained him the support of the Gallo-Roman clergy.[3] Clotilda used every effort to convert her husband: but though he allowed his two sons to be baptized, the barbarian warrior doubted the power of the God who had suffered the empire of his Roman worshippers to fall, till that power should be shown on his own behalf. Finding himself hard pressed in his decisive battle[4] with the great rival confederacy of the Alemanni, on the Middle Rhine, and believing that his own

[1] See the note in Robertson, vol. i. p. 516; and 'The Tongue not essential to Speech; with Illustrations of the Power of Speech in the African Confessors,' by the Hon. E. T. B. Twisleton.

[2] His proper name, *Clodowig*, or *Hlodwig* (in later German, *Ludwig*), was Latinized both into *Clovis* and *Ludovicus*, whence the French *Louis*.

[3] It must be remembered that the Franks were a body of warriors small in comparison with the Romanized Gauls whom they subdued, and whose religion, language, and civilization absorbed those of the conquerors. This is not the place to discuss more precisely the relations between the races.

[4] At Tolbiac, *i.e.* Zülpich, near Bonn.

gods had failed him, Clovis invoked the help of Christ, vowing to become a Christian if he won the victory. So it fell out; and at Christmas (496) Clovis was baptized, with 3000 of his warriors, by Bishop Remigius at Rheims.

As he entered the cathedral, brilliant with many candles filled with incense, and resounding with sweet hymns, Clovis, seized with awe and rapture, asked the bishop whether this were the kingdom of heaven that he had spoken of. "No!" answered Remigius; "but it is the beginning of the way thither." As he stood at the font to receive the sacrament, the bishop said to him, "Meekly bow thy neck, Sicambrian; worship that which thou hast burnt, burn that which thou hast worshipped."[1]

No event is more important in the history of Western Europe than this, which united the Frank conquerors and their Gallo-Roman subjects by the bonds of religion, while it secured to Clovis the enthusiastic support of the Catholic Church and people, who regarded the Arian Goths as persecuting tyrants.[2]

By the submission of the Armoric states Clovis extended his kingdom to the Loire (497). A great victory made the Burgundians tributary to him (500). Declaring a religious war against the Arian Visigoths (507), he crossed the Loire, and subdued Aquitania as far as the Garonne; but his further advance was checked by the Ostrogoths, whom Theodoric led from Italy to the rescue of their Western brethren.[3] On his return to Tours, Clovis received an embassy of congratulation from the Emperor Anastasius, who conferred on him the titles and insignia of Consul and Patrician; so that the great kingdom of the West was recognized as a part of the imperial system by him who claimed to be the supreme civil and religious authority.[4]

This first Catholic king resembled the first Christian emperor in his moral inconsistencies. His exclamation, when he heard Remigius read the story of our Lord's passion, "Had I been there with my Franks, I would have avenged his wrongs!" is a natural

[1] "Mitis depone colla, Sicamber; adora quod incendisti, incende quod adorasti." (Gregor. Touron. ii. 31.)

[2] At the time of his baptism, Clovis was the only orthodox sovereign in Christendom. Theodoric of Italy, as well as the kings of the Burgundians, Visigoths, and Vandals, were Arians, and the Emperor Anastasius favoured the Monophysite doctrine. Hence his successors in what afterwards became the French kingdom (a name quite improper to be used yet) obtained the title of "the Eldest Son of the Church."

[3] This war is embellished with many miracles in the history of Gregory of Tours.

[4] Here is another example of the acknowledged principle, that the Roman Empire still existed in the West as well as the East.

outburst of martial enthusiasm; but Clovis was equally ready to gain his own ends by bloodshed and treachery.[1] Not that he was a hypocrite; but the religion which transforms the savage nature must have the deeper root of that genuine conversion of the heart which usually followed, instead of preceding, the profession of Christianity by the barbarian kings with hundreds and thousands of their people. The belief had already sprung up, that crimes of passion and policy could be atoned for by that liberality to churches and monasteries which secured for Clovis the favour of the clergy.

By the murder of other chieftains, most of whom were his near relatives, Clovis changed his elective command of all the Frank tribes into an hereditary kingdom (510).[2] In the following year he convened the first Council of the Church of the Franks at Orleans, and he died at Paris, at the age of forty-five, on Nov. 27, 511. He was buried in the church founded by himself and Clotilda, in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul, which became famous as the abbey church of Ste. Genéviève. His religious director, Remigius (St. Remi), survived till 533, having been made Bishop of Rheims at the age of twenty-two, and held the see for seventy-two years.

§ 6. The conquests of the Franks spread Christianity among the German tribes, and revived it where it had taken feeble root or been partially extinguished, as along the course of the Rhine. But this Christianity was corrupted, on the one hand by barbarism and heathen superstition, on the other, by the vices of the worn-out civilization of the old Empire. The history of the successive Merovingian kings displays an ever-deepening depravity. Bloodshed and licentiousness were thought to be atoned for by gifts for charity and religion; and the churches were made sanctuaries for murderers.[3] Much vice, and even crime, is found among the clergy themselves, and those who rebuked the sins of the powerful often put their own lives in peril; as when Prætextatus, bishop of Rouen, was stabbed while performing high mass in his cathedral, at Easter, 586, for an offence given to the infamous Queen Fredegund. The religion of the age degenerated more and more into a reliance on rites and pompous forms of worship, while its credulity was fostered by innumerable miracles. "Yet good men, such as Cæsarius of Arles, were never wanting to assert the necessity of a really

[1] The excellent and pious Gregory, bishop of Tours, the historian of the Franks, relates the crimes of Clovis without a word of abhorrence.

[2] Clovis was at first king only of the Salian Franks. The royal line which he founded was called *Merovingian*, or the *Meerwings*, i.e. sons of *Meerwig*, in Latin *Meroveus*, the grandfather of Clovis. The dynasty lasted till 752.

[3] The right of sanctuary had its good side, as preventing the hasty vengeance of an enemy on a person who might be innocent, or whose act of homicide might be justifiable.

living faith and a thoroughly religious practice; and throughout all the evils of the time the beneficial effects of the Gospel are to be traced in humane and civilizing legislation." [1]

The growth of the Frank power was the means of extirpating Arianism in the neighbouring lands, as by their victories over Burgundy, and in Provence, which was ceded to them by the Goths (534). It would be tedious to relate the vicissitudes of civil and religious war in Spain, till Catholicism was finally established in the united Gothic and Suevic kingdoms, under Recared, by the Council of Toledo (589).

§ 7. The ecclesiastical state of Italy, after the fall of the Empire at Rome, has already been incidentally referred to. In the year 489, the Ostrogoths, who had endangered the throne of Zeno, were induced by that emperor, under his commission to their king Theodoric, to march into Italy, where Odoacer was defeated and besieged in Ravenna, and, after making peace with Theodoric, was treacherously murdered (493). The kingdom of the Ostrogoths in Italy lasted sixty years; but its greatness was confined to the half of that period which formed the reign of THEODORIC (493–526). On the North his dominions reached the Danube, while in the West he checked the conquests of Clovis. His religious policy is strongly contrasted with that of the other Arian conquerors by that toleration, the great principle of which he announced in words already quoted.[2] His toleration extended to the Jews, whom he also protected from the outrages of their Christian neighbours. Against the lurking remains of heathenism, however, he was so zealous, that he forbad the practice of pagan rites on pain of death; but there is no record of this law having been put in force. To the Catholics he showed far more than mere toleration, recognizing their clergy, bestowing liberal gifts on their churches, and employing their bishops on embassies as well their laymen as his ministers.

We have already had occasion to relate Theodoric's collision with the Emperor and Eastern Church, which led him to acts violating his principles of toleration from political motives.[2] It is even said that, in anger at the failure of Pope John's mission to Constantinople, he made an edict for the suppression of Catholic worship in Italy; but, at all events, this was not carried into effect. Thus much is certain, that the tyranny engendered by suspicion grew upon Theodoric in his later years, and left a dark cloud upon his memory. Stories are told of his being haunted by the murdered Symmachus;[3] and a hermit of the volcanic isle of Lipari related how he had seen the Arian persecutor cast by Symmachus and Pope John into the crater as the mouth of hell.[4]

[1] Robertson, vol. i. p. 553.
[2] See Chap. XVI. § 7.
[3] Procop. *Bell. Goth.* i. 1.
[4] Gregory the Great, *Dial.* iv. 30.

§ 8. The factions and crimes of Theodoric's successors, and their dissensions with the Vandals, prepared the way for the generals of Justinian to recover Africa, Sicily, and Italy,[1] for the Empire. The conquest of Italy was begun by BELISARIUS (535) and completed by the eunuch NARSES, who was established as the imperial vicegerent, or *Exarch*, at Ravenna, in 554. The avarice which stained his able government caused the Italians, already fearfully exhausted by the late wars, to appeal to the Emperor Justin II., and Narses was recalled with insult. It was believed that, in his resentment, he invited the LOMBARDS,[2] who were already meditating the invasion of Italy, and that remorse for his treachery caused his death (568). In spite of his great age,[3] he was the only man who could have defended Italy, on which the Lombards now came down unresisted. They occupied the northern plain, which has ever since borne the name of Lombardy, and extended their conquests further over the inland regions. Their leader, ALBOIN, set up at Ticinum, or *Pavia*,[4] a kingdom which lasted for two centuries (568–774), dividing Italy with the Exarchate at Ravenna. The Lombards re-established in their dominions the Arianism which had just been extirpated by the overthrow of the Goths; and theirs was the last of the new kingdoms in which it held its ground.

§ 9. The Exarchs of Ravenna exercised civil, military, and even ecclesiastical power over the rest of Italy. "Their immediate jurisdiction, which was afterwards consecrated as the 'Patrimony of St. Peter,' extended over the modern Romagna, the marshes or valleys of Ferrara and Commachio, five maritime cities from Rimini to Ancona, and a second inland Pentapolis between the Adriatic coast and the hills of the Apennines. Three subordinate provinces, of Rome, of Venice, and of Naples, which were divided by hostile lands from the palace of Ravenna, acknowledged, both in peace and war, the supremacy of the Exarch. The three islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, still adhered to the Empire. Rome was oppressed by the iron sceptre of the Exarchs, and a Greek, perhaps an eunuch, insulted with impunity the ruins of the Capitol . . . . Rome had reached, about the close of the sixth century, the lowest period of her depression. By the removal of the seat of empire and

[1] See the history of these events in the *Student's Gibbon*, chaps. xxi.–xxii.

[2] For the origin and previous conquests of the Lombards, see the *Student's Gibbon*, ch. xxiv. §§ 3–5.

[3] His age is, perhaps, exaggerated by the common account, which makes him ninety-five at his death, and consequently eighty when he performed his greatest exploits.

[4] Milan, which had been the Imperial capital before Honorius retired to Ravenna, had lately been destroyed by the Goths. In the Middle Ages it became again the capital of Lombardy.

the successive loss of the provinces, the sources of public and private opulence were exhausted . . . . Like Thebes, or Babylon, or Carthage, the name of Rome might have been erased from the earth, if the city had not been animated by a vital principle, which again restored her to honour and dominion."[1] It was on the ruins of Rome's political empire that the Popes built the foundations of the new spiritual empire of which still Rome remained the centre.

§ 10. The beginning of the fifth century is the epoch from which the advance in the pretensions and power of the Roman see becomes conspicuous. The weak successors of Theodosius the Great retained little power over the bishop, whom their withdrawal to Ravenna left, in his splendid Lateran palace, the chief citizen of the city which was still regarded as the head of the world (*caput orbis terrarum*). It happened, however, that at this very time, a contest for the Papacy called for an interference of the civil power, which set a precedent to later ages. On the death of Zosimus, in 418, two rival bishops, Boniface and Eulalius, were consecrated by their respective partisans. The Emperor Honorius decided for Boniface, and enacted a law that, when two persons should be chosen for the see of Rome, a new election should be held. "And this was the origin of the important influence which temporal princes afterwards exercised in the election of Roman bishops."[2]

We have seen how the controversies of the Eastern Church tended to raise the Bishop of Rome to the position of the arbitrator of Christendom, while his claims to be the head of the Western Church advanced steadily. The Bishop of Rome stood alone in the West as the holder of the only patriarchal see; and it seems to be in this sense that Augustine calls Innocent I. the "ruler of the Western Church." INNOCENT I. (402–417) carried these pretensions beyond all his predecessors, not only assuming jurisdiction over the great province of Eastern Illyricum, but asserting that the whole Western Church was bound to conform to the usages of Rome. Under Innocent and his successor ZOSIMUS (417–418), the Pelagian controversy tended to increase the Pope's authority in that very Church (the African) where it was most strenuously resisted; and the circular letter of Zosimus is the earliest instance of a standard of orthodoxy proposed by Rome.[3] The claim of the same bishop to entertain appeals from Africa, in virtue of a Nicene canon, was met by a proof that the canon was one only of the Sardican Council;[4]

[1] *Student's Gibbon*, 381–3.

[2] Robertson, vol. i. p. 498.

[3] See Chap. XIV. § 12.

[4] "Leo repeated, in more than one instance, the attempt to pass off a Sardican for a Nicene canon, notwithstanding the exposure of the imposture in the case of Zosimus." (Robertson, vol. i. p. 494.)

and the African bishops boldly expressed to Boniface I. (418–423) the hope that they might no longer have to complain of the secular pride and arrogance of Rome.[1] In the Nestorian controversy Celestine I. (423–432) made the unprecedented claim to depose a Patriarch of Constantinople; but without success, for Nestorius was deposed by the General Council of Ephesus.[2]

§ 11. The most resolute, able, and successful assertor of the prerogatives of Rome was Leo I. the Great (440–461). He set the example to his successors of claiming unbroken apostolic tradition for the pretensions and practices of Rome, however recent they might be, and of endeavouring to force them on the whole Church. The authority of Leo was admitted in Spain, where the Catholic bishops looked for his support against the Arian Goths, as well as in Sicily; and the independent spirit of the African Church was bowed by its disasters to seek support from Rome at the price of allowing interference. In Gaul he took advantage of an appeal from a deposed bishop to claim authority over Hilary, bishop of the metropolitan see of Arles, a man second to none of that age in zeal, piety, and learning; and Leo procured from Valentinian III. a law declaring the Bishop of Rome to be the rightful ruler of the whole Church, and ordering his appointments to be obeyed as laws, and his citations of bishops to be enforced by the provincial governors (A.D. 445).

§ 12. At the Council of Chalcedon, as we have seen, the legates of Rome for the first time obtained an equal share in the presidency with the Patriarch of Constantinople; and Leo availed himself of this to speak as if they had guided the decisions of the Council. This was an artifice to magnify that authority which received a real and great accession by the adoption of his Letter to Flavian. Leo's interference with the internal affairs of the Byzantine Church threatened a quarrel, which was only averted by the death of the Patriarch Anatolius (458), three years before that of Leo himself, in whom (says Canon Robertson)[3] "we for the first time meet with something approaching to the Papacy of later times; the conception is, in the main, already formed, though as yet but imperfectly realized."[4]

§ 13. There is little to distinguish the Bishops of Rome in the 130 years between Leo the Great and Gregory the Great. The most important points in their history have been related in connection with the Eastern Church. Leo's archdeacon and successor,

[1] Robertson, vol. i. p. 493.

[2] See Chap. XV. § 4.

[3] Vol. i. p. 498.

[4] The works of Leo are ninety-six short Sermons (the earliest extant by a Roman bishop) and 173 Epistles, including those written to him. There are some doubtful works, the chief of which is 'On the Calling of the Nations' (*De Vocatione omnium Gentium*).

HILARY I. (461–468), who had been his legate at Ephesus, maintained the same principles of orthodoxy in the East and authority over the West, especially over the Gallic Church. His successor, SIMPLICIUS (468–483), witnessed the fall of the Western Empire, without seeming to be aware of its importance even to the interests of his see.[1] Though, as we have seen, the theory of the Empire was preserved, the fact that Rome was in the hands of a barbarian ruler made its bishop the present and living head of Roman and Latin society; and the more so as he was the centre of the Catholic faith amidst the Arian conquerors. His dignity seems to have been felt by those conquerors themselves, who left ecclesiastical affairs in his hands; but they asserted their authority to regulate his election and the temporal affairs of the see.

On the election of FELIX III. (483–492) as successor to Simplicius, an officer of Odoacer expressed his surprise that the king's licence had not been asked, and he prohibited the alienation of Church property by bishops. A Roman Council, twenty years later, enacted the same prohibition, while protesting against its imposition by the civil power.

Theodoric abstained from interference with the Church of Rome, even when a contest between Symmachus and Laurentius for the succession to ANASTASIUS II. had given rise to bloodshed, till he was appealed to as arbiter; and he then gave his decision for SYMMACHUS (498-514), as having been chosen by the majority of votes and having been consecrated before his rival. The party of Laurentius then brought serious moral charges against Symmachus, and the riots were renewed. Theodoric appointed the Bishop of Altino "visitor" of the Roman Church, and, with the consent of Symmachus, called a council of bishops from all parts of Italy,—a singular thing according to later Roman ideas, a council convened by an heretical prince to sit in judgment upon a Pope![2] And a remarkable judgment was pronounced by this famous Synod of the Palm. It acquitted Symmachus without investigation, on the ground that there were difficulties in the case, which must therefore be left to the Divine judgment. The easy transition to the principle that a successor of St. Peter was above all human judgment,

[1] How little this event was viewed as the real end of the Roman Empire is seen from the fact that Simplicius does not mention it in his letters.

[2] It should be remembered (as already stated) that this is the time (about A.D. 500) when the title of POPE (*Papa*) is first found applied by any writer to the Bishop of Rome, namely, by Ennodius of Pavia (*ob.* 521: *Patrol.* lxiii. 69). The Synod of the Palm (*Synodus Palmaris*) was so called from the place of meeting, "a porticu beati Petri Apostoli, quæ appellatur *ad Palmaria*" (Anastasius, *ap.* Schaff, vol. ii. p. 325). Its date is variously placed at 501 or 503.

and responsible to God alone, was made by the deacon Ennodius, afterwards Bishop of Pavia, in his Defence of the Council,[1] and was adopted by the Sixth Roman Council held by Symmachus; and acts of earlier Bishops of Rome were forged to countenance the assumption.

Theodoric abstained from interference with the action of the Roman bishops in the quarrel with Constantinople about the Monophysite controversy; but their reconciliation roused his political jealousy and led to his persecution of Pope John I., which has already been related. Just a month before his death he ended a protracted struggle for the succession to John by nominating FELIX IV. (526–530); and he made an ordinance that hereafter, as heretofore, the Pope should be elected by the clergy and people, but should be confirmed by the temporal prince before assuming his office. During the confusion that followed the death of Theodoric, the elections of BONIFACE II. (530–532) and JOHN II. (532–535) were again disgraced by violent contentions and bribery.

§ 14. On the recovery of Italy by Belisarius, Justinian adopted towards the Church of Rome the same policy by which he had reduced that of Constantinople to subservience. He deprived the people at large of their share in the election of bishops, who were to be chosen by the clergy and principal inhabitants of each city. "He made new and stringent regulations as to the confirmation of the Pope by the civil power. According to the *Liber Diurnus*, a collection of forms which represents the state of things in those days or shortly after, the death of a Roman bishop was to be notified to the Exarch of Ravenna; the successor was to be chosen by the clergy, the nobles of Rome, the soldiery and the citizens; and the ratification of the election was to be requested in very submissive terms, both of the Emperor and of his deputy the Exarch."[2]

The chief points in the history of the Popes under Justinian have been related in connection with the Monophysite controversy. Their loss of power and dignity was increased by the schism of Aquileia and other parts of the West;[3] but the invasion of the Lombards loosened their dependence on the Emperor, and increased their political importance as leaders in the defence of Italy, and as the possessors of immense wealth. The Emperors requited their services with new civil privileges.

§ 15. Meanwhile they extended their claims of jurisdiction, which were strengthened by frequent appeals from bishops and applications from churches for advice on difficult questions. In the *Decretal Epistles* sent in answer, "the applicants were glad to be

[1] *Libellus Apologeticus pro Synodo IV. Romana*, in Mansi, viii. 274.
[2] Robertson, vol. i. p. 564.
[3] See Chap. XVI. § 11.

assured that the substance of such replies was of apostolical tradition, and of universal authority; and the Pope came to be regarded as a general dictator in matters of this kind. About the middle of the sixth century, Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman monk of Scythian birth, collected the canons of the general and of the chief provincial councils, translating those which were in Greek, and including with them the Decretal Epistles of the Roman bishops, from Siricius downwards. The work became a standard of ecclesiastical law in the West; and it contributed largely to heighten the authority of the see whose decisions and advices were thus apparently placed on a level with those of the most venerated councils."[1]

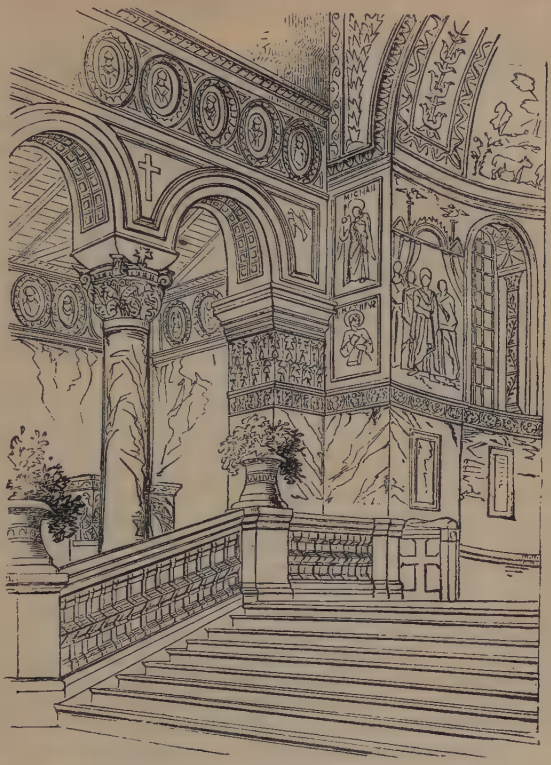
§ 16. These advances towards Papal ascendancy were still kept in check by the supremacy of the emperors and the conflicting claims of the Eastern patriarchs. Titles which appeared to concede authority over the universal church were used as terms of flattery, as when, at the Council of Chalcedon, the Alexandrians called Leo "Œcumenical Bishop and Patriarch of Great Rome."[2] The style of *Œcumenical Patriarch*[3] was assumed by the bishops of Constantinople, without implying a claim to supremacy over the Western Church; and it was equally applied to the Bishop of Rome by a Byzantine Council held by the Patriarch Mennas. In like manner, Justinian, who, with all the formality of law, calls the Church of Constantinople "the head of all the churches," applied the very same title to the Church of Rome. A new epoch in the advance of the Roman See and in the History of the Church begins with the pontificate of GREGORY THE GREAT, which "marks the transition of the patriarchal system into the strict Papacy of the Middle Ages."[4]

[1] Robertson, vol. i. p. 561. Dionysius Exiguus was the inventor of the new Paschal cycle, which was adopted at Rome in 525, and of the system of dating from the Christian era, which he places four years too low (according to the now received chronology), so that the birth of Christ falls at the division between the years B.C. 5 and 4 of Dionysius. See this fully explained in the *Student's N. T. Hist.*, chap. vi. Note B, p. 163.

[2] "It was afterwards pretended that the title was given by the whole Council (Greg. Mag. *Epist.* v. 18, 20, 44); but Gregory's editors show that this was not the case." (Robertson, vol. i. p. 560.)

[3] The title is explained by Anastasius the Librarian, in the Preface to the Acts of the Second Nicene Council, as not consistent with the Latin *universalis*, but, in the more literal Greek sense, as applying to any particular part *inhabited* by Christians (Robertson, vol. ii. p. 9). When assumed, however, by the Patriarch John the Faster, in 583, it was understood in the West in the wider sense, and called forth the protests of Pelagius II. and Gregory the Great, which we have to notice presently, Chap. XIX. § 5.

[4] Schaff, vol. ii. p. 329.



Sanctuary of S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INTERNAL STATE OF THE CHURCH.

CENTURIES IV.–VI.

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§ 1. THE completion of the Sixth Century marks another epoch, from which it is well to survey the state of the Church during the three hundred years of its connection with the State, which had followed the like period of persecuted independence.

With regard to the constitution of the Church, and the development of her hierarchal government, there is little or nothing of importance to add to what has been said in reviewing the Fourth Century[1] and in the subsequent course of our narrative. The continuance of outward prosperity, the increase of ecclesiastical wealth, the influence of churchmen in state affairs, and the authority which they wielded in provincial and general councils, were continually tending to increase the exaltation of the clergy above the laity, and to widen the distinction between the ranks of the clergy themselves.

The primitive idea of the consecration to the work of the ministry was stiffened into the formal law of the indelibility of holy orders, of which the *tonsure* became the sign. This mode of shaving the head, at first the badge of penitents, and from them adopted by the monks, as a token of constant humiliation, became the regular mark of the clerical profession.[2]

§ 2. A special training for the ministry of the Church was provided by schools of divinity, such as those at Alexandria and Antioch, Edessa and Nisibis; and it was esteemed a bishop's duty to care for the education of his clergy; while the great monasteries became the chief seats of theological learning. The age qualifying

[1] Chap. XII.

[2] The tonsure first became common among the clergy in the sixth century, and an essential mark of ordination after that epoch. It was of various forms: the Greeks shaved or rather clipped close the hair of the whole head; the Romans shaved the crown of the head, leaving a ring of hair, in imitation of the crown of thorns, while a third practice prevailed in the Scoto-Irish Church, of shaving the front of the head, as far back as the ears, so that the hair formed a crescent. The Greeks pleaded the authority of Paul, the Romans that of Peter, and they ascribed to his antagonist, Simon Magus (whom they had somehow discovered to have been bald!) the Scoto-Irish tonsure, which was long a bone of contention among the Churches of Britain, equally with the time of keeping Easter (see Chap. XIX.).

for holy orders was fixed at thirty, after the example of Christ's entrance on His public ministry. The enhanced sanctity of holy orders increased the power of the bishops, who alone could confer ordination; and the appointment of the clergy fell very early into their hands, though still with the assent (real or supposed) of the congregation. The Council of Orange (441) first extended episcopal patronage beyond a bishop's own diocese, in the case of churches that he might have built in another; and, a century later, Justinian granted the same privilege to laymen. His law of 541 enacted that "any one who should found a church, and should endow it with a maintenance for a clerk, might nominate a person who should be ordained to it. The bishops, however, were at liberty in such cases to refuse ordination, if the individual presented were unfit."[1] Such was the origin of *Lay Patronage* in the Church.

The clerical profession, with its rank, wealth, and power, its privileges and exemptions, became an increasing object of worldly ambition; while the conflict of parties, churches and congregations called for leaders with other qualifications than those which were spiritual. Promotion to the highest ecclesiastical offices, passing over the intermediate grades, became a common practice. The spontaneous impulse, which had called forth an Ambrose or Augustine against his will, degenerated into the strange system of forcible ordination, which could only be evaded by the person so chosen taking an oath that he would not submit to be ordained, for then he was not compelled to forswear himself. While some, by affected reluctance, procured their forced ordination in order to enhance their own importance, it was imposed on others as a political disqualification.[2] Both these practices, of conferring on neophytes the higher clerical grades, and of forcible ordination, were condemned by councils and imperial edicts; and the presbyters and lower clergy were allowed to renounce orders imposed against their will. But in the case of bishops, those only were esteemed fit for the office who had been unwilling to assume it.[3] The severance of

[1] Novell. cxxiii. 18; Robertson, vol. i. p. 568.

[2] The Roman emperors Avitus (456) and Glycerius (475) were deposed in this manner; and the practice was not uncommon in the Middle Ages.

[3] Hence the affectation still perpetuated in the formula "nolo episcopari"; the whole principle being curiously at variance with that other "saying" which Paul says, is "to be believed—whoever *seeks* the episcopate *desires* a good work." (1 Tim. iii. 1: Πιστὸς ὁ λόγος, Εἴ τις τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρέγεται, καλοῦ ἔργου ἐπιθυμεῖ.) It is worthy of special notice, that these words are immediately followed by others no less clearly opposed to clerical celibacy (v. 2–5), and to the ordination of neophytes (v. 6). Such were the advances already made upon Apostolic precepts by ecclesiastical custom and law.

a bishop from his flock was deemed a sort of spiritual adultery, on the principle—now common in the Church—of applying to the clergy the language and imagery which Scripture appropriates to their Divine Master.

§ 3. This fanciful exaggeration of the bond between the bishops and their charge suggests, by transition of thought, the increasing opposition to those natural ties which Scripture expressly sanctions, adding special reasons for their observance by the ministers of the Church;[1] while experience proves that the attempt to set up a higher standard of purity tends to defeat itself. Much indeed may be said for voluntary celibacy, deliberately chosen and sustained by higher principle; but a law imposed upon a whole class is quite another thing; and long before the law was made, the dangers even of the voluntary custom had become conspicuous. The Nicene Council, which (as we have seen) refused to impose celibacy on the clergy, found it already needful to enact a rule against the reception into the houses of the clergy of female companions or attendants,[2] except such as near relationship or advanced age placed above suspicion. This canon was made an imperial law by Honorius, in 420.[3]

It is a most important fact that no General Council imposed celibacy on the clergy, though that of Chalcedon assumes the existence of certain prohibitions. Even as early as that of Nicæa, the arguments on the question seem to assume the existence of a law forbidding marriage after ordination to the higher clerical grades of deacon, presbyter, or bishop.[4] The practice of the Eastern Church was for a long time more liberal than that of the Western, where the Popes early declared for celibacy, as we have already seen in the decretal of Siricius (385).[5] Local synods were constantly at work to enforce rules which the General Councils had not imposed on the whole Church. The successive steps of this partial legislation are traced by Canon Robertson,[6] who adds the important remark, that

[1] See the passage cited in the preceding note.

[2] "Subintroductam mulierem."—*Can. Nic.* 3.

[3] Cod. Theodos. XVI. ii. 44.

[4] One result of this rule was a factitious barrier to the promotion of clergymen, however fit; as when Lupus of Troyes (in the fifth century) tells us that he and other bishops tried to meet the difficulty of enforcing the rule by avoiding the elevation of married clergymen from the lower orders to the higher. (Lupus, *Epist.* 2; Patrolog. lviii.)

[5] Chap. XII. § 12.

[6] Vol. i. p. 565: "The general aim of the canons was to prevent marriage altogether, if possible; to extend the prohibition to the inferior grades of the ministry; to debar the married from higher promotion; to prevent such clerks as were allowed to marry once from entering into a

"the frequency of such canons is itself a proof how imperfectly they were able to make way; and very many cases are recorded which show that the enforcement of them was found impracticable, and that a variety of usages in different places was largely tolerated." It is a significant fact that one of the first imperial enactments on the subject[1] dealt chiefly with the abuses naturally resulting from the attempt to enforce celibacy, while it allowed clergymen married before ordination to keep their wives on the very logical grouud that these are not unfitly joined to clerks, who have, by their conversation, made their husbands worthy of the priesthood."

The progress made in the course of another century, by the civil law as well as the canons of the Church, is seen in several enactments of Justinian, confirming the ecclesiastical prohibitions of clerical marriage, and declaring the issue of such marriages illegitimate, and incapable of inheriting property. He also assigns the danger of nepotism as a reason for forbidding the promotion to bishoprics of those who had children or grandchildren.[2]

§ 4. The progress of celibacy was doubtless, in a great measure, the result of a spirit of emulation with the monastic purity of life. But monasticism itself had already begun to decline from its first simplicity and enthusiasm, as was natural from the rapid growth of the system in popular favour, and the power which the monks wielded in the controversies of the age. The monastic profession was encouraged by imperial edicts; especially when Justinian gave public sanction to the abuse of it which sets the social laws of nature at defiance, permitting it to be made by married persons, children, and slaves, against the will of their consorts, their parents, and their masters. The monks acquired more and more of the clerical character, notwithstanding the opposition of the ecclesiastical authorities;[3] and they were held in higher popular reputation than the clergy for holiness. They aimed at practical independence, as much as possible, of the episcopal control to which

second union; to limit their choice to women who had never been married; to separate the married clergy from their wives, or, if they lived together, to restrain them from conjugal intercourse." One result of these laws is seen in "the fact that, in proportion as celibacy was enforced on the clergy, it became the more necessary to enact canons prohibiting them to entertain concubines or other 'extraneous' female companions" (*extraneas fœminas vel ancillas*).—*Ibid.* p. 566.

[1] The law of Honorius (A.D. 420) already cited.

[2] See the laws cited by Robertson, vol. i. p. 566.

[3] Leo the Great forbids monks to preach, or to intermeddle with other clerical functions (*Epist.* cxviii. 2; cxix. 6)."—Robertson, vol. i. p. 572.

they were subjected by the Council of Chalcedon and the laws of Justinian.[1]

In the West, where monasticism had been first planted more slowly than among the enthusiasts of Egypt and Asia, it struck root deeper into society, and grew into better organized forms which bore more practical fruit. There is much truth in the eloquent words of Montalembert:[2]—"The monastic stream, which had been born in the desert of Egypt, divided itself into two great arms. The one spread in the East, at first inundated everything, then concentrated and lost itself there. The other escaped into the West, and spread itself by a thousand channels over an entire world, which had to be covered and fertilised."

The monasteries of the West acquired new importance from the revolution which overthrew the Empire. "Monks, both by their numbers and by their profession of especial sanctity, impressed the barbarian conquerors. Their abodes, therefore, became a secure retreat from the troubles of the time; they were honoured and respected, and wealth was largely bestowed on them. But where the monastic profession was sought by many for reasons different from those which its founders had contemplated—for the sake of a safe and tranquil life rather than for penitence and religious profession—a strong tendency to degeneracy was naturally soon manifested. And thus in the earlier part of the sixth century there was room for the labours of a reformer."[3]

§ 5. Early in the sixth century the man arose who, in simply setting an example of the much needed reform, gave to Western monasticism the permanent organization which placed it on a surer foundation than the Eastern type, and made it the source of immense practical results, both for good and evil. To SAINT BENEDICT OF NURSIA,[4] founder of the famous *Benedictine Order*, is justly awarded "the dignity of patriarch of the Western monks. He has furnished a remarkable instance of the incalculable influence

[1] The first country in which this principle was violated was Africa, where, about the year 520, many monastic societies, passing over the local bishops, placed themselves under the primate of Carthage, or other distant prelates (*Conc. Carthag.* A.D. 525)."—*Ibid.* p. 573.

[2] 'The Monks of the West.'

[3] Robertson, vol. i. p. 573.

[4] The epithet is derived from the Umbrian town near which he was born, now *Norcia*, in the old duchy of Spoleto, in Central Italy. The chief authority for his life is the biography written by Pope Gregory the Great (*Dialog.*, *Lib.* II.), from the communications of four of Benedict's chief disciples, and full of legends of his miracles. Among modern writers, Butler (*Lives of the Saints*, die Mart. 21) and Montalembert (*Monks of the West*, vol. ii. book iv.) are especially interesting.

which a simple but judicious moral rule of life may exercise on many centuries."[1]

Born about A.D. 480, of a noble family,[2] Benedict was only fourteen when he gave proof of his sensitive piety, and his desire for the monastic life, by fleeing from his dissolute fellow-students at Rome to a dark cave in the barren rocks about the lakes which gave name to Sublaqueum (*Subiaco*),[3] in the valley of the Anio (*Teverone*), above forty miles east of Rome. This retreat was known to none but Romanus, a neighbouring monk, who had seen Benedict in his flight, and who fed him with a part of his own moderate conventual allowance of bread. On certain days the small loaf was let down to Benedict's grotto at the end of a cord, his friend calling his attention by a bell. Here the youthful hermit passed through conflicts like those of St. Anthony; and the plantations of roses which still adorn a neighbouring garden are ascribed to a miraculous transformation by St. Francis (in 1223) of the beds of thorns on which Benedict used to roll naked, to subdue his sensual passion.

In the course of years, his retreat was discovered by the shepherds, who at first took the recluse in his garment of skins for a wild beast. Their report of his pious instructions and miraculous powers caused Benedict to be sought out for the abbacy of a neighbouring cloister, which he only accepted after warning the monks against electing an abbot of manners so unlike their own (510). And so it fell out; for his monks repaid his zeal for their reformation by mixing poison with his drink; but he no sooner made over it the sign of the cross, than the cup flew to pieces; whereupon Benedict gently reminded them of his caution, and retired to his solitude. The main facts underlying the legend give a striking example of the early corruption of monasticism and the selfish passions which are an inevitable fruit of the system.

After this, the hermit of Subiaco could no longer lie hidden. The concourse of admiring disciples, and the youths sent to him by the Roman nobility for instruction, caused Benedict to found among those wild hills the apostolic number of twelve monasteries, each with an abbot and twelve monks. But, being again assailed by the persistent envy of a priest named Florentius, who maligned his character and renewed the attempt to poison him, Benedict departed,

[1] Schaff, vol. ii. p. 217.

[2] "*Liberiori genere*" (Greg. c. 1).

[3] The site of a villa of Nero, who appears to have made the three artificial lakes, which have now disappeared. The place was probably quite deserted at the time of Benedict's retreat. The modern town of Subiaco has grown up round the Benedictine monastery of Sta. Scolastica, named after Benedict's sister, who founded there a convent for nuns.

with a few companions, in search of a new home (528). Travelling along the chain of hills, amongst which Fabius had played his waiting game of war with Hannibal, they came to a lofty height above Casinum[1] and the valley of the Liris, crowned by a grove and temple, where Apollo was still worshipped by the rustics. After arduous labours for their conversion, and overcoming diabolical prodigies by miracles, Benedict cut down the grove, destroyed the temple and idol, and on the site of the overturned altar he built an oratory to St. John the Evangelist and St. Martin of Tours.

Around the spot thus consecrated he proceeded to erect the renowned monastery of *Monte Cassino*,[2] which became the head-quarters of the whole Benedictine order; "the most powerful and famous monastery in the Catholic universe, celebrated especially because there Benedict wrote his rule and formed the type which was to serve as a model to innumerable communities submitted to that sovereign code" (529).[3] Here, without relaxing his ascetic self-discipline, Benedict exchanged his hermit life for that of a ruler, instructor, and missionary, though he was never ordained to the priesthood. He himself founded a second cloister near Terracina; and two of his favourite disciples, Placidus and Maurus,[4] carried the "holy rule" into Sicily and Gaul, whence it spread to Spain. Thus during the fourteen years of his life at Monte Cassino, Benedict saw the establishment of his system in all the western provinces of Europe. He died while praying in a standing posture, at the foot of the altar from which he had just received the Eucharist, on the day now sacred to him in the Calendar, the 21st of March, 543.

§ 6. The *Rule of St. Benedict*[5] is embodied in seventy-three Chapters of Ordinances—moral, social, liturgical, and penal—with

[1] This important town on the *Via Latina*, the last on the borders of Latium towards Campania, is now called *San Germano*, while the ancient name is preserved by the eminence made famous by St. Benedict. The continuance of heathen worship on the frontiers of Latium, as late as the beginning of the sixth century, is a striking example of the survival of "*paganism*" in the heart of Italy. [2] Monasterium Cassinense.

[3] Montalembert, ii. 19, who quotes Dante's description of Monte Cassino in the *Paradiso*. Benedict wrote his rule in the same year in which the Schools of Athens were closed by Justinian, and in which the Semi-Pelagian doctrine was condemned by the Council of Orange.

[4] Maurus was the founder of the abbacy of Glanfeuil (*St. Maur sur Loire*), and the patron saint of the branch of the Benedictines in France, who adopted the name of Maurians (1618), and whose splendid works have gained for the order its chief literary fame.

[5] "Regula Sancti Benedicti."—The chief editions are those of Dom Calmet, Par. 1734, and Dom Charles Brandes, Einsiedlen and New York, 1857. The best summaries of its contents are those of Gieseler, *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. i. pt. ii. § 119, and Montalembert, chap. ii.

a Preface, or Prologue, setting forth its motives and first principles. In order to pass this life in holiness and usefulness, so as to reap an eternal reward—says the famous author—"we must form *a school of divine servitude*, in which, we trust, nothing too heavy or rigorous will be established." The extreme severity of Oriental monasticism, impracticable in less favoured climates, and therefore affording a pretext for the relaxed discipline, was adapted to European modes of life, and made variable within limits suited to different countries and races. Hence the system had an unlimited power of expansion. Nor was it less skilfully adapted to human nature by its combination of social equality with the most absolute obedience to its laws, submission to its appointed authorities, and subjection to episcopal supervision, which united it firmly to the whole system of the Church. Its leading objects were the propagation of the faith, the extirpation of heathenism, the instruction of the young, the nurture of divine life in the soul, the purification of the whole nature, and the exercise of the body by useful work, especially the cultivation of the land. For mental exercise Benedict himself prescribed only what would be spiritually profitable, the study of Holy Scripture and edifying books, especially the Lives of the Saints and the 'Conferences' of John Cassian.[1] But the primary place given to the education of the young furnished a constant motive for that intellectual progress, the want of which was felt by every active mind, and for which the strict regulation of every hour gave daily opportunities. The example already set by Jerome, and commended to the monks of Benedict's own age by CASSIODORUS,[2] the great founder of literary culture in connection

[1] See Chap. XII. § 18.

[2] Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus, son of a Roman nobleman who had been secretary to Valentinian III., was born at Scylaceum (*Squillace*) in Calabria, about 468, and held office under Odoacer, Theodoric, and his Gothic successors, till the conquest of Italy by Belisarius. At the age of about seventy he retired to his native province (538), and founded the monastery which took its name from the fish-ponds on the estate (*Cœnobium Vivariense*, now *Viviers*), of which he has left an interesting description (in his *De Institut. Divin. Litt.* 29, *seq.*). The high literary culture and splendid library of Cassiodorus gave this foundation a character distinct from other monasteries; he employed his monks in copying MSS., and himself in the composition of new works for their instruction, and in scientific recreations, as the making of sun-dials, water-clocks, and self-supplying lamps. One of his books was written at the age of ninety-three, and he attained almost, if not quite, his hundredth year. His works comprise civil and ecclesiastical history and chronology, theology and the exposition of Scripture, and an educational compendium of the seven liberal arts, much used during the Middle Ages, entitled *De Artibus ac Disciplinis Liberalium Literarum*. He is wrongly claimed as a Benedictine.

with Western monasticism, was so well followed by the Benedictines, that literary work became a great tradition of the order and forms its lasting glory down to the most recent times. Amidst the wars of the Middle Ages, the monks in their quiet cloisters transcribed and preserved from destruction the great works of classical and Christian antiquity, of which their successors put forth some of the noblest copies from the press; witness the Benedictine editions of the Christian Fathers. Nor must we forget the vast service rendered to the history of our own country by the Chronicles compiled in the monasteries, of which St. Albans has the chief glory.

It lies beyond our scope to give more than the merest outline of the details of the Benedictine rule. Each convent was a society of members equal in every thing but the official rank needful for government, and the marks of deep respect due to age, according to which they addressed one another as "father" (*nonnus*) or "brother" (*frater*);[1] never by their individual names, for personality was as far as possible merged in the community. The monks chose their Abbot (whom they addressed as *Domnus*, "lord"), subject to the approval of the bishop of the diocese; and Benedict is equally careful to impress on the Abbot a sense of his responsibility and moderation in using his authority, and on the monks the duty of entire and cheerful obedience to their Abbot, as standing to them in the place of Christ. The Prior or Provost (*præpositus*), who ranked next to the Abbot, was to be chosen by him, in order to secure his complete submission;[2] indeed, Benedict was so jealous of any rivalry to the Abbot's authority that he preferred that the Abbot should be assisted by elders or *Deans* (*decani*).[3] In all

[1] From the contraction of this word in the Romance languages came *fra* and *frère*, and in English, *frere* and *friar*.

[2] In many monasteries the *præpositus* was chosen by the bishop, and was apt to assume an air of independence towards the abbot.

[3] The word *decānus* (from *decem*) signified originally "one set over ten persons" (as in the army); and so in Greek we have δεκανία (from δεκάς) "a decury," but δεκανός is only ecclesiastical Greek. (The Student should observe the complete etymological difference of *dean* and *deacon*.) In the Church it was used for various offices; and first of an inferior order, such as a member of the guild of the *copiatæ* (see Chap. XII. § 7). The *decanus monasticus* was the assistant of the abbot in superintending the younger brethren, providing for the wants of the community, and looking after the daily movements and service of the convent. It is not till the ninth century that we find the title of Dean used in the two higher senses:—(1) For a presbyter appointed as the bishop's deputy over a part of the diocese (*decania*), who was formerly called *archipresbyter*, and had succeeded to some of the functions of the *chorepiscopi*—(2) For the chief officer of a cathedral (*decanus ecclesiæ cathedralis*). For further details, see the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. DECANUS.

ordinary matters his councils were to be shared with the elder monks; but he was bound to bring subjects of greater importance before the whole brotherhood.

The continuous life of each society, and the vigour of the whole system, were greatly promoted by the rule which allowed parents to dedicate their children to the monastic life;[1] and such dedication appears, in earlier times, to have been held as binding equally with the voluntary choice of mature age. But in the latter case, no monastic devotee was permitted to become a full member of the community till after a year's probation,[2] during which the novice had the rule thrice read over to him, and was questioned as to his resolution to keep it. If he repented his choice, he was free to leave the cloister; if he resolved to become a professed monk, at the end of his novitiate, after an examination by the abbot and the brethren, he made a solemn appeal to the saints, whose relics were preserved in the cloister, to witness his vows, a copy of which, subscribed by his hand, he laid upon the altar, thus cutting himself off from the world for ever.[3]

[1] Such children, who were generally of noble families, were called *oblati* (*Regul. Benedict*, cap. 59). Their position is admirably described in Bede's brief account of his own life, from the age of 7 to 59, in the twin monastery of Peter and Paul, at Wearmouth and Jarrow (*Hist. Eccl.* V. 24):—"Qui natus in territorio ejusdem monasterii, cum essem annorum septem, *cura propinquorum datus sum educandus* reverentissimo abbati Benedicto [Benedict Biscop], ac deinde Ceolfrido; *cunctumque ex eo tempus vitæ in ejusdem monasterii habitatione peragens*, omnem meditandis Scripturis operam dedi: atque inter *observantiam disciplinæ regularis et quotidianam cantandi in ecclesia curam*, semper aut *discere*, aut *docere*, aut *scribere* dulce habui." It is noteworthy that he makes no mention of any act of *profession*, though he goes on to state the ages at which he was ordained deacon and presbyter (in his 19th and 30th years); nor is *manual labour* specified among his occupations, unless it be included in his "observance of the discipline of the rule" (of St. Benedict). On the validity of the parental dedication of children there seems to have been a considerable difference of opinion. We are not aware of any decree binding the Roman Catholic Church, but the Council of Toledo (A.D. 527) laid down the rule "*Monachum* aut professio, aut *paterna devotio* facit," and the Council of Worms (A.D. 868) expressly declares it unlawful for such *oblati* to return to the world. These decisions, however, are overruled by a decree of Pope Celestine III. (1191–1198), that the profession of children is not to be held valid unless ratified when they come to years of discretion; and St. Thomas Aquinas maintains the same rule with his unrivalled power of argument (*Summa Theologiæ*, II^{a}. II.^{ae} Quæst. 189, art. 5).

[2] The novitiate was afterwards extended to three years.

[3] "Monks were, however, sometimes allowed to forsake their profession; for it is ordered that their secular clothes should be kept, in order that if any one, '*suadente diabolo*,' should wish to withdraw ('*quod absit*'), he may be stripped of the monastic dress, and turned out in his own (c. 58). His

By the first article of that threefold pledge, the vow of *steadfastness* (*stabilitas*), Benedict added to the monastic system the irrevocable bond of perpetual adherence to the order. The second vow, of complete *reformation of life* (*conversio morum*), in the sense of asceticism, involved especially the obligation of voluntary poverty and chastity. The Benedictine rule abolished all exceptions to the rule of monastic celibacy. The novice, on making his profession, gave up all his property to the monastery, in which the community of goods was the strict law. Frequent search was made for any property secreted by individuals: presents might not be received, even from the nearest relations, without the abbot's permission, and he was free to enforce the lesson of self-denial by transferring a present meant for one monk to another. The produce of their labour, beyond what was required for the use of the convent, was to be sold below its value (to prove the absence of covetousness for gain), and the proceeds carried into the common treasury. The third vow of *obedience* to the abbot, as representing God and Christ (*obedientiâ coram Deo et sanctis ejus*), was designed to make the whole community one in will and action, as it was one in possessions and social life. This obedience was the cardinal virtue of a monk; and the abbot was bound to set the first example of it by his complete conformity to the rules of the order.

The Benedictine mode of life was of thoroughly ascetic simplicity, but without the extreme severity of the Oriental anchorets. Not to punish and destroy the body, as in itself an evil part of our nature, but to keep it in subjection, supporting it only with things absolutely necessary to maintain it as the instrument of labour and devotion; such were the founder's principles, carried out in details on which it is needless to dwell. The diet consisted of bread and cooked *pulmentaria*,[1] a term usually including grain and vegetables, but extended by some authorities to eggs, fish, and even fowl; but the flesh of beasts was only allowed to the weak and sick, whose careful treatment is specially enjoined. The daily allowance included half a flagon (*hemina*) of wine; from which, however, Benedict advised abstinence, if it could be practised without injury to health. On the two fast days in every week, and during the whole winter half-year, one daily meal was to suffice. The rules for the monastic occupations show the Benedictine system in its most healthful

petition or vow was to be preserved as a witness against him, in order, according to the Comment (Patrolog. lxvi. 838), that the abbot might still have the power of reclaiming him."—Robertson, vol. i. p. 576.

[1] This word signifies, like the Greek *ὀψώνιον*, anything eaten as a relish with bread or without it.

character. Of course religious exercises had the highest place, but Benedict set his face against idleness indulged on the plea of devotion. "Idleness is the enemy of the soul; and therefore the brethren ought to employ themselves at certain times in the work of the hands, and again at certain hours in divine reading."[1] Accordingly equal portions of each week-day (seven hours respectively) are allotted to prayer, singing of psalms and meditation, and to manual labour indoors or in the fields, or else to the teaching of the children placed by their parents in the cloister. This educational work became, with those specially qualified for it, more and more a substitute for manual labour, and led on to the literary importance of the Benedictine societies. The abbot was to appoint each brother his special work; but as a check on vanity and self-glorying, if any one showed a disposition to pride himself on his skill in any art, that was the very work which he must be forbidden to practise. Labours of love are especially commended.

The monks performed the domestic work of the convent, which was, if possible, to be so constructed to contain all needful appliances, as water, mill, garden, bakehouse, so that it might be unnecessary for the monks to wander out of doors, "because this is not at all profitable to their souls."[2] None were to go out of the convent without leave, nor must those sent out on business relate their adventures, lest they should distract the brethren. Conversation was to be sparingly indulged in at any time; and silence was enjoined at meals, during which some edifying book was read aloud, and also in the dormitories, each of which was under the care of a dean. The deans exercised a close supervision over the observance of the monastic rules, which were enforced by strict discipline, admonition, penance, and punishments of graduated severity, including corporal chastisement, which had already been directed by the rules of St. Pachomius and Cassian. The last penalty was expulsion from the monastery; but a penitent might be received back, even to the third time.

[1] Cap. 48. "The *horæ canonicæ* are the *Nocturnæ vigiliæ*, *Matutinæ*, *Prima*, *Tertia*, *Sexta*, *Nona*, *Vespera*, and *Completorium*, and are taken (cap. 16) from a literal interpretation of Psalm cxix. 164. *Seven times a day do I praise thee;* and ver. 62, *At midnight I will rise to give thanks unto thee.* The Psalter was the liturgy and hymn-book of the convent, and was so divided among the services of the day, that the whole of it should be chanted once a week.'—Schaff, vol. ii. p. 223. In addition to these fixed times of prayer, some hours were devoted, especially on Sundays, to the reading and study of the Scriptures and books of divinity, among which Benedict especially recommends the *Colloquies* of Cassian.

[2] Cap. 66.

While themselves secluded from the world without, the monks are enjoined to the hospitable entertainment of strangers, especially the poor, "because in them Christ is more especially received."

§ 7. Such are the outlines of that famous Rule which, devised by one earnest mind with the simple object of reforming, within its own sphere of action, the abuses that had overgrown the conventual life, established it on new and lasting foundations, in a form which speedily absorbed the whole monasticism of the West. For while it was the sole model of new foundations, it was so generally adopted in the West that, in the time of Charles the Great, it was a question if there were any monks who were not Benedictines. But it does not appear that Benedict himself foresaw "the vast historical importance which this Rule, designed simply for the cloister of Monte Cassino, was destined to attain. He probably never aspired beyond the regeneration and salvation of his own soul, and that of his brother monks; and all the talk of later Catholic historians about his far-reaching plans of a political and social regeneration of Europe, and the preservation and promotion of literature and art, find no support whatever in his life or in his rule. But he humbly planted a seed, which Providence blessed a hundredfold. By his rule he became, without his own will or knowledge, the founder of an order which, until in the thirteenth century the Dominicans and Franciscans pressed it partially into the background, spread with great rapidity over the whole of Europe, maintained a clear supremacy, formed the model for all other monastic orders, and gave the Catholic Church an imposing array of missionaries, authors, artists, bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and popes, as Gregory the Great and Gregory VII. In less than a century after the death of Benedict, the conquests of the barbarians in Italy, Gaul, and Spain, were reconquered for civilization, and the vast territories of Britain, Germany, and Scandinavia incorporated into Christendom, or opened for missionary labour; and in this progress the monastic institution, regulated and organized by Benedict's rule, bears an honourable share."[1] This capacity for universal action was in fact promoted by the limited scope of the original institution, better than if it had aimed at the organized unity of later monastic orders. "Its ramifications were multiplied under a variety of names; and, although precluded by their vow of obedience from altering their rule, the later Benedictines were able, by means of a distinction between the essential and accidental parts of it, to find pretexts

[1] Schaff, vol. i. p. 224.

for departure in many respects from the rigour of the original constitution."[1]

It was certainly no part of Benedict's plan to establish a great united order governed from a common centre; and Monte Cassino, while the *source* of the order, was in no such sense as this its *head*. Each monastery was originally completely independent, and the formation of congregations of monasteries was a comparatively modern idea. It is only about 200 years since the union of the Cassinese congregation was designed and effected by the superior of Justina's monastery at Padua. We are informed that at one time there were more than 150 independent congregations in the Benedictine Order, without counting the monasteries that remained singly independent; each, however, being subject to the visitation of its own bishop, and all to the authority of the Holy See. At the present time the order consists of a number of independent and autonomous congregations, different from each other in almost every thing, except, of course, the essential vows and the common name of Benedictines. Those, for instance, in Protestant and other states not Roman Catholic, and in heathen lands, are chiefly missionary bodies, a thing quite distinct from the contemplative societies of which Monte Cassino became the type.

A few words remain due to the changing fortunes of the original establishment at Monte Cassino. The monastery had stood but half a century, when it was destroyed by the Lombards (583), as Benedict is said to have foretold. It was rebuilt in 731, destroyed again by the Saracens in 857, and restored about 950. After recovering from many further calamities, and being enriched by the gifts of princes, nobles, and devotees, it was completely re-edified in 1649, and was consecrated for the third time by Pope Benedict XIII. in 1727. At the height of its power, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the convent had several hundreds of monks and an income of half a million ducats; its abbot was the first baron of the Neapolitan Kingdom, and lord of 400 towns and villages. It had suffered repeated spoliations of its wealth, and its inmates had dwindled to a very few, when the great revolution of 1860 led to the general extinction of the Italian monasteries. But the venerable foundation of St. Benedict was specially exempted from the degree of suppression, out of respect for its historic dignity; and the edifice was preserved to the order, on account, both of its magnificence and the impossibility of converting it to any other use—reasons which may be differently regarded as æsthetic, or

[1] Robertson, vol. i. p. 579.

practical, or paradoxical. The number of monks was limited (we believe) to six, and, with a few who have found an unmolested retreat in the wild region where it stands, there are now probably not above a dozen, supported by a very scanty revenue.[1]

§ 8. Time was required to develop afresh those evils inherent in the unnatural system of monastic devotedness, which are independent of any special doctrines, and which no reformed rule could expel or shut out. But in one respect the system had a most unhappy effect on the Church and world without the cloister. Just in proportion to the higher profession and greater strictness of monastic sanctity and self-denial, secular Christians became content with a lower standard of piety and even of morality. This tendency is frequently exposed and resisted by Chrysostom, who, in the very act of defending the monastic life, urges "that all men ought to rise to the same height, and that which ruins the whole world is that we imagine a greater strictness to be necessary for the monk alone, but that others may lead careless lives."[2] Other causes concurred to bring down the standard of practical Christianity;—the transition from the personal choice of a persecuted faith to the following of a religion which had become prevalent and favoured;—its outward adoption by numbers who had but little understood it, and whose minds and morals had been formed by heathenism;—and even the doctrinal controversies of the age, which, while occupying the thoughts with special and minute questions, obscured the general harmony of Christian truth, and placed orthodox profession above Christian practice. The daily religion of many subsided into a moderate performance of outward duties, in no way different from the life of decorous heathens; while the sense of sin had already begun to seek satisfaction in acts of bounty to the Church. Such was the growing spirit of worldliness that, as Augustine says, "an ordinary Christian who professed any seriousness in spiritual things had as much to endure from the mockery of his brethren as a convert to Christianity endured from the mockery of the heathen."[3]

This growth of worldliness was one of several causes which

[1] We are indebted for information as to the present state of Monte Cassino to a friend, an English Benedictine, who has lived in the monastery. He is not certain whether the monks are supported by a remnant of its ancient revenues (though it is more probable that these have all been alienated) or by a grant from the Italian government, like the allowance of 5*d.* a day to the monks who have been expelled from their cloisters The recent changes are, of course, not included in the full 'History of the Monastery,' by Dom Luigi Tosti. 3 vols. Naples, 1842.

[2] *Adv. oppugnatores Vit. Monast.* 3; Robertson, vol. i. p. 344.

[3] Aug. *Ennar. in Ps.* xlviii. and xc.; Robertson, vol. i. p. 356.

affected the forms of *Christian Worship*. The position of worldly dignity, to which the Church and her ministers were raised by connection with the State, combined with the new possession of wealth to furnish both the temptation and means for the gratification of taste and luxury; while the growing exaltation of the clerical office and of the mysterious efficacy of Christian ordinances called for glorification in the emblems and ceremonies that expressed their sanctity. The æsthetic passion deeply seated in human nature asked more or less modestly for satisfaction. The splendour of civil life in the later times of imperial Rome, and under the new Oriental Empire, set an example, for following which the plea was ready, that the house of God should not be more sordidly furnished and served than the palaces of princes, or even the dwellings of common men. The costly fabric and spendid ceremonies of the Jewish temple were made precedents for the Christian Church. "St. Jerome complains of the magnificence which was lavished on churches—their marble walls and pillars, their gilded ceilings, their jewelled altars, which he contrasts with the neglect of all care in the choice of fit persons for the ministry; and he scornfully reprobates the arguments which would defend their richness of furniture and decorations in Christian churches by analogies derived from the Jewish system."[1]

Ceremonial usages that had grown up insensibly, and some of which were only defensible as being freely chosen and subject to equally free amendment, were imposed on the clergy and their congregations by fixed rules; and Augustine complains "that they were grown to such a number, that the estate of Christian people was in worse case concerning that matter than were the Jews,"[2] forasmuch as the Jewish ceremonies were imposed by a Divine law, but these by human authority.

Moreover the rulers of the Church had begun the policy of recommending her service to imperfect converts by the emulation and even imitation of heathen ceremonies, such as lustrations, incense, and the lamps lighted in full day, with the use of which Lactantius had lately taunted the heathen, "as if their God lived in darkness."[3] The like taunts were now retorted upon the Catholic Christians by the Manichean Faustus:—"The sacrifices of the heathen you have turned into love feasts; their idols into martyrs, whom you worship with similar devotion; you propitiate the shades of the dead with wine and dainties; the solemn days of the Gentiles you keep with

[1] Hieron. *Epist.* lii. 10; Robertson, vol. i. p. 355.
[2] *Epist.* lv. 19, quoted in the Preface to our Book of Common Prayer.
[3] Lactant. *Div. Inst.* vi. 2. "Accendunt lumina [Deo] quasi in tenebris agenti."

them, as the Kalends and the Solstices; and certain it is that you have changed nothing from their manner of life."[1] As an indiscriminating charge, this was grossly unfair, but it was too true a description of much that now abused the name of Christ.

§ 9. The full toleration of Christianity, followed directly by its adoption as the religion of the State, placed its public worship on a new footing. Some heathen temples were turned into churches; but their dark and comparatively small "cells"—the mere central shrine of the Deity amidst the courts where the people assembled for His ceremonial worship—were ill-adapted to a service of prayer, praise, and preaching, in full hearing and sight of a congregation. A better type was found in the Roman edifices used for the law-courts and as places of public resort for business, and called *Basilicæ*, the form of which had already been imitated in churches built before the State establishment of Christianity.[2] Many of the Basilicæ were granted by Constantine for use of Christian churches; and the same model was generally adopted, at least for the larger and more splendid of the new churches, together with the name *Basilica*, as happily suited to the earthly court of the King of Kings.[3]

[1] *Ap.* Augustin. *c. Faust*, xx. 4; Robertson, vol. i. p. 355. The graphic exposure of such features in the Church of Rome by Conyers Middleton (*Letter from Rome*) is confirmed by the more orthodox testimony of Professor Blunt (*Vestiges of Ancient Manners and Customs in Italy and Sicily*, London, 1823).

[2] This appears from the notices of churches and their arrangements by Tertullian, Cyprian, and other writers of the third century. The only existing basilican church for which such antiquity is claimed is one in Africa, that of St. Reparatus, near Orleansville (the ancient Castellum Tingitanum) in Algeria: but the inscribed date of 252, belonging to its oldest part, probably refers to a local æra, and signifies A.D. 325, and the second apse was added about 403, to receive the body of the saint.



Basilica of Reparatus.

[3] The Greeks called the basilican form of church *dromical*. The name *Basilica* (sc. *ædes, aula, porticus*) was evidently borrowed (doubtless with the *original* type of the building, though the *later* type was purely Roman), from the Greek στοὰ βασιλική, the *portico* under which the *King* sat to judge his people, but most directly from Athens, where the second Archon, who was chief justice of the republic, retained the title of *King* (βασιλεύς), and his court was called the στοὰ βασίλειος. The application of the name to *basilican churches* seems to have prevailed but gradually, as a topographical writer of Constantine's age describes the emperor's new basilica of the

§ 10. The Roman Basilica, in its ultimate form, was a large oblong hall, generally divided into a middle *nave*[1] and side *aisles*,[2] by a row of pillars on each side, which supported the roof. Sometimes the pillars were wanting, and the hall was without aisles;[3] while some basilicæ had two rows of columns on each side, forming double aisles.[4] In some (as that of Trajan), galleries were supported on square pilasters or piers behind the principal columns. A portion of the nave, at its upper end, was divided from the rest, generally with its floor somewhat raised, and set apart for persons in attendance on the court,[5] which sat in a semicircular recess with a vaulted roof, added beyond the upper end of the rectangular area, and called the *hemicyclium* or *apse*,[6] the praetor's curule chair

Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem as "*basilica*, id est, *dominicum*" (the Latin equivalent of the usual Greek term, κυριακόν, "church").

Besides the happy coincidence in meaning, founded on the highest sense of κύριος and βασιλεύς, it is possible that the courtly forms prevailing under Constantine may have recommended the retention of the name in the more earthly sense of "the king's church" (like our "chapel-royal"). When, for instance, Eusebius speaks of the church built by Constantine at Jerusalem as ὁ βασίλεος νεώς, and calls the name βασίλειος οἶκος, if the latter phrase implies the higher sense, the former suggests the lower. On the whole subject, see the articles BASILICA and CHURCH, in the *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiqq.*, and the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, and Fergusson's *History of Architecture*.

[1] This "middle portico" (*media porticus*) as it was called originally when the whole building was a colonnade open at the sides (like some of our markets and exchanges), also called *gremium* (the "bosom" or "body" of the building), obtained the fanciful name of ναῦς, *navis*, "a ship," apparently from its high and narrow proportions Some derive it from the ναός (*cella*), of a Greek temple, that is, the central enclosure within the portico or colonnades. Probably both ναός and ναῦς have a root common with that of the verb νaίω, *dwell*.

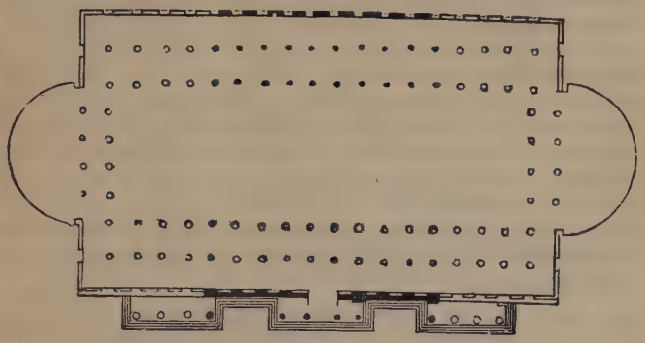
[2] *Alæ*, "wings," called by the Greeks δισσαὶ στοαί, "double porticoes." It is convenient to remember that the terms *nave* and *aisle* are often used loosely; thus the *nave* is called the *middle aisle*, and German writers describe the nave and aisles as a *dreischiffige Kirche*, "a three-shipped (triple-naved) church;" not to speak of the degradation of "aisle" into a passage to boxes or pens, called "pews." [3] As in the basilica at Treves.

[4] This construction, seen in the splendid basilica of Trajan (p. 410), was followed in the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul at Rome. (See the Illustration to Chapter XI. p. 265, and that below, p. 422.)

[5] In the older *basilicæ*, and the smaller ones of later times, which were devoted exclusively to judicial use, this portion, called *bema* (βῆμα) and *tribunal*, was set apart for the court itself; and, in like manner, in those basilican churches which had no apse, it formed both the choir and the sanctuary. An intermediate form was that in which an apse was constructed within the rectangular area.

[6] *Apsis* (ἄψις), a Greek word, signifying, first, a *fastening* or *binding together*, specially the *hoop* or *felloe* of a *wheel*, and hence generally a *circle*, *arch*, or *vault*.

standing in the centre, behind the altar where incense was burnt and oaths taken, and the numerous *judices*[1] sitting on a bench which ran round the walls. At the other end was a vestibule (*πρόναος*), either railed off within the hall, or forming a porch or grand portico on its outer front. In the grand example of Trajan's basilica, the



Basilica of Trajan.

entrance was in one of the long-sides, which was faced with three porticoes, and there was an apsidal tribune at each end.

This description of the Roman basilica will show how readily such a building could be adapted to the use of the Church, especially now that its ceremonial was elaborated and its clergy exalted above the laity. Edifices still existing, from the time of Constantine downwards,[2] together with the descriptions and allusions of ecclesiastical writers, enable us to construct in imagination such a building in a complete state, with its fittings and decorations. A basilican church of the first class in Rome, Constantinople, or one of the larger cities of the Roman Empire, may be thus described.

A stately gateway gave admittance to a large court (*atrium*) surrounded by covered colonnades, in the centre of which was a fountain or a vase (*cantharus*) containing water, so that ablutions might be performed before the church was entered. On one side of this atrium, and entered from it, was the baptistery.[3] The basilica

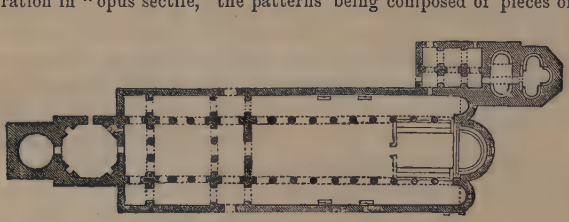
[1] *Judges* whose office rather resembled our *jurymen;* but either translation would mislead.

[2] Several of these are fully described in the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. CHURCH, to which the following description is largely indebted.

[3] The cathedral of Parenzo in Istria, built circ. A.D. 542, is too interesting to be passed over, particularly as it has undergone extremely little alteration, and retains the atrium before the front, and the baptistery opening

itself was usually, when the circumstances of the site permitted, placed on the western side of the atrium, so that the rising sun shone on its front.[1] This front was pierced by three or five doorways according to the number of the aisles, and in that part which rose above the colonnade of the atrium, windows of immense size admitted light to the interior. The wall between and above these windows was covered sometimes, in parts, with mosaic of glass in gold and colour, but usually with plates of richly coloured marbles and porphyries arranged so as to form patterns; but painted stucco sometimes formed a cheap substitute. The doors were of bronze, adorned with sculptures in relief, and frequently gilt, or of wood, often richly inlaid or carved. Within the doorways were hung curtains of the richest stuff, generally purple or scarlet, embroidered with gold, to exclude the heat of summer or the cold of winter while the doors stood open. The space just within the doors, often enclosed as an inner vestibule,[2] was, like the *atrium*, open to all comers, and was also the station of penitents.

from the atrium on the side opposite to the church—the baptistery, unfortunately, in a semi-ruinous state. Here, it will be seen, the aisles have apsidal ends internally, but the wall is flat externally. The apse is of peculiar interest, retaining the cathedra for the bishop and the bench for the clergy, in apparently an unaltered state, while the wall behind, to about one half of its height, is covered with an extremely rich and tasteful decoration in "opus sectile," the patterns being composed of pieces of the



Cathedral of Parenzo.

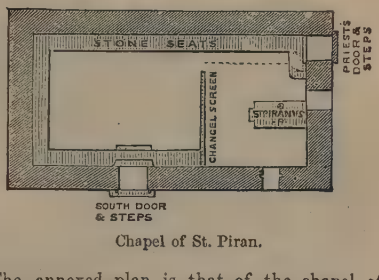
richest marbles, lapis lazuli, and mother-of-pearl. Above the cathedra is a cross standing on a globe, and figures of dolphins, tridents, cornucopias, and burning candles are sparingly introduced among the patterns of architectural character. On the west front, and on the east end above the apse, are remains of fresco paintings of an early date. In this church, although basilican in plan, the capitals are Byzantine in character.

[1] This was the direct opposite to the later system of "Orientation," for the "sanctuary" was at the *west* end of the church. But no rigid rule was observed as to its fronting to any point of the compass.

[2] In the Byzantine churches this and the *atrium* were called respectively *eso-narthex*, and *exso narthex*, the word *narthex* literally signifying a *box*, especially for unguents.

The congregation assembled in the *nave*, to which the *aisles*[1] served for additional room, as well as for passages; the whole area being open and free from fixed seats. The whole floor was covered, either with tesselated pavements, or with slabs of coloured marbles arranged in various patterns. The columns, of marble or other choice stones, which separated the nave from the aisles supported either horizontal architraves or arches.[2] Over each intercolumniation, the topmost range of the clerestory wall, which was often remarkable for its great height, was pierced by windows with

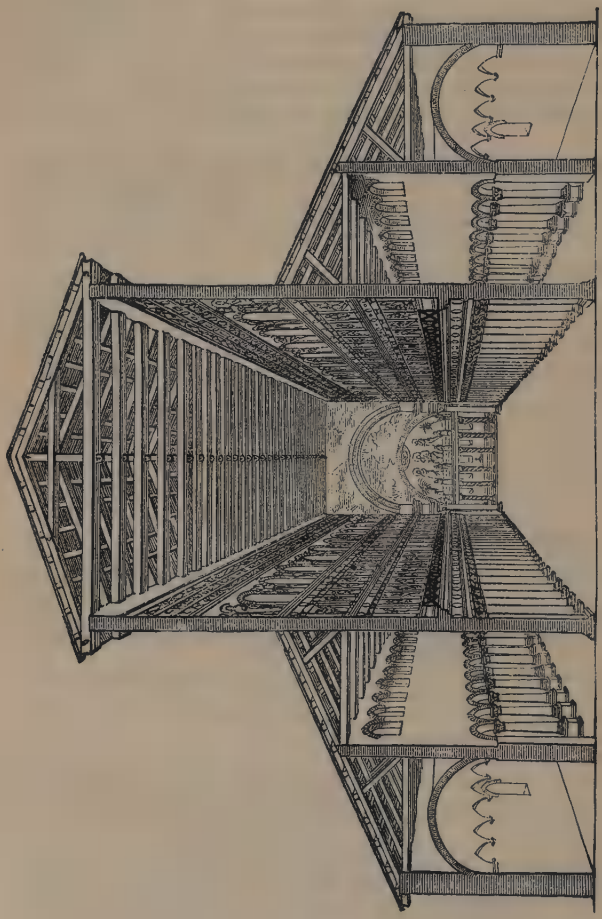
[1] The more retired parts of the aisles may have been used for private devotion, but their division into *Chapels* belongs to a later age. Chapels were however added to some churches outside their main walls. A *chapel* (*capella*, a word of doubtful etymology), or *oratory* (*oratorium*, "place for prayer") called in Greek παρεκκλησία (a *by-church*), is a chamber or building for occasional worship, or for a congregation formed by the members of a household, convent, or other private society of worshippers. Chapels may be divided into four classes:—(1) Apartments in palaces and houses; (2) Buildings connected with hermitages, convents, or the like; (3) Those attached to larger churches; and (4) Those detached and isolated, especially sepulchral chapels.



Chapel of St. Piran.

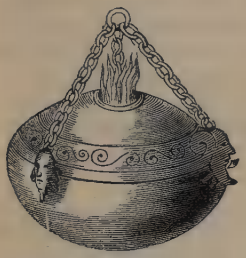
The annexed plan is that of the chapel of Perran Zabuloe or St. Piran (or St. Pyeran), an Irish missionary to Cornwall in the fifth century, which was disinterred from the sand on the Cornish coast in 1835. The inner chamber forms a chancel, with the tomb of the saint for an altar. There are several of this type in Ireland.—See the Art. CHAPEL in the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*

[2] The arches are seen in the basilica of St. Paul, without the walls of Rome, built by Honorius (see Vignette to Chap. XI. p. 265), the horizontal entablature in that earlier church of St. Peter, built by Constantine (p. 422); the two being nearly alike in other respects. We have very perfect drawings of the old St. Peter's, which had fallen into ruins in 1450, and was gradually replaced by the present famous cathedral; and the old St. Paul's stood till it was burnt down in 1822. Both these basilican churches were of the largest dimensions; St. Peter's being 380 feet long by 212 feet wide, and covering as large an area (80,000 feet) as any medieval cathedral, except Milan and Seville. St. Paul's, which was about the same size, was lighted by 120 windows, each 29 feet high by 14½ feet wide. As to the eastern basilicæ, the church of St. John Studios at Constantinople, built A.D. 463, now a mosque known as Imrachor-Dschamissi, shows that as regards plan and design there was in the fifth century little difference between a basilican church in Rome and in Constantinople. This church is remarkable for the great size of its galleries. (See *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, vol. i. p. 371.)



Old Basilica of St. Peter, at Rome, built by Constantine.

arched heads, formed by perforations in various patterns, filled in with talc, alabaster, or other translucent stones, or with plain or coloured glass. The transverse beams and flat ceiling of the wooden roof were often richly carved and gilt; and rich curtains were hung in the spaces



Gabbatha: bowl-shaped lamp

between the columns that divided the nave and aisles. Where a transept existed, it was usually divided from the nave by an arch, the face of which, towards the nave, was often covered with mosaics; a frequent subject being a colossal bust of Christ over the crown of the arch, with the seven candlesticks, the symbols of the Evangelists, and the twenty-four elders, on either side and below. Lamps in the shape of crowns and bowls, and votive crowns, of silver and gold, hung down from



Crown of Svintila, King of the Visigoths in Spain (A.D. 621–631), preserved in the Royal Armoury at Madrid, bearing the inscription SVINTILANUS REX OFFERT.

the arches, and vases, often filled with flowers, stood upon the dwarf walls, or balustrades that separated different parts of the edifice.[1]

The space cut off at the upper end of the nave in the Roman basilica, generally with a raised floor (*suggestus*), and longer than its breadth, formed the *choir* (*chorus*) of the church, in which were stationed the readers, singers, and other inferior clergy.[2] Here (generally, it seems on one side of the enclosure and near the railings) stood the pulpit, desk, or raised platform,[3] from which the Scriptures were read, and in general all communications made to the congregations by presbyters and deacons. The bishop, generally, in earlier times preached from his own seat in the apse, or from a chair brought forward in front of the altar; and Chrysostom's custom of preaching from the *ambo*, in order to be better heard, seems to have been an innovation arising out of the more rhetorical style of preaching which had come into use, as we have already seen.[4]

As the *suggestus* of the Roman Basilica offered itself as the choir of the Christian Church, so was the *apse* or *bema*,[5] with

[1] See the Vignette to this Chapter, p. 399.

[2] The name *Presbyterium*, sometimes applied to the Choir, appears to belong to those churches only, in which there was no further division to mark off the presbytery proper, or sanctuary. The choir was divided from the nave by a railing or dwarf wall, which afterwards became sometimes a screen, hiding the clergy more or less completely from the people. This railing or grating (*cancellus*, *cancelli*, κάγγελος, κάγκελοι, κάγκελα, κιγκλῖδες, δρύφακτοι) gave to the whole upper part of the church, including the choir and sanctuary, the name of *chancel*, which is still used in our parish churches, while that of choir prevails in cathedrals. These divisions appear to have been first made in the fourth century, but the exact time is hard to fix; and in allusions to the cancelli it is often difficult to distinguish between the railings of the choir and the inner rails of the sanctuary. "It is a characteristic difference between Eastern and Western churches that in the former the distinction between the bema (or sanctuary) and the choir is much more strongly marked than that between the choir and the nave; in the latter the distinction between the nave and the choir is much more strongly marked than that between the choir and the sanctuary." See the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Arts. CANCELLI, CHANCEL, CHOIR.

[3] *Pulpitum*, *suggestus*, *ambo*, ἄμβων, fr. ἀναβαίνω, "go up," also called πύργος "tower," and defined by Sozomen as "the platform of the readers" (βῆμα τῶν ἀναγνωστῶν). Its place varied according to the various forms of the churches; that of St. Sophia at Constantinople stood nearly in the middle of the church (see p. 433), forming a platform large enough for the emperor's coronation, and surrounded by an enclosed choir below it. See the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. AMBO. An Ambo is represented in the Vignette to Chap. XV. p. 348.

[4] See Chap. XIII. § 7.

[5] The name *Bēma* (βῆμα, from βαίνω, "go" or "ascend"), used at Athens for the platform from which the orators addressed the assembly

its altar, ready for use as the special *Sanctuary*, where the chief "mysteries" of divine service were celebrated, and where the bishop and higher clergy had their place. Hence it was also called the *Presbytery*. Its holy character was marked by richer materials and more splendid decoration. The semi-dome, which formed its room, was covered with pictures in mosaic, generally representing Christ seated or standing, with the Apostles ranged on either hand; and golden emblems hung down from the roof over the altar. Its floor was generally raised above the choir;[1] and at the top of the steps, in the middle of the chord of the apse, stood the *Altar*,[2] as the

(ἐκκλησία), was applied in the Roman basilica to the *tribunal* of the Prætor, into whose place the bishop stepped as president of the church, while from this *bema* he also addressed his *ecclesia*. A good example of an apse is shown in the Vignette to Chap. VIII. p. 192.

[1] There seems to have been (often if not always) an inner railing or screen of the sanctuary, besides that which divided the choir (and the sanctuary within it) from the body of the church. (See *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. CANCELLI.)

[2] We have seen (Chap. IX. § 7) that the doctrine of a *sacrifice* in the Eucharist had become established in the third century. Hence the "Lord's Table," (τράπεζα Κυρίου, *mensa Domini*)—though this name still continued in use for centuries—became also θυσιαστήριον (*a place of sacrifice*), the term used in the LXX. for the Jewish altars, and always translated by Jerome *altare*, *i.e.* "high altar" (for this word, in classic Latin *altaria* (pl.) and *altarium*, is a mere derivative from *altus*, "high," *not compounded* with *ara*). *Altare* is also used by Cyprian, and became (as also *altarium*) the prevailing name in the Church. The words βωμός and *ara* are generally used in SS. and by ecclesiastical writers for heathen altars.

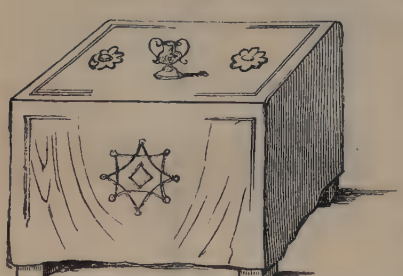


Altar, from Auriol in France.

As to the *form* and *material*, the use of *stone* had begun as early as the fourth century, probably as a result of the adoption of the solid form, like a chest or sarcophagus or "altar-tomb." Some have traced this form to the use of the tombs in the Catacombs as tables for the celebration of the Eucharist, of which there is no positive proof; but at all events it is connected with the custom of making the space under the table a receptacle for the relics of a saint or martyr. The table-form, however, continued in use; and there are extant examples of it as late as the thirteenth century. In some of the most important churches we find allusions to the space under the tables to the pillars or legs which supported it, and to its being more or less movable. The above illustration represents a table-altar with one leg, probably of the fifth or sixth century. A mosaic in the church of

eucharistic *Table* had now become, in significance as well as name, though still for the most part retaining the form of a wooden table.

The "high altar" was usually raised on steps, and in the space beneath it were deposited the relics of the saint or martyr, in whose honour the church was dedicated.[1] The possession of such relics became essential to the consecration of a church. The altar was often enclosed within railings, or a network of wood or metal, or a low wall of marble slabs;[2] and these enclosures supported columns and arches of silver, from which veils or curtains of rich stuffs were suspended. Such veils are mentioned by Chrysostom[3] as being withdrawn at the consecration of the Eucharist. These accessories were developed into the vaulted canopy supported by columns, with veils hung between them, which is called in Greek *ciborium*,[4] in Latin *umbraculum*, and in Italian *baldachino*. The exact date of its introduction is unknown, but an elaborate example is represented among the mosaics in the church of St. George at Thessalonica, which are certainly not later than A.D. 500, and are referred by some antiquaries to the age of Constantine.[5] The



Altar, or Table, from a mosaic of S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna.

S. Apollinare at Ravenna (sixth century) shows a table-altar on four legs, with an ornamental covering of white linen. See the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. ALTAR.

[1] "Beneath the steps it became customary, from the fourth century at least, at Rome and wherever the usages of Rome were followed, to construct a small vault called *confessio*; this was originally a mere grave or repository for a body, as at S. Alessandro near Rome" (see the figure on p. 100, where the square shallow excavation, lined with marble, was probably for the relics), "but gradually expanded into a vault, a window or grating below the altar allowing the sarcophagus in which the body of the saint was placed to be visible." (Comp. Rev. vi. 9.)

"In the Eastern Church a piscina is usually found under the altar (Neale, *Eastern Church, Introd.* 189), called χονί, χονεῖον, or more commonly θάλασσα or θαλασσίδιον." (*Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, vol. i. p. 64.)

[2] We have frequent allusions to this enclosure under the names of *ambitus* and *circuitus altaris*.

[3] *Hom. iii. in Ephes.*

[4] The primary meaning of the Greek word κιβώριον is the cup-like seed-vessel of the Egyptian water-lily.

[5] As in the work of Texier and Pallan on Byzantine architecture (see *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, vol. i. p. 65).

earliest existing ciborium is probably that of St. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, which is shown, by the inscription engraved upon it, to have been erected between the years 806 and 810.[1] The richest materials, and most elaborate forms of decoration, in gold, silver,[2] jewels, all sorts of costly stones, and brilliant colours, were lavished in profusion, too often as tasteless as it was ostentatious, on the altar and its accessories, above the rest of the church, especially from the time of Justinian. The altar of St. Sophia was of gold, decorated with precious stones, and supported on golden columns. This has of course long since been destroyed, but there still exists an altar of almost equal splendour, though of the other type, viz., that of the tomb, and more recent by three hundred years. This is the high altar of St. Ambrogio, at Milan, made in A.D. 835, measuring 7 feet 3 inches in length, and 4 feet 1 inch in height, the mensa being 4 feet 4 inches wide.



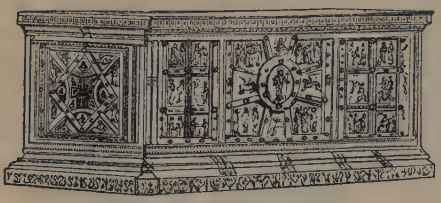
Ciborium, from a mosaic in the church of St. George at Thessalonica.

The front is of gold, the back and sides of silver. It is covered with subjects in relief in panels divided by bands of ornament, and many small ornaments in cloisonné enamel are interspersed. The subjects on the back are chiefly incidents in the life of St. Ambrose; those of the front are Christ seated within an oval compartment within a cross, in the branches of which are the symbols of the

[1] See the woodcut on p. 383.

[2] In some cases the mention of the *quantity* of the precious metal proves that it was either used merely for decoration or in thin plates over the altar, as in the silver altars of Pope Hilarius (461–467) and Pope Leo III. (795–816), weighing 40 and 67 pounds (*Lib. Pontificalis*).

Evangelists, figures of the Apostles being placed above and below. On the right and left are subjects from the Gospels or the Acts of the Apostles. On the ends of the altar are crosses in compartments, surrounding which are angels in various attitudes of adoration. It is represented in the woodcut.



Altar of St. Ambrogio, at Milan.

Round the semi-circle of the apse ran a bench for the higher clergy, in whose midst, directly fronting the altar and the whole church, the bishop sat on an elevated seat, which had now become a "throne,"[1] from the base or platform of which he ministered, "standing before the altar,"[2] and sometimes preached; but he seems more usually to have advanced to the steps in front of the altar in addressing the congregation.

The choir and sanctuary were reserved for the use of the clergy, as specially holy ground; and in the growth of hierarchical ideas, the sanctuary (at least) was called the *Holy of Holies*. When we are told that the rails (*κάγκελλα*) mark out the space to the outside of which the people may approach, while inside is the Holy of Holies,[3] accessible only to the priests, it would seem that this most holy place is the sanctuary, and that the laity were admitted to the choir for the purpose of communicating. Even the Emperor, to whom the courtly use of Constantinople assigned a seat within the rails, was excluded (as we have seen) by Ambrose at Milan.[4]

[1] The *seat* or *chair* (*καθέδρα*, *cathedra*)—which, as the symbol of the bishop's dignity, gave name to the *cathedral church* (*ecclesia cathedralis*, *principalis cathedra*) and the *see* (i.e. seat)—is called by Eusebius *θρόνος ὕψηλος* (as distinguished from the *δεύτεροι θρόνοι* of the presbyters), but this term is inveighed against by Gregory Nazianzen. It was sometimes enclosed by curtains (*cathedra velata*, Augustin). Its elevation is alluded to by Prudentius (*Peristeph. H.* iv. 225):

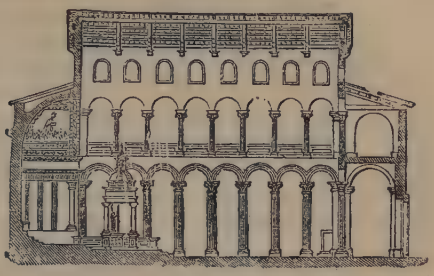
> "Fronte sub adversa gradibus sublime tribunal
> Tollitur."

[2] There can be no question of the original significance of this phrase in the early ages of the Church. The bishop or priest stood (or knelt, as the case might be) *before the altar* just as a person stands or sits *before a table* on which he is breaking bread or doing anything else.

[3] *Τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων.* Germanus of Constantinople, *Hist. Eccles.* p. 148. It is doubtful whether this work belongs to Germanus of the eighth century or to his namesake of the twelfth.

[4] See Chap. XI. § 11.

At Rome however, and probably elsewhere, a space on either side of the choir was also railed in; the *senatorium*, on the right, being appropriated to the senators and other men of rank; and the *matroneum*, on the left, to women of the like degree. Where a gallery existed (as was usual in the old *basilicæ*), it was set apart for women; but this arrangement was not very common in the West. One of the few examples is the basilica of St. Agnes at Rome, the subjoined section of which shows the galleries clearly, and illustrates many other points in the foregoing description of a basilican church. The galleries were integral parts of the edifices, like the *triforia* of medieval churches, not additions independent of the structure. They were approached by external staircases, and their fronts towards the nave were protected by a low wall or balustrade (*pluteus*).[1]



Section of the Basilica of St. Agnes, Rome.

The basilican churches, as well as those of other forms, were generally surrounded by a large space enclosed by walls; and in many cases a number of buildings for special services (as baptisteries[2]), and for the use of the clergy, were attached to the church.

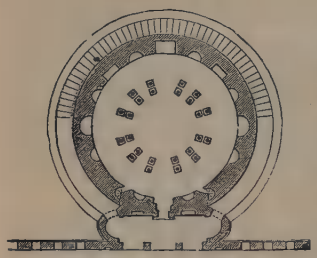
§ 11. A few words must suffice for the other early form of church, the *sepulchral* or *memorial*, which is closely allied to the memorial chapels built over the tombs of martyrs.[3] The type of these

[1] See *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. GALLERIES.

[2] On the Baptisteries see the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq., s. v.*

[3] "In the earlier period the choice of form would seem to have been guided by the intention most strongly present to the founder. Where special intention of doing honour to the memory of a martyr existed, the circular form was chosen, but where this was not the leading thought, the basilican; the latter lending itself better to the celebration of divine services with a large attendance of worshippers. In several instances a basilican and a memorial church were placed in close proximity, as at Jerusalem by Constantine, at Kalat Sema'an in Central Syria, at Nola by Paulinus, at Constantinople in the churches of St. Sergius and of St. Peter and Paul, and several others, the circular or polygonal church being in almost all these cases dedicated in honour of a martyr. It is a matter of some difficulty to distinguish between a sepulchral chapel or tomb and a

buildings was furnished by the Roman circular tombs, with an external peristyle, massive walls, and small internal chambers. The churches of this form are round or polygonal, and covered with a dome, often supported by an internal peristyle of columns or massive piers, a feature added to their Roman model. One of the earliest examples is the church of Sta. Costanza at Rome, which is supposed to have been built as a mausoleum for the family of Constantine. It is about 100 feet in diameter, the dome being about 40. The niches contained sarcophagi, one of which is in the Vatican Museum.[1]



Sta. Costanza, Rome.

memorial church; the one class in fact runs into the other, the distinction between them depending upon the object which the builder had in view. When he constructed a large edifice in which services were to be frequently held, still more if this building was intended to be the cathedral church of a bishop or the church of a district, the structure must be considered as a church, although it was also constructed in order to honour a martyr and to protect his tomb; when on the other hand it was of small size, and its primary object was to contain the tomb or tombs either of the builder or of some saint, it must be considered as only a sepulchral chapel although containing an altar, and although services were occasionally celebrated within it." (*Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, vol. i., pp. 368, 372.)

[1] Something of a cruciform character is given by the arrangement of the twenty-four pillars that support the dome into four groups, each consisting of three pairs of coupled columns, with larger spaces between the groups than between the pairs in each. Another famous example of the age of Constantine is his Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, now the "Dome of the Rock," according to Mr. Fergusson's theory, which of course cannot be discussed here.

"It seems clear that one of two hypotheses must be held; either that the existing remains are those of a building of the period of Constantine, erected on the spot and still retaining their original architectural arrangement, or that portions of such a building have been removed from another site, and re-erected where we now find them.

"Eusebius (*De Vita Constant.* iii. 50) tells us of another octagonal church erected by order of Constantine, of which no trace now remains. This was at Antioch; Eusebius describes it as of wonderful height, and surrounded by many chambers (οἴκοις) and exedrae (ἐξέδραις), which it would appear were entered from the galleries (χωρημάτων) which both above and below ground encircled the church.

"A church was also built by Constantine at Constantinople (Eusebius, *Vita Constant.* iv. 58, 59) as a memorial church of the Apostles (μαρτύριον ἐπὶ μνήμῃ τῶν ἀποστόλων), and at the same time as a place for his own burial. This building was destroyed by Justinian, and its precise form is

In Italy some circular churches were constructed to carry, not domes, but wooden roofs; of these the most remarkable example is St. Stefano Rotondo, at Rome, built between A.D. 467 and A.D. 483. This church had originally two aisles, and is of very large size, having a diameter of about 210 feet.



St. Stefano Rotondo, Rome.

The church of St. Lorenzo at Milan, once the cathedral of the city, is very remarkable, as showing an attempt to combine the circular with the square plan. Its real date has not been ascertained, but it is probably of the earlier part of the fifth century. The main building has lost all original character through repairs, but according to Hubsch the original walls exist to a height of nearly 40 feet, and the ground-plan may therefore be accepted as original.

A very interesting example of the combination of the round memorial form in the nave with a choir and apse is furnished by the church of St. George at Thessalonica;[1] and a similar arrangement (but with a domed nave square in its external form) is seen in the cathedral of Bosrah, the date of which is fixed to A.D. 512 (p. 432).

§ 12. From the memorial churches was developed the new and

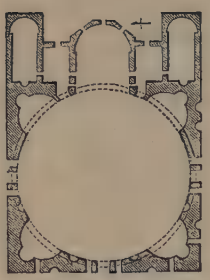
unknown; but that it was in some manner cruciform appears from the distich of Gregory of Nazianzus, in the poem of the dream of Anastasius:—

Σὺν τοῖς καὶ μεγάλαυχον ἔδος Χριστοῖο μαθητῶν
Πλευραῖς σταυροτύποις τέτραχα τεμνόμενον.

It would seem that it stood in the centre of a large atrium, surrounded by porticoes. Bunsen (*Die Basiliken des Christl. Roms*, s. 36) thinks that in this edifice we may discern the germ of the Byzantine type of church."—(*Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, vol. i. p. 372.)

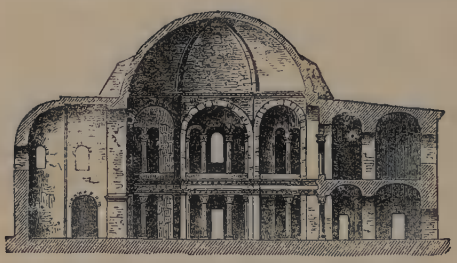
[1] See Vignette to Chap. IX. p. 213. The church consists of a circular nave 79 feet in diameter, covered by a dome, a chancel, and an apse; the walls of the nave are 20 feet thick, and in them are eight great recesses, two of which serve as entrances and one as a sort of vestibule to the chancel; the roof is covered with a magnificent series of mosaics.

very elaborate *Byzantine* plan of church architecture, which, from the time of Justinian, almost entirely superseded the basilican form in the East, and of which the first grand example is the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople.[1]



Cathedral at Bosrah.

In the Eastern churches of the new Byzantine type a modification of the plan of St. Sophia was almost exclusively adopted, the modified plan being a quadrangular figure approaching a square, with a dome covering the centre, and a large internal porch or narthex at the entrance. This plan, however, did not originate with the architect of St. Sophia, the germ of it is perhaps to be found in the domed oratories or Kabylés of Syria. From such a simple dome, a building like the cathedral of Ezra—in which the dome is surrounded by an aisle, and an apse added—is readily derived (this example dates from A.D. 510); and if to such a plan a narthex be added, we have the typical Byzantine plan, as in the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Constantinople, built under

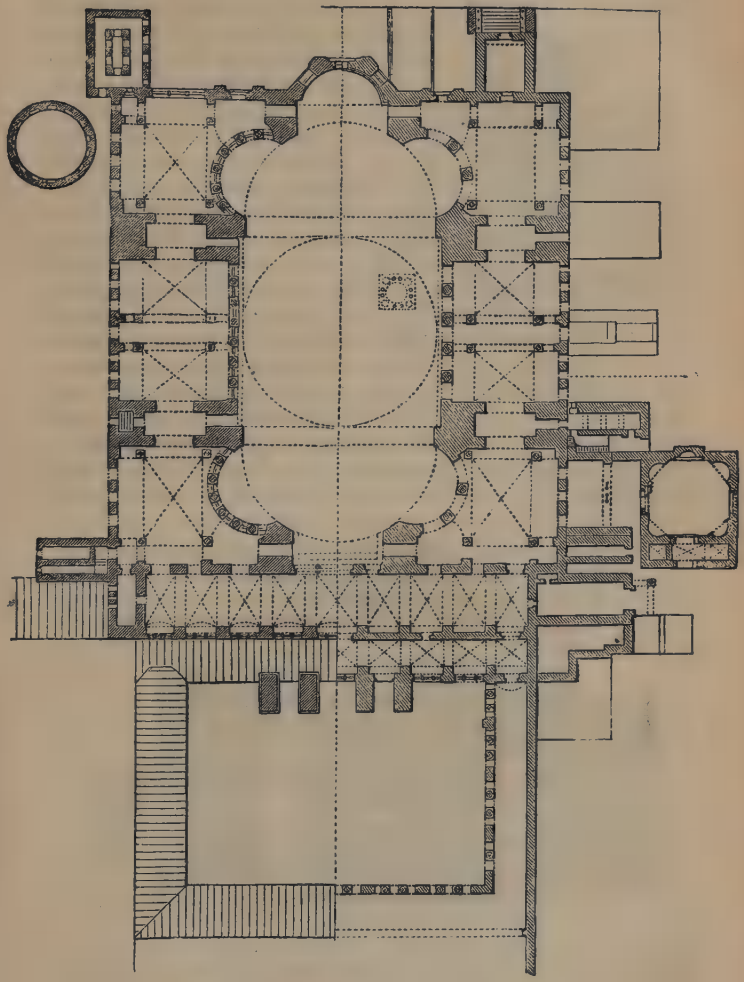


Section of the Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, Constantinople.

Justinian, but somewhat earlier than St. Sophia.[2] The peculiar feature of the latter church is the placing of the dome, not upon piers and arches on every side, but upon semi-domes east and west,

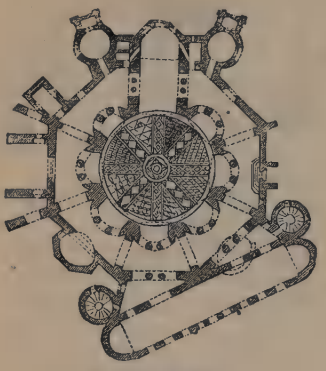
[1] See Chap. XVI. p. 361. The Vignette on p. 361 and the subjoined plan on p. 433 will give a general idea of the form of this splendid church, a detailed description of which will be found in the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, vol. i. pp. 373, 374.

[2] The section shows the vaulted *gallery* or upper story running all round the church.



St. Sophia, Constantinople.

by which means a vast space, more than 200 feet long by 100 feet wide, totally unencumbered by piers or columns, was obtained. This construction has, however, never been copied in Christian churches, but it has served as a model for the mosques of Constantinople.



St. Vitale, Ravenna.

In the West we have for a long time very few examples of the Byzantine type: indeed the only conspicuous one is the church of St. Vitale at Ravenna, the seat of Justinian's recovered empire in the West. This church, built between 526 and 547, is almost identical with St. Sergius in the arrangement of the dome, of the galleries, and of the pillars which support them. Ravenna also furnishes the finest example of the *basilican churches* which continued to be built in the West, that of St. Apollinare in Classe,[1] which was begun before 538, and dedicated



St. Vitale, Ravenna.

in 549. Here the eastern ends of the aisles are parted off and terminate in apses, an arrangement of which this is the earliest instance,

[1] See the Vignettes to Chapter XII. and this Chapter.

at least of a date clearly ascertained. This noble church retains the decorations of the apse in marble and mosaic, in a very complete state. The capitals are, as seems to be usual in the basilican churches of this period, more Roman than Byzantine in character. Upon the capital rests a block or dosseret, ornamented with a cross, as in many other churches of the time.

Attached to the west front is a tall circular tower of seven stages, which is probably of the same age, and perhaps the earliest extant example of a church tower.[1]

Of the typical forms of church-building now described, the first three—namely, the basilican, the memorial or sepulchral churches, and the separate chapels or oratories—are found existing together from the age of Constantine to that of Justinian. During this period so much unity, as well of ritual and practice in religious matters as of style and feeling in art, prevailed throughout the Roman Empire, that the differences between the ecclesiastical architecture of its various provinces are chiefly differences of detail.

At the beginning of the period which follows, namely, from Justinian to Charles the Great, the great development of the Byzantine style took place, and the architecture of the East is thenceforward widely different from that of the West. Soon afterwards the fragments into which the empire had divided were formed into new nations, most of whom developed something of new plan or new style in their ecclesiastical buildings; but it is impossible in this work to treat of the architectural history of these nations separately.[2] It is sufficient for our purpose to have explained the early typical forms, which were generally followed in all subsequent ages of the Church, and adapted to the various styles of national architecture.

§ 13. One point remains to be noticed, the sacred character attached to churches, as set apart from all common uses and solemnly dedicated to the worship of God and the religious use of a congregation by a distinct act of consecration.[3]

[1] The *form* is the more interesting as throwing light on the *round towers* of Ireland and Scotland, which are now proved to have been church towers.

[2] This part of the subject may be divided into the following sections:—1, The western part of the territory of the Eastern Empire; 2, Armenia and the adjacent provinces; 3, Italy; 4, France, Germany, and Switzerland; 5, Spain; 6, Ireland; 7, Scotland; 8, England; all which are described in the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, vol. i. pp. 378, foll.

[3] *Consecratio, Dedicatio*; Gr. ἀφιέρωσις, Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. 60; ἐγκαίνια, *ib.* iv. 43; cf. ἀνέθηκεν, Procop. *de Aedif. Justiniani*, i. 3. The essential idea of consecration is expressed in the following passages:—

"It seems almost a necessity to men to have their places of common worship recognized and accustomed. That those places should not only acquire sacredness of association by use, but should previously have imparted to them in some sort a sacredness of object, seems also consonant with natural religion. The former more clearly, and yet the latter also, implicitly, is found in all ages, a feature of all religions, rude and civilized, the same with all classes, of diverse nations, however widely separated; as exemplified in groves, sacred stones, pillars, altars, temples, pagodas."[1]

The Old Testament furnishes examples, from the grove (or tree) planted by Abraham in Beersheba,[2] and the stone that Jacob consecrated with oil at the place to which he gave the new name of *Bethel*, "the house of God,"[3] to the solemn and renewed dedications of the tabernacle and the first and second temple by Moses, David, and Solomon, by Ezra, Zerubbabel, and the Maccabees, following the command of Jehovah to set apart a place for His Name and presence. The sacred character of that "House of God" was recognized by Christ and His disciples, who, when first formed into a church, "daily *continued perseveringly*[4] *in the Temple with one accord*, praising God;" and constantly joined in the worship of the synagogues, places already consecrated. And, just as devout Jews, far from the temple and where there was no synagogue, resorted on the Sabbath to a place "where prayer was wont to be made,"[5] and Paul himself joined them there, so we may fairly suppose it to have been from the same feeling, and not simply for convenience, that

"Consecratio Ecclesiae est dedicatio ejusdem ad cultum divinum speciali ritu facta à legitimo ministro, ad hoc ut populus fidelis opera religionis in eâ rite exercere possit" (Ferraris' *Promta Bibliotheca*, iii. 157). "When we sanctify or hallow churches, that which we do is to testify that we make them places of public resort, that we invest God Himself with them, that we sever them from common uses" (Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.* v. 16). "By the *consecration* of a church, the ancients always mean the *devoting* or *setting it apart* for *Divine service*" (Bingham, *Antiq.* viii. 9).—*Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.

[1] *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.* Ibid.

[2] Gen. xxi. 33.

[3] Gen. xxviii. 16–22.

[4] Acts ii. 46, προσκαρτεροῦντες "persisting, adhering to strongly;" the very same word used just before to express their steadfastness to their teachers, their faith, and Christian fellowship, ἦσαν δὲ προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ.

[5] Acts xvi. 13, οὗ ἐνομίζετο προσευχὴ εἶναι, which might very well be rendered, "where an oratory was established," that is, by the consent and resort of the worshippers, though without a building as yet; but even this there may have been, for Josephus uses προσευχή for an oratory in the full sense.

the apostolic churches had some regular places of meeting, as we see from several allusions in the New Testament.[1]

The same idea is implied in the very name of *Church*, i.e., *the Lord's House*,[2] and its distinct expression by a solemn act of consecration is a usage of immemorial antiquity. Thus, Ambrose[3] calls the rite of dedication of churches a most ancient and universal custom. Gregory Nazianzen, in an oration[4] on the consecration of a new church, says, "that it was an old law, and very excellently constituted, to do honour to churches by the feasts of their dedication."

Eusebius records, with thankful joy, the consecration of the new churches built under Constantine, to replace those destroyed throughout the whole Empire by Diocletian's edict:—[5]

"After these things a spectacle earnestly prayed for and much desired by us all appeared, namely, the solemnization of the festival of the dedication of churches throughout every city, and the consecration of the newly-built oratories. . . . Indeed, the ceremonies of the bishops were most entire, the presbyters' performance of service most exact, the rites of the Church decent and majestic. On the one hand was a place for the singers of psalms, and for the rest of the auditors of the expressions sent from God; on the other was a place for those who performed the divine and mystical services. There were also delivered the mystical symbols of our Saviour's passion. And now people of every age and sex, men and women, with the utmost vigour of their minds, with joyful hearts and souls, by prayer and thanksgiving, worshipped God, the Author of all good. All the prelates then present made public orations, every

[1] Luke xxii. 12; John xx. 19–26; Acts i. 13; ii. 2; Rom. xvi. 5; 1 Cor. xi. 22; xvi. 19; are examples quoted by Professor Blunt (*Parish Priest*, sect. ix. p. 281). We have already given some instances, perhaps still stronger (note to *Introd.*, p. 11, § 3). On the earliest use of buildings expressly as churches, see *ibid.* § 4. Besides what is said there, arguments for the very early existence of distinct churches have been drawn from Clemens Romanus (*Ep. ad Cor.* i. 41), Ignatius (*Ep. ad Magnes.* 7), Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 67), Tertullian (*de Idolat.* 7), the heathen Lucian (*Philop.* p. 1126). The very earliest place where the Church met after Christ's ascension, the *Cœnaculum*, or "upper room" at Jerusalem (Acts i. 13), is said to have been preserved and dedicated as a regular place of worship. Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat. Lect.* xvi. 4) speaks of it as "here in Jerusalem, in *the upper church of the Apostles*," an epithet may have given rise to the tradition preserved by Bede (*de Locis Sanctis.* tom. ix.), that "the upper room was enclosed afterwards with a beautiful church, founded by the holy apostles, because in that place they had received the Holy Ghost."

[2] Κυριακή (οἰκία), *Dominica.*

[3] *Ep.* 22 *ad Marcellin.*

[4] *Orat.* 43.

[5] *H. E.* x. 3.

one as well as he was able, endeavouring to set forward the praises of those assembled."

Besides this general account of the service, Eusebius gives full descriptions of the consecration of the churches built by Constantine at Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Antioch.[1] A most interesting case, which occurred at Alexandria, while illustrating the regular use of consecration, shows us the great Athanasius protesting against attaching superstitious importance to the formal act. In his *Apology* to the emperor Constantine, A.D. 335, he defends himself from the serious charge of using an undedicated church. He allows the truth of the fact. He said they had certainly kept no day of dedication, which would have been unlawful to keep without orders from the emperor. The building was not yet complete. He grounds his apology on the great concourse of people in Lent, the grievous want of church room elsewhere, the pressure of all to hear Athanasius, the increased mass of the crowd on Easter Day (when the undedicated church was used), the precedents of the Jews after the captivity, and of buildings so used in Alexandria, Treves, Aquileia, the reasonableness of worshipping in a building already called "the Lord's house" from the very time of laying the foundations.[2] "There was no dedication, but only an assembly for the sake of prayer. You, at least, I am sure, as a lover of God, will approve of the people's zeal, and will pardon me for being unwilling to hinder the prayers of so great a multitude." "May you," he adds, "most religious Augustus, live through the course of many years to come, and celebrate the dedication of the church. The place is ready, *having been already sanctified by the prayers which have been offered in it*, and requires only the presence of your piety."[3]

The Byzantine writers of Justinian's age describe the ceremonies at the dedication of St. Sophia, and of other churches built by that emperor. When heathen temples were converted into Christian

[1] Eusebius (*Vit. Const.* iv. 43) says of the dedication of Constantine's church of the Holy Sepulchre: "The ministers of God adorned the festival partly with their prayers, and partly with their discourses. For some of them with praises celebrated the benignity of the religious emperor towards the universal Saviour, and in their orations set forth the magnificence of the Martyrium; others entertained their hearers with theological discourses upon the divine *dogmata*, fitted to the present solemnity; others interpreted the lessons of the divine volumes, and disclosed the mystic meanings." He describes the various topics of his own discourses on this occasion, of which we have one in praise of Constantine (*ibid. c.* 45). Among other consecration sermons we have one by Ambrose, on Luke vii. 5, and some by Augustine and his brother Cæsarius.

[2] *Apol. ad Const.* 17–21.

[3] *Ib.* 24, 25.

churches, they were purified by "expiatory" rites, such as sprinkling with holy water and setting up the cross;[1] and even churches which had been dedicated by Arians and other heretics, were required to be reconsecrated for catholic worship. The power of consecration belonged to the bishop of the diocese;[2] nor was a bishop allowed to consecrate a church out of his own diocese, even if it were built by himself.[3]

We cannot here go into the details of the consecration ritual, which indeed was far from being definite till later times. It will suffice to state that there are two distinct periods in the history of the consecration of the churches. In the early ages, certainly as late as the time of Constantine, a church was inaugurated (as we have seen) by solemn ceremonial, and dedicated to the service of God with prayer, and with sermons illustrating the nature of the solemnity. Then, as churches built over the tombs of martyrs came to be regarded as endowed with peculiar sanctity, the possession of the relics of some saint came to be looked upon as absolutely essential to the sacredness of the building, and the deposition of such relics in or below the altar henceforward formed the central portion of the consecration-rite. All the essentials of such a rite are found in the description by Gregory of Tours,[4] in the sixth century, of the consecration of an oratory at Tours, a very beautiful cell, heretofore used as a salt cellar: "The altar was placed in its future position; the night was spent in vigil at the basilica; in the morning they went to the cell and consecrated the altar, then returned to the basilica, and thence took the relics. There were present a very large choir of priests and deacons, and a distinguished body of honourable citizens, with a large assembly of people."

To the second phase belong all the ancient rituals of consecration

[1] Cod. Theodos. xvi. tit. 10: "conlocatione venerandi religionis christianæ signi expiari præcipimus." The same rite was prescribed by Justinian at the beginning of any building of a church (*Novell.* cxxxi.) Gregory the Great instructed Augustine and his companions to purify the heathen temples in Britain (after destroying the idols in them) by aspersion with holy water, to set up altars, to deposit relics of the martyrs, on whose birthdays the churches were to be dedicated with feasts as attractive as the old heathen sacrifices. (Bede, *H. E.* i. 30.)

[2] The 4th canon of the General Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) provides that "no one shall anywhere build or establish a monastery, or house of prayer, without the consent of the local bishop."

[3] First Council of Orange (441), *Can.* 10; and Second Council of Arles (about 451), *Can.* 37. The Third Council of Orleans (538) makes the same provision about altars, *Can.* 15. The distinct consecration of altars seems to have begun in the sixth century (Bingham, *Eccles. Antiq.* viii. 9, 10.

[4] *De Gloria Confessorum*, c. xx. (Migne, *Patrol.* 71, p. 842).

now extant, whether in East or West.[1] The churches, which were at first consecrated simply to the worship of God, and specially in the name of Christ and of the Holy Ghost, were now built as memorials, and dedicated in the name of saints and martyrs, or of abstract virtues, and especially the Heavenly Wisdom, St. Sophia.[2] The relics which were essential for the consecration of a church were often not the bodies themselves, but what had been simply in contact with them.[3] The custom was at first peculiar to Rome, and was then extended and made obligatory by the second Nicene Council, the same which, as we shall see, sanctioned the worship of images.[4] Above all, the rituals prescribe that "the Body of the Lord be deposited." The synod of Cealcythe orders that the Eucharist, consecrated by the bishop, be deposited with other relics in a chest. "And if he cannot bring other relics, at least he can do this chief thing, because it is the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Churches and even their sites, once consecrated, were to be reserved exclusively for the offices of religion. Eating and drinking in them was forbidden after the love-feasts had been abolished: and wearing arms in them was never allowed. In virtue of the second of these rules they speedily became asylums or places of refuge for all threatened with violence: still they could only be

[1] For the outline of these rituals, see *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.

[2] That the names and relics of saints and martyrs were thus used simply as *memorials*, calling the worshippers to thanksgiving for their victories, and emulation of their crowns and palms—not that they might share in any worship and divine honours—is insisted on by Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, viii. 27, xxii. 10; *contra Faust*, xx. 21; *contra Maxim.* i.; *de Vera Relig.* 55); and in writing against Maximus, he grounds an argument for the deity of the Holy Ghost upon this distinction: "that He must be God, because temples were built and dedicated to Him, which it would be sacrilege to do to any other creature."

The English Council of Cealcythe (probably Chelsea), under Archbishop Wilfred (A.D. 816), charges every bishop "that he have it painted on the wall of the oratory, or on a table, as also on the altars, to what saints both of them are dedicated."

[3] Especially portions of the shroud, called *brandeum*. "Pope Gregory the Great sets forth his view of this practice in a letter to Constantia (*Epist.* iii. 30). It is not, he says, the Roman custom, in giving relics of saints, to presume to touch any portion of the body, but only a *brandeum* is put in a casket, and set near the most holy bodies. This is again taken up, and enshrined with due solemnity in the church to be dedicated, and the same miracles are wrought by it as would have been by the very bodies themselves. Tradition relates, that when some Greeks doubted the efficacy of such relics, St. Leo cut a *brandeum* with scissors, and blood flowed from the wound. St. Leo's miracle is related by St. Germanus to Pope Hormisdas (*Epistt. Pontiff.* p. 524) and by Sigebert (*Chronicon.* A.D. 441)."—*Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. BRANDEUM.

[4] Ch. XXI. § 7.

used as such for a limited duration in virtue of the first. "Pateant summi Dei templa timentibus," said one law in the Theodosian code, not merely confirming this privilege, but extending it to the various surroundings of a church where meals might be taken and sleeping quarters established for any length of time; by another law, however, it was modificd, by excluding public debtors, slaves, and Jews, from benefiting by it in future; and Justinian afterwards excluded malefactors.[1]

Property given to the Church might never be alienated from it, except under special circumstances defined by the canons: much less therefore buildings that had been solemnly consecrated.[2] So indelible a character of holiness was thought to be stamped upon a church or an altar by the act of consecration, that nothing short of destruction, or such dilapidation as to render them unfit to serve their proper ends, could nullify it. Even the wood and stones used in building a church were considered to have shared its consecration, and could not afterwards be removed to subserve structures purely secular, though they might be burnt. Events in this respect have long since proved stronger than the Decretals: and there are some remarkable words on record of Jehovah Himself in taking possession of the first building ever dedicated to His service, shewing that His acceptance of it was conditional, and might not, under circumstances which actually took place, be permanent.[3] A church might,

[1] *Cod. Theodos.* ix. tit. 49; *Novell.* 17. Some interesting remarks on these constitutions may be read in a letter of Alcuin (*Ep.* clvii. ed. Migne) to his two disciples, Candidus and Nathanael: modified indeed by the important letter of Charlemagne which follows it; and in accordance with which the rights of sanctuary are upheld in the Frank capitularies of the eighth century.—*Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. CONSECRATION, &c.

[2] The canons forbidding alienation are numerous from the 15th Ancyran, A.D. 315 downwards; and the 31st and three following, with the 65th Apostolical, may be still earlier. Justinian has numerous regulations to the same effect in his Code (lib. ii. tit. 2) and 7th Novel. In all these church property seems to be considered inalienable, rather as being in trust for others than upon higher grounds: at all events, none of them actually discuss consecrated sites and buildings as such. Charlemagne was more explicit in one of his capitularies (A.D. 802, c. 34, ed. Migne): "Ut loca quae semel Deo dedicata sunt ut monasteria sint, maneant perpetuo monasteria, nec possint ultra fieri saecularia habitacula." This was generalised subsequently, till it appeared as a maxim in the "Regulae Juris," appended to the 6th book of the Decretals, in these words: "Semel Deo dicatum, non est ad usus humanos ulterius transferendum." (No. 51).—*Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, ibid.

[3] 2 Chron. vii. 19, 20. Canonists have forgotten these words altogether in estimating the "*effects* of consecration."—*Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, vol. i. p. 432.

however, be so *polluted*[1] as to need *reconciliation* by the perpetration in it of homicide or other revolting crime; and if the relics which had been deposited at consecration were removed, the church and altar lost this sacred character until these were restored; with the relics and the renewal of masses, the whole effect of consecration returned.[2]

§ 14. Among the ornaments of churches the CROSS held a conspicuous place; and we now begin to trace a decided tendency to the worship of the sacred symbol. In a spiritual sense, the Cross—but, be it well observed, only as the *Cross of Christ*—was the watchword of the Christians' faith, not only as the instrument of their salvation, but as the sign of fellowship with their Lord in humiliation, self-denial, and suffering. This He had Himself enjoined upon them; "If any man will be my disciple, let him *take up his cross*, and follow me;" and Paul had said, "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." But this "glory" was easily transferred to the cross itself, first as a suggestive idea, and then as a material symbol, and even as a form possessing mystic virtue. While the form of the cross[3] was uplifted in churches and elsewhere, the act of making the *sign of the cross* was practised as a preservative against bodily and spiritual dangers.[4]

The cross, sculptured in a great variety of forms,[5] on sepulchral and other memorials, was in use much earlier than Constantine, as is shown by the Catacombs and other evidence. Apologists as early as Tertullian and Minucius Felix,[6] found it necessary to combat the charge that Christianity was but a new form of idolatry,

[1] Such pollution had the effect of desecration (*exsecratio*).

[2] Vigilius, Pope 538–555, *Ad Eutherium, Epist.* ii. c. 4. Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* ix. 6) mentions an instance in which a church, in consequence of a homicide having been perpetrated in it, lost the privilege of Divine Service (officium perdidit).—*Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. DESECRATION.

[3] Called Ξύλον and *lignum* (as well as σταῦρος and *crux*), after the Scriptural precedent in Gal. iii. 13, where the ignominy attached to hanging, with specific reference to a gibbet (Deut. xxi. 23), is transferred to the Roman mode of execution by the cross. But, after Helena's discovery, the mere *wood* of the cross acquired a special sanctity.

[4] See *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. SIGN OF THE CROSS.

[5] See the Cuts on pp. 241, 242.

[6] Tertull. *Apol.* 16; *Ad Nationes*, i. c. 12; Min. Felix, *Oct.* cc. 9, 12. It is curious to find both writers laying stress on the various forms in which the cross entered even into heathenism, as, for instance, in the framework of a military trophy; while other early Christian writers appeal to the many ways in which the cross occurs in nature and art, to prove the universality of the emblem.

σταυρολατρεία; or, as the heathen objector in Minucius scornfully puts it, that the Christians "worship that which they deserve," and that "crosses are not for them to adore but to suffer upon."[1]

The Emperor Julian, a century after Minucius, taunts the Christians, as the Caecilius of that writer had done, with inconsistency, in that while they refused to reverence (*προσκυνεῖν*) the sacred Ancile, which fell down from Jupiter, they still reverenced the wood of the cross, continually made the sign of it on their foreheads, and engraved it before their houses.[2] The gist of Cyril's answer is worthy of notice:—Since Christ the Lord and Saviour of all divested Himself of His Divine Majesty, and leaving His Father's Throne was willing to take upon Him the form of a servant, and to be made in the likeness of man, and to die the cruel and ignominious death of the cross, therefore we being reminded of these things by the sight of the cross, and taught that One died thereon that we all might have life, value the symbol as productive of thankful remembrance of Him.

Certainly Julian, but for his better knowledge of Christianity, had more excuse for the misrepresentation than the heathens before Constantine. It is from the Emperor's vision of the sacred sign,[3] and his mother's discovery of the true cross (as will be related presently) that a new development of such adoration may be traced; though not yet as strict *worship*.[4] Thus Ambrose says, that Helena adored, not the *wood*, according to the vain error of the impious Gentiles, but the King who hung upon the wood;[5] and Jerome says, that Paula adored, lying prostrate before the cross, as if she saw the Lord hanging there.[6]

[1] "Ut id colant quod merentur, et jam non adorandae sed subeundae cruces;" to which the Christian interlocutor replies (c. 29), "Cruces etiam nec colimus nec optamus."—*Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. CROSS, ADORATION OF.

[2] Cyril Alex. *Contra Julianum* lib. vi. *Patrol. Gr.* lxxvi. 795.

[3] Eusebius says of Constantine, *τὸν νικοποιὸν ἐτίμα σταυρόν* (*Vita Const.* i. 31; cf. *ib.* ii. 16; iv. 21; and *Oratio de laudibus Const.* c. 9; also Sozomen i. 4, *ἀεὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ προσκυνήσεως νενόμιστο παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν*). Cyril of Jerusalem (*Epist. ad Const.* p. 247) speaks of *τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον*.

[4] The distinction was drawn, as afterwards in the controversy about image-worship, between the reverence (*προσκύνησις*) paid to a most holy thing, and the worship (*λατρεία*) due to God alone; but the fallacy of this verbal difference is shown by the use of the words in Matt. iv. 10, and Luke iv. 8. (See note to Chap. XXI. § 7.)

[5] *In obit. Theodosii*, § 46.

[6] Hieron. *Epitaph. Paulae, Epist.* 108, *ad Eustochium*, § 9. See further the distinction as drawn by Augustine (*Tract.* i. *in Johannem*, § 16): "Dicimus quidem lignum vitam, sed secundum intellectum lignum Crucis unde accepimus vitam."

But such a distinction, while maintained in words, was sure to be overpowered by the close intermixture of the sign with its significance; and especially when the adoration of the cross came to be mixed up with the worship of images. Thus, Rusticus Diaconus, an eminent writer of the sixth century, maintains the adoration of the Cross as leading on to that of the Crucified, though he adds a protest against its being said that we adore the Cross together with Christ.[1] And John of Damascus, the greatest Eastern theologian of the eighth century, while explaining in his defence of Image Worship, that "we worship also the figure (*τύπον*) of the precious and life-giving cross, not honouring the wood (or matter, *ὕλην*)—God forbid (*μὴ γενοῖτο*)—but the figure as a symbol of Christ, makes this the very ground for the adoration of the cross, "for wherever the sign may be, there also will He be Himself."[2] Such pleas give but a lame answer to the question, propounded by an early apologist for the practice, "Why, when God has forbidden through His prophets the worship of created things, do we offer adoration to images and the cross?"[3]

Further illustrations of the wide prevalence of the feeling are to be found in numerous narratives of the Fathers, of a more or less legendary character, referring to the miraculous power inherent in the sacred symbol. Thus Sozomen[4] gives us an account of a certain physician named Probianus who had been converted to Christianity, but who would not accord honour to the cross as the sign of salvation, until when suffering from a painful disease of the feet he was taught by a vision to find in reverence of the cross a means of relief, and thus was cured. In the Trullan Synod held at Constantinople in 691 A.D., it was ordained that since the cross shows to us the way of salvation, and therefore we offer to it in words and in thought our adoration, it should be distinctly prohibited to engrave crosses on the pavement, where they would be trodden under foot, and that where these already existed they should be erased.[5] There are forms of service for the adoration of the Cross in the Roman, Greek, and other ancient Liturgies.[6]

[1] "Non tamen crucem coadorare dicimur Christo." *Contra Acephalos; Patrolog.* lxvii. 1218.

[2] *Ἔνθα γὰρ ἂν ᾖ τὸ σημεῖον, ἐκεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται.* Joh. Damasc. *de Fide Orthodoxa*, iv. 11.

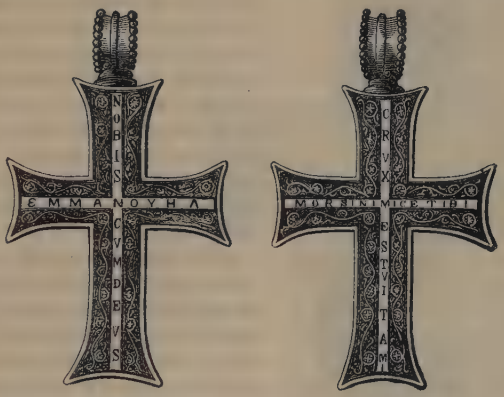
[3] *Quæstiones ad Antiochum ducem*, xxxix. (*Patrolog.* xxviii. 622), falsely ascribed to Athanasius.

[4] *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 3.

[5] Can. 73; Labbe, *Concilia*, vi. 1175.

[6] See further the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Arts. CROSS; CROSS, ADORATION OF.

§ 15. All that has now been said applies to the simple cross as a symbolic form, though, with the growth of pomp and sumptuousness in worship, it was made of silver, gold, and other precious materials, and adorned with gems, carving, and chasing, and various artistic devices. It was also made to contain relics, especially in the case of the pectoral cross worn by bishops as an *encolpion*.[1]



The addition of the figure of the suffering Saviour made the *Crucifix*,[2] in naming which it is at once necessary to distinguish between the use of the Crucifix as an object or instrument of devotion, and that of pictorial or other representations of the *Crucifixion* as a scene. It must also be borne in mind that, for several centuries after their first introduction, all representations of the crucified form of our Lord, whether alone or as the central figure of the crucifixion, in pictures, reliefs, or mosaics, were only *symbolical*, as the *icons* of the Greek Church still are; intended simply to recal the great event in its meaning, without historical realism or artistic

[1] The cut shows the oldest existing specimen of such a pectoral cross, which was found not long since upon the breast of a corpse in the basilica of St. Laurence, outside the walls. It came to light in clearing the interior of that church, and we are indebted to De Rossi for a careful drawing of it (*Bulletino*, Apr. 1863). On one side it bears the inscription, EMMANOVHA [Emmanuel] NOBISCVM DEVS; on the other, the following words, addressed apparently to Satan: CRVX EST VITA MIHI || MORS INIMICE TIBI; a cavity closed by a screw appears to have been intended for relics. Reliquaries in the form of a cross are first mentioned by Gregory the Great. He sent one of them to Queen Theodelinda with a fragment of the true cross; this still exists at Monza, and is used by the provost of the ancient church in that city when he officiates pontifically. (See cut on p. 447.)

[2] *Crucifixus*, that is (Christ) fastened on the Cross.



Perpendicular of Vatican Cross.

appeal to emotion. This last step was reserved for the revival of art in the later middle ages.

The symbolical purpose of such representations is seen in the transition from the cross to the earliest form of the crucifix. One of the first types used to represent the Saviour was the *Agnus Dei*, "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world;"[1] and in this form the sacrificed Saviour is represented on the famous Vatican Cross, which may be regarded as the type of symbolic representation in the sixth century.[2]

The Trullan Council at Constantinople (A.D. 691) ordered that inasmuch as the antitype is better than the type, the figure of Christ, as the Lamb that taketh away the sin of the world, should henceforth be set up after the form of a man on the "icons," that is on all

[1] John i. 29.

[2] The cut is from Cardinal Borgia's monographs, Rome, 1779–80. A medallion of the Lamb bearing the cross, and with a nimbus, is placed at its central point of intersection, and it is accompanied by two half-length figures of our Lord, with the cruciform nimbus at the top and foot of the vertical limb. Two others at the horizontal ends are supposed to represent Justin II. and his Empress Sophia. The upper half-length of the Lord holds a book in the left hand, and blesses with the right; the lower one holds a roll and a small cross. The embossed lily-ornaments are of great beauty, and there is an inscription on the back, which Borgia reads thus:—

"Ligno quo Christus humanum subdidit hostem
Dat Romae Justinus opem."

emblematic representations, instead of the older lamb.[1] From the end of the seventh century, therefore, we may date the setting up of the crucifix in *churches* by ecclesiastical authority; but this enactment of a rule leaves little doubt that the practice already existed to a considerable extent. At all events, it is certain that both the crucifix and pictures of the Crucifixion had been in *private use* much earlier; as, for instance, on pectoral crosses, of which there is still extant an example, just a century older than the Trullan Council, in the famous reliquary which is said to have been sent, with a fragment of the true cross, by Gregory the Great to Theodelinda, wife of Antharis, king of the Lombards (A.D. 590, foll.).[2]



Theodolinda's Crucifix.

Representations of the Crucifixion as a scene were still earlier than crucifixes; and of these, also, the earliest known examples are in a form for private use, such as in MSS. and on the covers of diptychs. The most interesting is the illumination in the Syriac MS. of the Gospels in the Medicean Library at Florence, dated in

[1] Can. 82:—Τὸν τοῦ αἴροντος τὴν ἁμαρτίαν κόσμου Ἀμνοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον χαρακτῆρα καὶ ἐν τοῖς εἰκόσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀντὶ τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἀμνοῦ ἀναστηλοῦσθαι ὁρίζομεν. This is the Council called *Quinisextum*, as being a supplement to the Fifth and Sixth General Councils (Chap. XVI. §§ 11, 15), and it has in the Greek Church the authority of a General Council.

[2] This crucifix (with an *ampulla*, which is also said to have been a present from Gregory to Theodelinda, and on which the Crucifixion is represented in another form), is among the treasures of the cathedral at Monza. It bears the crucified Christ in that merely suggestive form which belongs to this early period, and which is strongly indicated by the long priestly robe, whereas the Roman custom of crucifying naked must have been well known. The figures on the right and left of the extended arms appear to represent the Virgin Mary and St. John. For the description of other early crucifixes, and the discussion of their ages, see the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. CRUCIFIX.

A.D. 586 by its writer, a monk named Rabula. It is composed, with instinctive skill, in two groups, the upper representing the Crucifixion, and the lower the Resurrection, each uniting the leading incidents in one scene. In the former[1] are the three crucified persons, with a marked difference in the attitudes of the two thieves. The Saviour has the nimbus round his head and the long robe, for which the soldiers at the foot are playing, not with dice, but at the old game of *mora* on their fingers.[2] The acts of offering Christ the sponge dipped in vinegar on a reed, and piercing His side with the spear, are both shown. To the right of the group stands the Virgin and another woman,[3] and to the left three others, seemingly for the "women looking on afar off."[4]

Another most interesting, though much later, Crucifixion or Crucifix (as it may well be called, from the prominence given to the central figure), is that on the ivory *Diptych of Rambona*, in Picenum,[5] of the ninth century. Here we had reached the age in which the First Person of the Trinity is exhibited in an upper compartment; while in remarkable contrast below is the old type of Rome, the twins suckled by the wolf. The Sun and Moon, which are usually shown above the cross, are here personified as figures bearing torches; and below the arms of the cross are the Virgin and St. John. "This wonderful ivory is now in the Vatican Museum, and is in the most ancient style of what may be called dark-age Byzantine art, when all instruction and sense of beauty are departed; but so vigorous a sense of the reality of the fact remains, as to render the work highly impressive."[6]

§ 16. The introduction of Crucifixion-pictures into churches was naturally earlier than that of crucifixes; as memorial scenes, apart from any idea of worship; though a sense of reverence and fear of any approach to idolatry caused these to be among the last of such public representations.[7] Even before the time of Constantine, pic-

[1] See the cut on page 1.

[2] In this detail the picture is unique among crucifixions.

[3] Perhaps her sister; see John xix. 25.

[4] Matt. xxvii. 55; Mark xv. 39; Luke xxiii. 49.

[5] See the vignette to Chap. VI. p. 127.

[6] *Dict. of Christian Antiqq., l. c.*

[7] Before the end of the sixth century, Gregory of Tours (*ob.* 595) mentions a painting of the Crucifixion, which was placed in the church of St. Genesius, at Narbo, but which gave offence, apparently because it represented the Saviour as almost naked (*pictura, quae Dominum nostrum quasi præcinctum linteo indicat crucifixum*). It was not, however, removed, but veiled with a curtain, by order of the bishop, and only at times exhibited to the people. (Gregor. Turon. *de Gloria Martyrum*, i. 23; Schaff, vol. iii. p. 562).

tures representing the events related in Scripture history had been set up in churches; but as yet, and for some time after, with the sole purpose of impressing on the mind, through the sense of sight, the scenes of which words gave a less vivid presentment.[1] In the choice of subjects one chief purpose was to exhibit the harmony of the Jewish and Christian dispensations, scenes of the Old Testament history being placed in comparison with those of the New Testament, to which they corresponded as type and antitype, and especially with the events of the Life of Christ as recorded in the Gospels. Thus the sacrifice of Isaac was depicted side by side with the death of Jesus; the gathering of the manna with the Lord's Supper; the water flowing from the rock with Christian baptism.

There is a manifest distinction between the necessary introduction of Jesus and His Apostles and the saints of Scripture history, in such memorial scenes, and their separate portraiture as objects of that reverent contemplation which naturally passed on into worship.[2] But the tendency to the transition was very soon seen and resisted. As early as the time of Constantine, we find Eusebius of Cæsarea condemning the representation of Christ and the holy persons named in Scripture, on the ground that the glory of the Saviour cannot be depicted, and that the true image of the saints is a saintly life.[3] Eusebius reckons these *Images*[4] as all such representations are named in ecclesiastical language—among the corruptions brought in by heretics, citing likenesses of Simon Magus and of Manes, which were reverenced by the Simonians and the Manicheans; but such things (he adds) were to be rejected by Christians. By the end of

[1] According to the principle—"Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem, Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus, et quæ ipse sibi tradit spectator." (Horat. *de Arte Poëtica*, 180–2). But it was forgotten that this was only one element of the question, where spiritual worship and impression were concerned.

[2] Throughout the whole growth of the practice we can trace the instinctive feeling that *statues*, or "graven images" in any form, were nearer to idolatry than pictures. They were used, indeed, as memorials, as we have seen in the case of St. Hippolytus, and sculptured monuments are found in the catacombs, and carved ornaments, chiefly symbolical, were employed in the *structural* decoration of churches. But, as we shall see, the Greek Church, while leading the way in the worship of "images"—(εἰκονες, *imagines*, *i.e.* "likenesses," as in the Second Commandment)—prohibited all sculpture, and statues were of very late introduction in the Latin Church.

[3] In his *Letter to Constantia* (the sister of Constantine), which formed one of the leading authorities discussed in the later controversy, and quoted in the Second Council of Nicæa. The patriarch Nicephorus (in the ninth century) objects to the testimony of Eusebius that he was an Arian (!), which in fact he was not.

[4] Εἰκονες.

the fourth century such images were not only common, but they had become objects of reverence akin to worship; for Augustine confesses that many in his time were "adorers of pictures;"[1] but they were still resisted by the chief teachers of the Church. Epiphanius[2] relates how he himself, while travelling in the Holy Land, tore a curtain which he found hanging before the sanctuary of a church, with a figure either of Christ or of a saint painted on it, declaring such representations to be contrary to Scripture. In the two following centuries the practice gained ground in connection with the growing reverence for the Virgin Mary, whose image was set up in many churches, often throned, and with the infant Jesus in her arms. Our Lord Himself, and the Apostles and other saints, were exhibited in individual portraiture, and no longer only in historic scenes. The character of authentic portraits began to be claimed for the pictures of Christ,[3] and miraculous virtues were attributed to them.

All this tended to the *Worship of Images*, especially in the Eastern Church; and before the close of the sixth century, the practice[4] found an eloquent defender in Leontius, bishop of Neapolis in Cyprus, whose arguments were afterwards relied on by the Second Council of Nicæa.[5] His defence rests on the plausible but fallacious plea repeated ever since—"I, worshipping the image of God, do not worship the material wood and colours; God forbid; but laying hold of the lifeless representation of Christ, I seem to myself to lay hold of and to worship Christ through it." He dwells much on the miracles wrought by images, especially on the cases in which blood had been seen to flow from them.[6] But the Monophysites held out against the prevalent superstition; and one of the bishops of that party, Xenaias or Philoxenus, in the early part of the sixth century, was zealous in ejecting images from all the churches in his diocese, the Syrian Hierapolis.

The different attitude of the Western Church towards this question, at the end of the sixth century, may be well seen by contrasting the language of Leontius with that of Pope Gregory the Great. Serenus, bishop of Marseille, finding the people disposed to worship the images in his church, had them all broken up and cast out. Upon hearing of this, Gregory wrote to Serenus in the following terms:—"It hath reached our ears some time ago that your

[1] *De Mor. Eccl. Cath.* i. 34.

[2] In a letter translated by Jerome (*Epist.* li. 9). Robertson, vol. i. p. 359.

[3] See note to Chap. I. p. 27.

[4] Under the name of προσκύνησις.

[5] See Chap. XXI. § 7. The great "Iconoclast Controversy" is related in that chapter.

[6] *Apol.* in *Act.* iv. *Conc. Nic.* ii. Labb. vii. 237

fraternity, seeing certain worshippers of images, has broken and cast forth the said images out of the church. And indeed we praise you for being zealous lest aught made by the hand should be worshipped; but we think that you ought not to have broken the said images. For painting is used in churches, that they who are ignorant of letters may at least read on the walls by seeing there what they cannot read in books."[1] "It is one thing to adore a picture, another to learn by the story of the picture what ought to be adored . . . If any one wishes to make images, by no means forbid him; but by all means stop the worship of images."[2] In both these epistles Gregory teaches, and in the second at great length, that pictures were placed in churches "not for worship, but *only* to instruct the minds of the ignorant;"[3] but elsewhere he indicates another use which experience has shown to lead rapidly to direct worship: "We do not prostrate ourselves before it ('the image of our Saviour') as before the Godhead; but we worship Him whom by help of the image we call to mind as born, as suffering, or even sitting on His throne. And while the picture itself, like a writing, brings the Son of God to our memory, it either rejoices our mind by the suggestion of His resurrection, or consoles it by His passion."[4]

In the history of the conversion of England, we read that Augustine, in his first interview with King Ethelbert (A.D. 597), came "bearing a silver cross for banner, and an image of the Lord the Saviour painted on a board."[5] But the earliest account of pictures in an English church occurs in Bede's life of Benedict Biscop, the first abbot of Wearmouth and Yarrow, who, in 678, "brought from Rome paintings of sacred images, to wit, of the blessed Mary and of the twelve Apostles, besides representations of the Gospel history, and of the visions of St. John the Evangelist, and placed them in his church; so that all who entered the church, even those ignorant of letters, whithersoever they turned their eyes, might contemplate the ever-lovely countenance of Christ, and of His saints, though in an image; or might more heedfully call to mind the grace of the Lord's Incarnation, or, having the Last Judgment before their eyes, might remember to judge themselves."[6] In 686 Biscop brought other pictures from Rome, many of saints and Gospel subjects, as before; but some also illustrating the relation of the New Testament to the Old, as Isaac bearing the wood beside Christ bearing His Cross, the

[1] *Epist. ad Serenum*, vii. 111.
[2] *Epist. ad eund.* ix. 9.
[3] *Non ad adorandum, sed ad instruendas solummodo mentes nescientium.*
[4] *Ep. ad Secund.* vii. 54.
[5] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 25.
[6] *Hist. Abbat. Uuiremuth. et Gruuens*, § 5. In all this there is not a word of worship or adoration of the pictures.

brazen serpent on the pole by Christ on the cross.[1] Pictures of this character probably abounded in Rome at the time; for a great number are mentioned as to be seen there by Gregory II. in his first reply to the emperor Leo, A.D. 726.[2]

§ 17. The frequent mention of pictures of the Virgin Mary leads us on to the growth of "Mariolatry." The first tendencies to pay divine honours to Mary as the "Mother of God" provoked (as we have seen) the Nestorians and Eutychian disputes, and were strengthened by the issue of those controversies. In the rhetorical fervour of maintaining the disputed title of *Theotokos*, Catholics and Eutychians seemed almost to place the "Mother of God" on a level with her divine Son; and the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, Peter, was the first to introduce her name into all the prayers of his liturgy. Numerous churches were dedicated to her, the earliest being probably the Basilica on the summit of the Esquiline, founded by Pope Liberius (352–366), and rebuilt by Sixtus III. (in 432), which is still distinguished as St. Mary the Greater.[3] The solemn invocation of the Virgin for prosperity in state affairs stands recorded in the Acts of Justinian;[4] and Narses never ventured on a battle without some sign of her approval. In this extreme zeal to pay to the mother of Jesus Christ that very excess of honour against which He himself had warned His disciples,[5] there mingled both a lower feeling of human nature and a trace of that heathen element which we have seen infecting so many other usages of the Church. "The idea of a female mediator—performing in the higher world offices akin to those labours of mercy and intercession which befit the feminine character on earth—was one which the mind of mankind was ready to receive; and, moreover, this idea of the blessed Mary was welcomed as a substitute for some that had been lost by the fall of polytheism, with its host of female deities. The veneration of her, therefore, ad-

[1] *Hist. Abbat. Uuiremuth. et Gyruuens*, § 8. [2] Labb. *Conc.* vii. 16.

[3] *S. Maria Major*, now *Santa Maria Maggiore* and the *Liberian Basilica*.

[4] Cod. I. xxxvii. 1. A stone set up originally at Corinth, and now in the Museum of Verona, bears the inscription, "Holy Mary, Mother of God, (Ἁγία Μαρία Θεοτόκε), protect the kingdom of the Christ-loving Justinian, and his faithful servant Victorinus, with them that live godly in Corinth." Still stronger invocations of other saints are found on inscriptions of Justinian.—*Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. INSCRIPTIONS.

[5] Matt. xii. 46–50; Mark iii. 31–35; Luke viii. 19–21; xi. 27, 28. See Keble's hymn on the Annunciation (*Christian Year*), which gives an interesting exhibition of a sentimental tendency to Mariolatry overmastered by the truth inculcated by Christ, that His obedient disciples are still more blessed than she is as His mother; nay that such *are* His brother and sister, and mother.

vanced rapidly, although it was not until a much later period that it reached its greatest height."[1]

Few traces are yet found of the worship of *Angels;* but even the condemnation of all such worship by a Laodicean canon, as contrary to Holy Scripture,[2] proves that the practice had begun. Ambrose alone of the early post-Nicene Fathers recommends the invocation of guardian angels. His greater disciple, Augustine, represents the angels and superior virtues as rejoicing with us, and assisting us in offering to God those invisible sacrifices of the heart which they would not only refuse to accept for themselves, but they are shown in several passages of Scripture forbidding the adoration and sacrifice to them which are due to God alone. In this, he adds, the angels are imitated by the holy men of God, like Paul and Barnabas at Lystra;[3] evidently reproving the worship of saints, which was already fast gaining ground.

§ 18. As in the adoration of the Virgin, so in the increased honour paid to saints, there was an element of compromise with heathenism. Converts regarded the martyrs as holding a place in their new religion like that of the heroes in their pagan system; they ascribed to them a tutelary power, and paid them honours such as those which belonged to the lesser personages of the pagan mythology.[4] "Saints were, like the heathen gods, chosen as special patrons, not only of individuals, but of cities. It was not without plausible grounds that heathens, as Julian and Eunapius, began to retort on Christians the charge of worshipping dead men, and that the Manicheans joined in the reproach. St. Augustine strenuously repudiated it; he exhorted to an imitation of the saints in their holiness, and endeavoured, as did also St. Chrysostom, to oppose the tendency towards an undue exaltation of them. But before his time practices nearly akin to the worship of the saints had too surely made their way into the popular belief and feeling, as indeed Augustine himself is obliged to confess."[5] Some of the most distinguished teachers of the Church[6] avowed that the saints and their days held a place in the Christian system like that which had been formerly assigned to the gods of paganism and their festivals; and the parallel was carried out in the promises of honour to their altars and even threats of dishonour, by which prayers offered to them were enforced, and by addressing to another saint the prayers which one had left unanswered.

[1] Robertson, vol. i. p. 582.
[2] *Concil. Laod.* c. 35 (A.D. 372?); Robertson, vol. i. p. 369.
[3] Augustin. *de Civ. Dei*, x. 19.
[4] Robertson, vol. i. p. 365.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 366.
[6] As Theodoret, quoted by Canon Robertson, vol. i. p. 580.

The *relics* which, as we have seen, were essential to give sanctity to a church, were found in new abundance, especially when required to support some disputed claim.[1] Relics were worn as amulets, and marvellous miracles were ascribed to them, and even to cloths which they had touched and water in which they had been dipped. The manufacture of spurious relics had already become frequent. The biographies of lately deceased bishops, monks, and others, especially when they were champions of orthodoxy, were crowded with miracles;[2] new lives of ancient saints were written in the same vein; and non-existing saints, with complete biographies, were invented, sometimes from mistaking the name of a thing for a person, like the etymological myths of earlier ages.[3] Thus the foundation was laid for the whole fabric of "*Hagiology*."

And here it seems fit to explain the technical use of this oft-repeated title "*Saint*."[4] We have seen that, both in the Jewish and Christian Church, it was the common name of all God's people, as separated from the world and devoted to Him, and called to a holy life.[5] It was not the distinctive mark of one Christian as more holy than another; much less is it used in Scripture as an honorary prefix to the simple name, by which the law-giver and priest, prophets, apostles, and evangelists are generally called. We read of our "brother Timothy," "our beloved brother Paul," never of St. John, St. Peter, and so forth.[6]

[1] One out of several examples is the revelation in a dream to Anthimus, the metropolitan of Cyprus, of the tomb of St. Barnabas, in which were found his remains, and a copy in his own hand of St. Matthew's gospel,—proofs by which Anthimus defeated the claim of the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, Peter the Fuller, to jurisdiction over the island (A.D. 487). Theod. Lector, ii. 2; Robertson, vol. i. p. 581.

[2] An interesting case, connected with our own history, is furnished by the Life of St. Germanus of Auxerre, whose many miracles against the Pelagians and the barbarian enemies of the British Christians are repeated without doubt by Bede; while one of them, the "Alleluia Victory" is unsuspiciously transferred again to some modern text-books as the last success which gilded the fall of Roman Britain. Bede's History is full of miraculous legends.

[3] For example *St. Veronica* (see p. 27, col. 2); and *St. Amphibalus*, the fellow martyr of St. Alban, whose name was probably invented (as Ussher suggests) from the cloak (*amphibalum*) which he gave to Albanus.

[4] "Αγιος, *Sanctus*, "holy"; and *beatus*, "blessed," or "beatified."

[5] See Chap. VI. § 10.

[6] The nearest approach to the later ecclesiastical use of the word is in a few phrases, such as "*holy* prophets" (2 Pet. iii. 2; Rev. xxii. 6); "*holy* apostles and prophets" (Rev. xviii. 20), and "*holy men* of God" (2 Pet. i. 21; where, however, instead of ἅγιοι τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι, the true reading seems to be ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι, "men (sent) by (or from) God."

The insensible transition to the distinctive use of the title in speaking of departed saints, eminent by divine inspiration, personal holiness, and power as teachers, and especially by the seal of martyrdom, became a fixed custom as soon as their names began to be enrolled in lists of persons honoured by the Church. The earliest use of such lists, called in ecclesiastical language *diptychs* (folding tablets),[1] seems to have risen from the custom of reading out, at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the names[2] of those who had brought contributions of bread and wine, which soon passed into a commemorative record of all, living and dead, who had deserved well of the church.[3] The custom existed as early as the age next after the Apostles, at least if we accept as genuine the "Martyrdom

[1] Δίπτυχα (*diptycha*), properly a two-leaved folding tablet, also called ἱεραὶ δέλτοι, κατάλογος, *matriculæ*, *nomina*, *tabulæ*. The form seems to have been derived from the practice which prevailed under the Roman Empire, by which consuls, praetors, aediles, and other magistrates were wont to distribute to their friends and the people, on the day in which they entered office, tablets inscribed with their names, and containing their portraits, in token of the commencement of their magistracy. Their outer covers were of wood, ivory, or metal elaborately carved or chased, as in the consular diptych of Stilicho, here shown, and the most interesting Christian diptych of Rambona, in ivory, a Byzantine work of the ninth century. (Vignette to Chap. VI. p. 127).



Diptych of Stilicho, A.D. 405.

[2] That complete lists of the names of members of the Church may have been kept, is suggested by their love of order and other probabilities, as well as by the phrase "the *number* of the *names* together," in Acts i. 15.

[3] Respecting the different classes of names enrolled in the *diptycha vivorum*, the *diptycha mortuorum*, and the *diptycha episcoporum*, and for all further information, see the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. DIPTYCHS.

of St. Polycarp,"[1] where the recitation is said to be made "in memory of those who have finished their course, and for the exercising and preparation of those who have yet to walk in their steps." It is distinctly alluded to by Tertullian;[2] and by the end of the fourth century, the danger of a superstitious use seems indicated by Augustine's protest, that the saints thus commemorated are "not invoked."[3] The authority by which a name was inserted in this list—the saint being then said to be "*vindicatus*"—was, until at least the tenth century, that of the bishop, with (no doubt) the consent of his clergy and people, and, as time went on, of the synod and metropolitan, and according to Mabillon,[4] of the emperor or king. But the consent of the last named could only have been asked or given in cases of political importance, real or supposed. The custom of setting apart certain days (generally those of their death or martyrdom)[5] for the annual commemoration of saints and martyrs led, of course, to the entry of their names, with those titles, in the ecclesiastical Calendars, which were compiled for liturgical use.[6] Of the compilation of such calendars by bishops, containing the names of martyrs, we have an example as early as Cyprian: but there are none extant of a date before the fourth century. The earliest are those which contain fewest saints' days—and in which the simple names are given without title or eulogy, even the prefix S. or B. being but sparingly introduced.

The formal act of *canonization*,[7] which is claimed as a prerogative of the See of Rome, is defined by Ferraris[8] to be a "public judgment and express definition of the Apostolic See respecting the

[1] *Ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 15.
[2] *De Cor.* 3.
[3] "Non invocantur." *De Civ. Dei*, xxii. 10.
[4] *Praef. in Actt. SS. Bened.* p. 412.
[5] In the language of Hagiology the general term for a saint's day of death is *Natalis* (dies) or *Natale*, *i.e.*, his birth to immortality, and the days of martyrdoms are called *Natalitia Martyrum*. The term *depositio* is also used, not for the day of *burial*, but in the sense of *laying down* the burthen of the flesh. There are, indeed, cases in which *depositio* appears to mean the solemn entombment of relics (especially in the church named after the saint), but the usual terms for burial and deposit of relics are *elevatio*, *cultus*, *translatio*. In the early calendars *depositio* seems to be applied only to bishops, *natalis* and *natalitium* to martyrs.
[6] *Kalendarium*, *Computus*, *Distributio Officiorum per circulum totius anni*, μηναῖον ἑορταστικόν, ἡμερολόγιον, ἐφημερίς: later, καλεντάριον. See *Notes and Illustrations* (A), at the end of this chapter.
[7] That is, enrolment in the authorized list, or *Canon of Saints and Martyrs*. *Canonizare* is also used to signify simply to "approve," or to 'appoint to a canonry," or to enrol in the "canon" of the clergy, or to make a canon in a Council.—*Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. CANONIZATION.
[8] Sub voc. *Veneratio Sanctorum*.

sanctity and glory of one, who is thereupon solemnly added to the roll of the saints, and set forth for the public veneration of the whole Church militant, and the honours due to saints decreed to him." And it is distinguished by him from *Beatification*, which means, according to the same authority, a like "lawful grant by the pope to a particular kingdom, province, religious body, or place, to venerate and invoke, in the mass and by exposition of relics," &c., some particular person deceased. The first formal canonization by a pope is said to be either that of St. Suibert by Pope Leo III. A.D., 804, at the request of Charlemagne, or (which however depends on a letter said to be a forgery) that of Udalric, bishop of Augsburg, by diploma of Pope John XV. A.D. 993.[1] The last case of canonization by a metropolitan is said to have been that of St. Gaultier, or Gaucher, abbot of Pontoise, by the Archbishop of Rouen, A.D. 1153.[2] And a decree of Pope Alexander III. A.D. 1170, gave the prerogative to the pope thenceforth, so far as the Western Church was concerned; who proceeded in two ways, either by formally sanctioning local or other saints, who had long before been canonized in effect by common consent, or by initiating the process himself in new cases.

§ 19. The reverence paid to holy persons was shared by *Holy Places*, especially the scenes of our Savour's life on earth, and, above all, of His death and burial. The first impulse to the long train of pilgrimages to Palestine was given by Constantine's resolution to remove heathen abominations from the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and to build on it a Christian church;[3] in pursuance of which purpose his mother Helena visited Jerusalem, and there (according to the famous legend) found the Sepulchre, with the three crosses still lying near it, under the earth which had preserved them from Hadrian's attempt to remove every trace of the Holy City. The very superscription attached by Pilate to the cross of Christ was found lying somewhat apart! Not knowing which of the three crosses was the one they sought, Macarius caused them to be successively presented to the touch of a noble lady of Jerusalem then lying at the point of death. The first two crosses produced no effect, but at the touch of the third the sick woman rose up before them perfectly healed, thus showing that it was upon this that the Saviour had suffered. One part of the cross set in silver was intrusted to Macarius to be carefully guarded in Jerusa-

[1] Mabill. *Actt. SS. Ben. Saec. V. Pref.* § 101; Gibbings, *Praelect. on the Diptychs*, p. 33, Dubl., 1864.

[2] Gibbins, as above.

[3] A.D. 326. Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 26, sqq., with Constantine's *Letter to Macarius*, bishop of Jerusalem (*ibid.* c. 30); Socrates, *H. E.* i. 17; Theodoret, *H. E.* i. 18.

lem, and the remainder, together with the nails, was forwarded to Constantine. One of the nails was attached to his helmet, and another to the bridle of his horse, in fulfilment, according to sundry fathers, of the prophecy of Zachariah xiv. 20.[1] Socrates states that the portion of the cross sent to Constantine was by him inclosed in his own statue, which was placed on a column of porphyry in the so-called forum of Constantine in Constantinople, that thus the city might be rendered impregnable by the possession of so glorious a relic. According to Sozomen, besides the miracle wrought on the sick lady, a dead man was instantly restored to life by the touch of the cross; but Paulinus, while mentioning this says nothing of the other miracle. In Ambrose, spite of a protest to the contrary, we see traces of the feeling in which respect for the cross, as a token of Him who hung thereon, drifted into an adoration of the cross itself.[2]

The earliest mention we have of the Finding of the Cross is in the *Catecheses* of Cyril of Jerusalem, delivered rather more than twenty years after Helen's alleged discovery; in which, though he does not allude to the narrative in the form given by subsequent writers, he yet says that fragments cut off from the cross were spread over the whole world,[3] and he also alludes to the Finding of the Cross in a letter written some years later to Constantius, the son of Constantine, on the occasion of a luminous cross appearing in the sky over Jerusalem.[4] From the beginning of the fifth century onwards all ecclesiastical writers take the truth of the narrative in its main form for granted, though sundry variations of detail occur.

The alleged discovery is commemorated in the Church of Rome by a festival, best known by its Latin title, *Inventio S. Crucis* (May 3), the institution of which cannot be traced with any certainty earlier than the end of the eighth century, or the beginning of the ninth. The Greek Church has no such special festival, but com-

[1] Jerome, however (*Comm. in Zech.* in loc.) speaks of it as one might have expected, "nam sensu quidem pio dictam sed ridiculam."

[2] For the above tradition, see Socrates, *l. c.*; Theodoret *l. c.*; Sozomen, ii. 1; Ambrose *de obitu Theodosii*, c. 46; *Patrol.* xvi. 1399, Sulpicius Severus, *Hist. Sacra*, ii. 34; *Patrol*, xx. 148, Rufinus, *Hist.* i. 7, 8; *Patrol.* xxi. 1475, Paulinus of Nola, *Ep. ad Severum*, 31; *Patrol.* lxi. 325, Gregory of Tours, *Liber Miraculorum*, i. 5 sqq.; *Patrol.* lxxi. 709. Cyril of Alexandria also (*Comm. in Zech.* in loc.; *Patrol. Gr.* lxxii. 271) refers to it as the current history in his day. Chrysostom evidently believed in the discovery of the cross, and speaks of the practice of conveying small portions of it about as amulets (*Quod Christus sit Deus*, c. 10; *Patrol. Gr.* xlviii. 826).—*Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. CROSS, FINDING OF.

[3] *Catech.* iv. 10; x. 19; xiii. 4; *Patrol. Gr.* xxxiii. 468, 685, 776.

[4] *Ep. ad Const.* c. 3.

bines the celebration of the Finding with the day of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14).[1]

The discovery of the Cross by Helena, and the example of her visit to the Holy Land, gave (as we have said) a strong impulse to the practice of pilgrimage. Besides the influence on devout minds of contemplating the places hallowed by the presence of Christ, and by the wondrous events which form the historical basis of saving faith, a special efficacy was attributed to prayers offered on those sacred spots of earth, many of which were distinguished by special miracles. "From all quarters—even from the distant Britain[2]—pilgrims flocked to the sacred sites of Palestine, and on their return they carried home with them water from the Jordan, earth from the Redeemer's Sepulchre, or chips of the true Cross, which was speedily found to possess the power of reproducing itself.[3] * * * Pilgrimage became a fashion, and soon exhibited the evil characteristics of a fashion, so that already warnings were uttered against the errors and abuses which were connected with it. The monk Hilarion, during his residence of fifty years in Palestine, visited the holy sites but once, and for a single day; in order, as he said, that he might neither appear to despise them on account of their nearness, nor to suppose that God's grace was limited to any particular place."[4] And stronger language to the same effect was used by a still more distinguished resident in Palestine, who sometimes expatiates earnestly on its hallowed associations;[5] but against the idea of merit of virtue in pilgrimage, Jerome thus warns Paulinus:[6] "It is not matter of praise to have been at Jerusalem, but to have lived religiously at Jerusalem. The scenes of the Crucifixion and of the Resurrection are profitable to such as bear their own cross and daily rise again with Christ—to those who show themselves

[1] The Finding of the Cross is, however, observed as a distinct festival by some branches of the Eastern Church, as by the Coptic on March 6, and by the Ethiopic on May 4.

[2] Hieron. *Epist.* xlvi. 10; Pallad. *Hist. Laus.* 118.

[3] "Cyril of Jerusalem, although cited by Baronius as a witness for the multiplication of the wood, in reality speaks only of the dispersion of fragments throughout the world (*Catech.* iv. 10). But Paulinus of Nola, in a distant country, and half a century later, speaks of the reproduction (*Epist.* xxxi. 6)."

[4] *Ap.* Hieron. *Epist.* lviii. 3; Robertson, vol. i. p. 369. For the dissuasive of Gregory Nyssen against pilgrimage, see above, Chap. XIII. § 4. The like testimony is borne also by Chrysostom and Augustine.

[5] Hieron. *Epist.* xlvi. 4; xlvii. 2; cviii.

[6] *Epist.* lviii. quoted by Canon Robertson, vol. i. p. 370, who points out that the first sentence is imitated from Cicero, *pro Murena*, 12. "Non Asiam nunquam vidisse, sed in Asia continenter vixisse, laudandum est."

worthy of so eminent a dwelling-place. But as for those who say 'The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord'—let them hear the Apostle's words—'Ye are the temple of the Lord, and the Holy Spirit dwelleth in you.' The court of heaven is open to access from Jerusalem and from Britain alike; 'for the Kingdom of God is within you.'" Such words of pious wisdom were thrown away on minds fascinated by the attraction which has been the fruitful source of superstitious penance, waste of time and labour and human life, intolerant zeal and a long series of murderous wars, down even to our own age.

§ 20. The *Public Worship* of the *Church* had been adorned, or burthened, with a great increase of pomp and elaborate ritual, since the time when Pliny and Justin Martyr described its primitive simplicity.[1] Leaving to special works on Christian antiquities[2] the growth of ceremonies, the new and splendid dresses of the clergy, nearly all of which had come into use by the end of the sixth century,[3] and similar details, we must notice the interesting progress of liturgical forms.[4]

The classic word *Liturgy*,[5] used in the Greek republics for certain public burthens imposed on the wealthy for the benefit of their fellow-citizens, is adopted in the New Testament for the work of the Jewish priesthood and the Christian ministry, and also for services of beneficence to the brethren.[6] Its special restriction to divine worship and sacramental service is first found in the time of Constantine.[7] As the worship throughout all the churches came to be more and more regulated by fixed rules, while in minor details

[1] See Chap. VIII. § 3.

[2] See especially the several articles in the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*

[3] Down to the same time the special clerical vestments were only used in the services of the Church. In every day life, the clergy wore the ordinary dress of citizens; but the tendency to adopt a distinctive costume is seen in the censure passed by Pope Celestine (in A.D. 428) on some Gallic priests for having, through misinterpretation of Luke xii. 35, exchanged the universal *tunic* and *toga* for the Oriental monastic dress; "whereas," (he said), "we ought to be distinguished from other men by learning (or doctrine), not by dress; by conversation, not by habit; by purity of mind, not by costume (*cultus*)." Schaff, vol. ii. p. 538.

[4] On the whole subject see Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ;* Neale's various liturgical works (of most profound learning, but highly ritualistic); Daniel (the chief modern German authority), *Codex liturgicus Ecclesiæ Universæ in Epitomem redactus.*

[5] Λειτουργία, literally, *work for the people*, with the verb, λειτουργέω, and the adjective and noun λείτουργος. The general sense is found in Rom. xiii. 6, where Paul calls secular magistrates λειτουργοὶ Θεοῦ.

[6] See Luke i. 23; Heb. viii. 2, 6; ix. 21; x. 11; Acts xiii. 2; Rom. xv. 16, 27; 2 Cor. ix. 12.

[7] Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. 37.

the several churches had different forms,[1] each of these forms, as set forth in a book, was called a *Liturgy*.[2]

The origin of liturgical forms is one of those points of early ecclesiastical development, of which the course can no longer be traced. In the Jewish worship, the liturgical element is found in the use of certain prayers and psalms (especially in Psalms 113–118) and the responsive Amen; and both these may be traced in the Church of the New Testament,[3] which had forms used by Christ Himself in the Lord's Prayer, the words of institution in the Lord's Supper, and the Baptismal formula, as responsive to which may be added the confession of faith made by Peter in the name of all the disciples,[4] that of the Ethiopian eunuch before his baptism,[5] and the penitential prayers for mercy uttered by the despised publican,[6] the outcast lepers,[7] and many others, which have been perpetuated in the "*Domine miserere*" and the "*Kyrie eleison.*" Together with these and other Scripture models for prayer and penitence, confession of faith and sacramental service, the primitive church possessed rich forms of praise and joyful thanksgiving, not only in the Psalms,[8] but in the new songs which heralded Christ's coming—the prophetic thanksgivings of Mary and Zacharias, the Song of Simeon,[9] the "Angelic Hymn," or "Gloria in Excelsis"[10]—and the worship of the heavenly sanctuary revealed to John in the

[1] Socrat. *H. E.* v. 22; Sozom. *H. E.* vii. 19.

[2] "The Latin Church calls the public eucharistic service *Mass*, and the liturgical books *sacramentarium*, *rituale*, *missale*, also *libri mysteriorum*, or simply *libelli.*"—Schaff, vol. ii. p. 519.

[3] See the quotation of the second Psalm in the apostolic prayer (Acts iv. 25, 26); and, for the responsive *Amen*, 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

[4] Matt. xvi. 16, and parallel passages; adopted as the essential form of Christian profession in 1 John iv. 15. Compare the striking examples in the Gospels of individual confession of faith made to and approved by Jesus himself; as Mark ix. 23, 24; John ix. 35–38.

[5] Acts viii. 37. [6] Luke xviii. 13.

[7] Luke xvii. 12.

[8] It is almost superfluous to observe how large a portion of the Psalms consists in forms of general prayer, profession of faith and utterance of simple doctrine, penitential confession of sin and prayers for pardon, complaints of suffering and sorrow mingled with submission to God's will, and meditation on the glories of God, His wonders in creation, nature, and providence, His just and unsearchable judgments, and in short on all the aspects of human life in relation to the Father of men, to the promised Messiah, and to the Holy Spirit.

[9] Entitled in the liturgies from their initial words, the *Magnificat*, the *Benedictus*, and the *Nunc Dimittis*, all in the first two chapters of Luke; besides the perversion of Gabriel's salutation to the Virgin (Luke i. 28), into the *Ave Maria* of Mariolatry.

[10] Luke ii. 14.

Apocalypse, which has been well called "one sublime liturgic vision."[1]

§ 21. Not content with these examples and key-notes for the free spiritual worship of the Church in all ages, those who are ever sacrificing the good they have to the all they claim, have fancied that complete liturgies existed from the apostolic age;[2] and that fancy has given birth to false titles and frauds even on this sacred ground. There are, in fact, no liturgical books dating from the ante-Nicene age, nor is there any proof that such books existed. The earliest written liturgies belong to the fourth and fifth centuries, when we find several in use, not only by various branches of the Catholic Church, but among the Nestorians, the Monophysites, and other schismatics. The only great names, which are historically connected with their authorship, are those of BASIL and Chrysostom in the East, and AMBROSE in the West. They bear internal evidence of not being older, at least in their existing state, than the age just mentioned. Besides the contrast of their elaborate forms with the simplicity of the primitive worship, they use the exact terms of the Nicene and post-Nicene theology, such as *ὁμοούσιος* for the Son and *θεοτόκος* for the Virgin, with allusions to the monastic profession, and marks of reverence for saints and martyrs.

But though, as full *forms of worship*, they cannot claim a primitive antiquity, they yet bear witness to a sort of "common *liturgical tradition*, which in its essential elements reaches back to an earlier time, perhaps in some points to the apostolic age, or even comes down from the Jewish worship through the channel of the Jewish Christian congregations. Otherwise their affinity cannot be satisfactorily explained. These old catholic liturgies differ from one another in the wording, the number, the length, and the order of the prayers, and in other unessential points, but agree in the most important parts of the service of the Eucharist. They are too different to be derived from a common original, and yet too similar to have arisen each entirely of itself."[3]

§ 22. The especially definite form of the Eucharistic service may have been derived from a fixed and sacred tradition, which grew up

[1] Schaff, vol. iii. p. 519. Among these is the "*Sanctus*," Rev. iv. 8, after Isaiah vi. 3. It must be remembered that the whole framework of the Apocalypse is modelled on the worship of the Jewish Temple.

[2] The notion, which we have not space to enter upon, is discussed by Professor Schaff (vol. ii. p. 521), who justly concludes that, if there had been such a primitive written apostolic liturgy, there would undoubtedly have been other and clearer traces of it than a few passages which may be mere quotations from primitive Christian hymns and psalms.

[3] Schaff, vol. ii. pp. 520, 521.

in the age when the Sacraments were part of the *Disciplina Arcani*,[1] concealed for fear of profanation, not only from Jews and heathens, but even from the catechumens. But the motive for this ceased with the fall of heathenism, when the divine service of the Church became public. The separation, also, of the worship of the catechumens from that of those in full fellowship[2] was broken down as a necessary result of the general perfection of Christianity and the universal practice of infant baptism. Heathen and Jews, as well as catechumens and penitents, might take part in the service, except, of course, the Eucharistic celebration; and it should be especially observed that all these ancient liturgies make the eucharistic *sacrifice* (rather than the idea of *communion*) the centre of the whole worship. All of them combine action with the utterance of prayer and praise, and provide, as in the Jewish worship, for the responses of the people, who thereby testify their own priestly character.[3] Some parts of the liturgy, as the Creed, the Seraphic Hymn, and the Lord's Prayer, were said or sung by the priest and congregation together. Originally the whole congregation of the faithful[4] was intended to respond; but, with the advance of the hierarchical principle, the popular element fell away, and the deacons of the choir responded for the whole congregation, especially where the language of the liturgy was unintelligible to the people.[5]

§ 23. There are said to be no less than a hundred ancient liturgies, including the various editions and translations. But they may be classified under five or six families, according to the churches in which they were originally used; namely, those of *Jerusalem* (or *Antioch*), *Alexandria*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, and *Rome*. They are also to be distinguished as those of the ORIENTAL and the OCCIDENTAL Churches.

I. The ORIENTAL LITURGIES are the most numerous, and among them the *Greek* are the oldest and most important, though the titles which ascribe them to authors of the apostolic age are mere false pretensions.

[1] See note to Chap. VIII. § 5, p. 196.

[2] The λειτουργία κατηχουμένων, *Missa Catechumenorum*, and λειτουργία τῶν πιστῶν, *Missa Fidelium* (see above, *l. c.*). The distinction was preserved, and still exists, in the Greek Church, but only as a matter of form.

[3] After the pattern of that most sublime thanksgiving in Rev. v. 9, 10.

[4] In the Clementine Liturgy, "all" (πάντες); in the Liturgy of St. James, "the people" (ὁ λαός).

[5] In the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, which have displaced the older Greek liturgies, the διάκονος or χορός usually responds. In the Roman Mass the people fall still further out of view, but accompany the priest with silent prayers.—Schaff, vol. ii. p. 522.

(1). The *Liturgy of St. Clement* is the oldest complete order of divine service, belonging probably to the beginning of the fourth century. It is found in the eighth book of the "Apostolic Constitutions;"[1] and it seems to be a sort of normal liturgy belonging to the churches of Palestine in the ante-Nicene period. Hence its chief value, as showing the contrast with later liturgical developments. It marks most distinctly the separate services for the catechumens and the faithful; it has the simplest form of ecclesiastic service, omitting even the Lord's Prayer, which forms an essential part of that service in all other liturgies; the Nicene Creed is also absent; and in the commemoration of departed saints no names are mentioned, nor is that of the "Mother of God."

(2). The *Liturgy of St. James*[2] is the oldest type of the large family which sprang from the use of the church of Jerusalem, which is mentioned at the beginning of the Prayer for the Catholic Church, as "the glorious Zion, the mother of all churches." Its date is fixed to the fourth century, on the one side, by the quotations made from it by Cyril of Jerusalem (*ob.* 386), and on the other, by its containing the Nicene Creed, as well as the terms ὁμοούσιος and θεοτόκος, and the commemoration of the Mother of God and all saints, "that we *through their prayers and intercessions* may obtain mercy"—but not yet *prayers to them.* "In contents and diction it is the most important of the ancient liturgies, and the fruitful mother of many, among which the liturgies of ST. BASIL and ST. CHRYSOSTOM must be separately named.[3] It spread over the whole patriarchate of Antioch, even to Cyprus, Sicily, and Calabria; but it was supplanted in the orthodox East, after the Mohammedan conquest, by the Byzantine liturgy. Once only in a year, on the festival of St. James (Oct. 23) it is yet used at Jerusalem and on some islands of Greece."[4] The *Syriac Liturgy of James*, which is a free translation from the Greek, and bears

[1] See Chap. IV. § 15.

[2] The brother of Jesus, and first bishop of Jerusalem. The Jerusalem family of Liturgies is classified by Neale in three divisions:—(1) The *Sicilian St. James*, used in that island before the Saracenic conquest; (2) The *Liturgy of St. Cyril*, which has been assimilated to the Alexandrian; (3) The *Syriac St. James* is the source of no less than thirty-nine Syriac liturgies, all of a Monophysite character, and used by the schismatic Syrians and Jacobites. (For the full list see Neale's *Primitive Liturgies*, and Schaff, vol. ii. pp. 528–529). The ancient Greek text of the *Liturgia Jacobi* is given in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, the *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, and the Liturgical Collections of Assemanni, Daniel, Trollope, and Neale.

[3] See Chap. XIII. §§ 3 and 7.

[4] Schaff, vol. ii. pp. 528, 529.

marks of a later date, is still used in a great variety of forms through the Monophysite churches of the East.

(3). The *Alexandrian Liturgy of St. Mark the Evangelist*, the reputed founder of the Alexandrine church and school,[1] at once betrays the fallacy of its title, and marks the highest limit of its date, by containing the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan Creed of A.D. 381. It may be traced, in its present form, to Cyril of Alexandria (*ob.* 444), by its close agreement with the liturgy which expressly bears that patriarch's name. Its use was continued in Egypt till the twelfth century, when it was supplanted by the Byzantine liturgy. But the Copts retained the version of it in their own language, from which several extant Coptic and Ethiopic liturgies had their origin.

(4). Another of the liturgies that bear Apostolic pseudonyms is that of *Thaddæus*, called also the *Liturgy of all the Apostles*, but more properly entitled the *Liturgy of Edessa* or *Mesopotamia*, where it appears to have been compiled by the Nestorian bishop Maris, in the fifth century, though probably based on earlier elements. Its use at Edessa explains its being ascribed to Thaddæus (or Jude), the legendary founder of that church. It is confined to the Nestorians, and is the source of several liturgies still used by the Nestorian churches, among which is the liturgy of the Thomas-Christians of Malabar.[2]

(5). All the above formularies have either gone out of use, or are preserved only by schismatic and remote branches of the ancient Oriental Church. But the *Byzantine* or *Constantinopolitan Liturgy* is still the living guide of worship for the great Orthodox Greek and Russian Church. It is derived from the liturgies of BASIL and CHRYSOSTOM, both of which were founded on the so-called Liturgy of St. James, and have in their turn been greatly modified in the course of time.[3] The older *Liturgy of St. Basil* is reserved for certain special occasions;[4] that of *St. Chrysostom*, which is abridged from Basil's, being used for the ordinary Sunday service. Since the sixth century, through the influence of the patriarchs of Constantinople, which prevailed over the others depressed by the Arab conquest, this Liturgy supplanted those of *St. James* and *St. Mark*

[1] See Chap. VI. § 1.

[2] The Malabar Liturgy, which would have been most interesting in its genuine form, is now only known in the corrupt edition published by Alexis, the Portuguese archbishop of Goa and the Council of Diamper (1599).

[3] See Chap. XIII. §§ 3 and 7.

[4] Namely, on the Feast of St. Basil (Jan. 1); on the eves of Epiphany, Easter, and Christmas, and throughout Lent, except on Palm Sunday. The *Armenian Liturgy* is derived from that of Basil.

in the orthodox churches of the East. But in its present state it certainly does not belong to the age of Chrysostom, who is recorded to have simplified the Byzantine service; whereas the alterations made in the course of time have produced a ritual more gorgeous and elaborate than that of Rome. It seems, in fact, not to have received the name of Chrysostom till the eighth century, being still called in the seventh the *Liturgy of the Holy Apostles.*[1]

§ 24. II. THE OCCIDENTAL LITURGIES are divided into three families:—(1). That used in the Western Provinces, Gaul and Spain and Britain, which derived their Christianity from Asia Minor.[2] Hence this family is called the *Ephesian*, and it is ascribed to the apostolical authorship of St. John.

Its chief type is the *Old Gallican Liturgy*, for which recent discoveries attest a very high antiquity.[3] But its present form is not older than the fifth century; and Hilary of Poitiers is named as one of its chief composers, or rather revisers. It was superseded by the Roman Liturgy at the time of Charles the Great (Charlemagne).

The close connection of the old British church with that of Gaul leaves no doubt that the former used the same liturgy; but no traces of it have survived the Teutonic conquest, and the forms of the Christianity re-introduced into Britain by Augustine were entirely Roman.[4] The *Old Spanish* or *Mozarabic*[5] *Liturgy* is closely allied in many points to the Gallican. It seems to have

[1] This known case of the application of a distinguished father's name to the liturgy of a church, with which he was connected, gives a further explanation of the similar connection of the names of Apostles and Evangelists with the liturgies of churches of which the foundation was ascribed to them by tradition. The name assigned to the Liturgy is (if not a pure invention) a mere inference, and cannot be any argument for its real authorship.

[2] See Chap. III. § 11. There can be no doubt that Roman Britain received the Gospel from Gaul; and Spain was evangelized probably from Gaul, unless it were more directly from the East.

[3] "Edited by Mabillon, *de Liturgia Gallicana Libri* iii. Par. 1729; and recently in a much more complete form, from older MSS., by F. J. Mone, *Lat. und Griech. Messen aus den 2ten bis 6ten Jahrhundert, Frankf. a. M.*, 1850. This is one of the most important liturgical discoveries. Mone gives fragments of eleven mass-formularies from a *Codex Rescriptus* of the former cloister of Reichenau, which are older than those previously known, but hardly reach back, as he thinks, to the second century (the time of the persecution at Lyons, A.D. 177)."—Schaff, vol. iii. p. 531.

[4] See Chap. XIX. § 10.

[5] This word was a term of contempt applied by the Arab conquerors of Spain to their Christian subjects. It is not a compound (according to some fanciful etymologies), but a participial form of the verb *'araba*, and signifies an Arab by adoption or subjection, or *Arabist*, to coin a word from the analogy of *Hellenist*.

been introduced before the conquest by the Visigoths in 409,[1] for it has no traces of their Arian heresy, or of the Byzantine ritual, which they would naturally have brought with them. Moulded into its present form by Isidore of Seville and the fourth council of Toledo (633), it remained in use till the thirteenth century, when it gave place to the Roman order of service.[2]

(2). The *Liturgy of St. Ambrose*[3] is still a living service in the diocese of Milan, where it maintained its ground against all attempts to substitute the Roman Order, till at length its use was confirmed by a bull of Alexander VI. (1497). For this also an apostolic author has been sought in St. Barnabas. Its main substance is doubtless older than Ambrose; but we know that he composed several prayers, prefaces, and hymns, and he introduced the responsive singing which was already used in the Eastern Church.[4] Many additions are said to have been made by Simplicius, the successor of Ambrose (397–400); and it was further modified under the Gothic and Lombard kings, from the end of the fifth century to the eighth. In its present form, "excepting some Oriental peculiarities, it coincides substantially with the Roman liturgy, but it has neither the pregnant brevity of the Roman, nor the richness and fulness of the Mozarabic.

A liturgy nearly allied to the Ambrosian was long used in the patriarchate of Aquileia.

(3). The *Roman Liturgy* is of course ascribed, like the foundation of the Roman Church, to ST. PETER, and is also called Petrine.

[1] The *development* of the Spanish Liturgy certainly took place under the Gothic kings, whence it is often called *Gothic;* and some, misled by this title, have maintained that it was introduced by the Goths, and derived from Constantinople.

[2] The Mozarabic Liturgy was first printed at Toledo (1500), but with some alterations in conformity with the Roman, by Cardinal Ximenes, who founded a chapel in the Cathedral of Toledo, and also one at Salamanca, where this form of service is still continued daily. The old Liturgy has been edited by Neale (*Tetralogia Liturgica*, in comparison with the Liturgies of Chrysostom, James, and Mark), and in the 85th volume of Migne's *Patrologie*, Paris, 1850.

[3] *Missale Ambrosianum*, Mediol. 1768; a later edition under the authority of the Cardinal Archbishop Gaisruck, Mediol. 1850. Neale (*Essays on Liturgiology*, pp. 171, foll.) considers the Ambrosian Liturgy, like the Gallican and the Mozarabic, a branch of the Ephesian family. "All three have been moulded by contact with the Petrine family; but the Ambrosian, as might be expected, most of all."

[4] Compare Chap. VIII. § 4, and Chap. XI. § 9 This antiphonal singing is a mark connecting the Ambrosian with the Ephesian Liturgy, for its first use in the East is ascribed by tradition to Ignatius, a disciple in the direct line of St. John.

Its present form (in substance) cannot be traced historically above the fifth century; but the antiquity of its leading features is attested by a general agreement with the other ancient formularies. The fragments also of an African Liturgy, quoted by Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine, point, by their resemblance to the Roman type, to a common original as old as the latter part of the second century.

The oldest written forms of this Liturgy, however, are found in three *Sacramentaries*, bearing the names of Popes Leo I. (*ob.* 461),[1] Gelasius (*ob.* 496), and Gregory I. The last of these, ascribed to GREGORY THE GREAT,[2] is the original of the *Ordo et Canon Missæ*, which, modified at various times, prevailed over every other Latin Liturgy, except the *Ritus Ambrosianus*, and was finally sanctioned by the Council of Trent. The various parts of the Roman Liturgy, collected into one book, form the Missal (*Missale Romanum*).[3]

For the details of the forms contained in these various liturgies, and especially the diversities between the Eastern and the Western, it must suffice to refer to the special works on what is called *Liturgiology*.[4]

§ 25. All the early Liturgies contain confessions of faith, called *Creeds* or *Symbols*.[5] Such formularies had a twofold origin, in the

[1] This *Sacramentarium Leonianum* or *Veronense* (so called from a Verona MS.), seems to be misnamed and to date not earlier than the end of the fifth century. The second may be genuine, as Gelasius is known to have composed a Sacramentarium.

[2] See Chap. XIX. § 3.

[3] These parts are the *Sacramentarium*, the *Antiphonarium*, the *Lectionarium* (containing the lessons from the Old Testament, the Acts, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse), the *Evangeliarium* (the lessons from the Gospels), and the *Ordo Romanus*. The directions for the priests, being written or printed in red letters, are called *Rubricæ*, "the Rubricks."

[4] For a summary view, see Schaff, vol. ii. pp. 517–538; and the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, Art. LITURGIES.

[5] The term *Creed* describes properly such professions as begin with the word *Credo* (πιστεύω), "I believe" (also in the plural, and in the interrogative form, "Dost thou believe?"); but it is used in a wider sense for an epitome of the chief doctrines held by the Church or any branch of it, as well as for a formulated declaration of faith on some particular doctrine, as that of the Holy Trinity. The general standard of doctrine referred to above is designated by the early Fathers as ὁ πίστεως ἀρχαίας κανών, ὁ κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁ κανὼν ἐκκλησιαστικός, τὸ κήρυγμα τὸ ἀποστολικόν, ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις, *regula fidei, lex fidei*. A formal creed, in the stricter sense, is called ἡ πίστις (a favourite designation of the Nicene Creed), ἡ παραδοθεῖσα ἡμῖν ἁγία καὶ ἀποστολικὴ πίστις, *fides, fides apostolica, fides catholica*. The word *symbolum* ("a watchword," and hence a form of mutual recognition among believers) is first used by Cyprian with express reference to the form used at baptism, and it became the favourite designation of the baptismal creed. From the Latin Church it gradually found its way into the Greek in this sense, though σύμβολον was before used for a "sign."

epitomes of doctrine required as a profession of faith at baptism, and in the compendious expressions of Christian truth as opposed to the teaching of heretics. The latter, while founded upon and sustained by Scripture, is also closely connected with the "apostolical tradition" and catholic "rule of faith," which was recognised from very early times, as by Irenæus and Tertullian.[1]

From the beginning of the third century, if not earlier,[2] we trace the use of baptismal creeds, which echoed the formula of baptism given by our Lord. The convert was reasonably required to profess his faith in the Holy names into which he was baptized.[3] Thus Tertullian speaks of the Holy Spirit "sanctifying the faith of those who believed in the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost," and each clause of the profession was followed by an act of immersion.[4] But there was already more than this simple formula, for Tertullian also tells us[5] that "the Catechumen was thrice immersed, answering *something more* than the Lord commanded in his Gospel." From his tract *On Baptism*,[6] we may plainly infer that this "something more" included the professions of faith which corresponded to baptism *unto repentance and the remission of sins* and *into the Church*. And Cyprian, speaking of the baptismal *symbol* (the Holy names), and the constantly used and legally established words of interrogation,[7] quotes as at least a part of the latter, "Dost thou believe remission of the sins and eternal life through the Church?"[8] As early, therefore, as the third century (in the West) we may safely add these articles to an ancient form of the baptismal Creed,[9] in which the Catechumen says, "I believe in the only true God, the Father Almighty, and in his only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour, and in the Holy Spirit, the Life-giver." The Catechumens were instructed in the articles of

[1] See Chap. IX., § 20.

[2] The expression of Irenæus about "the canon of the truth which every one received at his baptism" suggests a formal creed, but is perhaps too general to insist on.

[3] The passage in Acts viii. 37, which seems to furnish an example in the apostolic age, is wanting in all the best MSS.; but its insertion is another witness to the early practice. Here "belief with the whole heart" is required by Philip as the only condition of baptism, and the eunuch's profession is simply, "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God."

[4] Such baptismal confessions are found in the Pseudo-Ambrose *On the Sacraments* (ii. 7, in question and answer, with the threefold immersion), and in ancient forms of the Gallican and Roman liturgies.

[5] *De Corona Militis*, § 3. [6] *De Baptisma*, § 11.

[7] "*Usitata et legitima verba interrogationis:*" *Epist. ad Firmilian.* 75, § x.

[8] *Epist. ad Magnum*, 69, § vii.

[9] Preserved in the Ethiopic MS. of the *Apostolical Constitutions*.

faith which they were to profess at their baptism; and in the last stage of their preparation (as *competents*) they were taught to recite the formal baptismal symbol.[1] Thus the Baptismal Creed became a Rule of Faith: while, on the other hand the expansion of the recognised Rule of Faith by theological discussion, and especially in the controversies with heretics, would cause the introduction of new articles into the Creed, though its baptismal use required its simplicity and brevity to be maintained.

Such a development of the Rule of Faith and of its expression in various forms of the Baptismal Creed may be traced through the Fathers of the first four centuries, till it assumes that definite form, of which the Roman version[2] ultimately prevailed, in the misnamed *Creed of the Apostles*. In acknowledging that it has no claim to that venerable title, we must guard against the common assumption that it is the oldest, as well as the simplest Creed of the Catholic Church. True—as we have seen—it may be traced, in its most essential elements, from an early post-apostolic age; but, its development belongs solely to the Western Church,[3] and its formal adoption, as a written Creed, is later than the Nicene. It was the ancient baptismal creed as used in the Church of Rome, and was known as the *Symbolum Romanum*, or simply *Symbolum*, before it received the epithet of *Apostolorum*. Its forms were different in different churches; the earlier forms variously omitting the articles of the "descent into hell," "the communion of

[1] Ambrose, describing to Marcellina the riots at Milan, mentions (evidently as a custom) that on Sunday, after the reading of the lessons and the sermon, the catechumens having been dismissed, he delivered the symbol to the *competentes* in the baptistery of the basilica.

[2] Hence called *Symbolum Romanum*, as well as *Symbolum Apostolorum*. The legend which ascribed it to the Apostles—each supplying one of the twelve clauses—is first found in Rufinus, *Expositio in Symbol. Apost.* (about A.D. 400). The title must now be regarded as mere conventional nomenclature (there are thousands such in history and science), which it would be as idle to attempt to change as to defend it on grounds which are mere afterthoughts. The gradual growth and full development of the Creed is admirably traced by Professor Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*. The whole subject of the Creeds is also treated by Canon Swainson, 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds: their Literary History, together with an Account of the Growth and Reception of the Sermon on the Faith, commonly called "The Creed of St. Athanasius,"' 1875; also in his article CREEDS in the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.* The various forms of the Creeds are given in Dr. August Hahn's *Collection of Formulæ*.

[3] "The Eastern Churches denied all knowledge of it at the Council of Florence. Ephesius, one of the legates of the Oriental Churches, is said to have there stated, *ἡμεῖς οὔτε ἔχομεν οὔτε εἴδομεν τὸ σύμβολον τῶν ἀποστόλων* (Waterland, iii. p. 196; Nicolas, *Le Symbole des Apôtres*, p. 270). —Swainson, *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, vol. i. p. 493.

saints," "the life everlasting," and the epithet "catholic" before "church."

The Roman Symbol is first distinctly mentioned by Rufinus, in a passage which also bears witness to the variety of forms in which the Creed was used. "He describes the Creed of the Church of Aquileia as resembling very nearly that of Rome; he says that, *at neither church had it ever been put into writing in a continuous form*, but adds that he regards the type as preserved in the Church of Rome as probably of the purest character, because there *the ancient practice was preserved of the catechumen reciting the Creed in the hearing of the faithful.*"[1] Here then we have a definite form constantly repeated from memory, but not yet committed to writing; and the custom of preserving this symbol unwritten is referred to again and again by Jerome and Augustine. "We are inclined to believe," says Canon Swainson, "that the Creed must have been committed to writing when it became customary to recite it at the Mass. The Gelasian Sacramentary (which, even if interpolated, must describe the ritual of the Roman Church at some epoch or other) contains it. Since the time of Benedict VIII., the Nicene Creed (so-called) has been used at Rome in the Eucharistic service." (See next section.)[2]

§ 26. In the Eastern Church the development of Creeds was more closely connected with doctrinal controversy. It was the boast of Rufinus and of Ambrose, that no heresy took its rise within the Church of Rome, and that she had preserved undefiled the *Symbol of the Apostles.* We have seen how the chief Creed of the whole orthodox Church was framed in the East against the Arian heresy;[3] but it would be a mistake to suppose that it was the pure original composition of the Nicene Council. The assembled fathers plainly followed the guidance of an ancient baptismal creed, one form of which is extant.

In the seventh book of the *Apostolical Constitutions*[4] we have a

[1] Swainson, *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.*, vol. i. p. 493.

[2] Mention has been made above of creeds thrown into an interrogatory form. "Of these some were used from an early period at baptism; and others in later years at the visitation of the sick. Dr. Heurtley has collected several instances of the former series; and the pages of Martene contain many extracts from old MSS. giving the order for the latter. The earliest instance of such a use at confession that we have found is in the rule of Chrodegang (A.D. 750). (Migne, 89, p. 1070.)"—Swainson, *l.c.*

[3] See Chap. X.

[4] This book "is regarded by most critics as older than the Nicene Council, and by many as representing the customs of Antioch, about the end of the third century. Dr. Caspari assigns it to the same period, though he considers it to have belonged to the Syrian Churches."—Swainson, *l.c.* p. 491.

full account of the ceremonies which were performed at baptism, and of the confession which the catechumen made. He said: "I renounce Satan and his works," . . . "and after his renunciation (proceeds the text) let him say, 'I enrol myself under Christ, and I believe and am baptized into one, unbegotten, only, true God, Almighty, the Father of Christ, the Creator and Maker of all things, of whom are all things; and in the Lord Jesus the Christ, His only-begotten Son, begotten before all creation, who by the pleasure of the Father was before all the world; begotten, not made; through whom all things were made which are in heaven and on earth, both visible and invisible; who in the last days came down from heaven and assumed flesh, of the Holy Virgin Mary being born, and lived holily after the laws of His God and Father, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and died for us, and rose again from the dead, after His suffering, on the third day, and ascended into the heavens and sat on the right hand of the Father, and is coming again at the end of the world with glory to judge quick and dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end. I am baptized, too, in the Holy Spirit; that is, the Paraclete, which wrought in all the saints since the beginning of the world, and was afterwards sent from the Father, according to the promise of our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ; and, after the Apostles, to all who believe in (ἐν) the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, in (εἰς) the resurrection of the flesh,[1] and the remission of sins, and the kingdom of heaven, and the life of the world to come.'" Such is the "baptismal confession,"[2] or Creed, which connects the "Rule of Faith" which may be found in Irenæus with the Creed which has received the name of the Nicene. Eusebius, too, transcribes for his flock the Creed which he had recited at the Nicene Council as "that used when he had been a catechumen, and again when he was baptized."

The Nicene Creed itself, likewise, was used as a baptismal confession for some time before it is found in the Eucharist, or any other liturgical office.[3] The first known example of its use in the com-

[1] It must suffice here simply to point out to the thoughtful reader the importance of the distinction (which is obscured in our English versions of the Creeds) between the three phrases, πιστεύω and *credo* with the object in the Accusative, πιστεύω εἰς and *credo in* (with Accus.), and πιστεύω ἐν and *credo in* (with Dat. and Abl.).

[2] Ὁμολογία βαπτίσματος.

[3] For the proofs of this from the Council of Ephesus (431), the Robber Synod (449), the Council of Chalcedon (451), and from Epiphanius and Cyril of Jerusalem, see Swainson, *l.c.* p. 491. The distinction is to be observed here between the original Nicene Creed, which was called "the Creed of the 318" (from the number of bishops at the Council), and the same with the additions made at Constantinople, which is called "the faith of the 150 holy fathers." *Both* were accepted at Chalcedon as

mon worship of the Eastern Church is the order of Timotheus, bishop of Constantinople (A.D. 511),[1] "that the Creed should be recited at every congregation; whereas previously it had been used only on the Thursday before Easter, when the bishop catechized the candidates for baptism." "A similar direction had been given by Peter the Fuller, Patriarch of Antioch (450 to 488). Then it seems to have spread through the East, and thus the Creeds seem to have found their way into the liturgies which bear the names of Chrysostom, Basil, and others. From the East the custom came into the West. The third Council of Toledo, c. ii. (A.D. 589) directed that "before the Lord's Prayer in the liturgy, the creed of the 150 should be recited by the people through all the churches of Spain and Gallicia, according to the form of the Oriental Churches."[2]

From a dispute between Pope Leo III., and Charles the Great (about 806) concerning the words *Filioque*, it appears that some Creed (and probably the Nicæno-Constantinopolitan) was then *sung* at Rome in the service of the Mass, but *without* the disputed words, which were used in the Frank churches.[3] About half a century later (between 847 and 858), Leo IV. and Benedict III. directed that the Creed should be recited in Greek[4] (of course,

"the faith of the Catholics," but it was only at the reading of the Nicene symbol that they responded, "In this we have been baptized, in this we baptize." There were also other confessions of faith, put forth on special occasions as declarations of orthodoxy, but not used in any office of the Church; *expositions of the Faith*, rather than *Creeds*.

[1] Cited by Theodorus Lector, *H.E.* p. 563.

[2] Swainson, *l.c.*, who adds the words of Reccared's confirming order, that all the churches of Spain and Gaul should observe the rule, *according to the custom of the Eastern Fathers*, of reciting together, with a loud voice, the "most holy symbol of the faith" before communicating in the Eucharist (Mansi, ix. 983). The priest recited the Creed whilst he held the consecrated host in his hand (Mabillon, *Liturg. Gall.* 1685, pp. 2, 12, 450). We should note that the position of the Creed in the Mozarabic Liturgy answers to the directions of Reccared.

[3] The Constantinopolitan Creed appears in the *Baptismal Service* of the so-called Gelasian Sacramentary; but this is very uncertain evidence for the date of its introduction. On this question, and some interesting particulars connected with it, see Swainson, *l.c.* § 17, p. 492.

[4] Photius, *de Spiritus Mystagogia* (Migne, vol. cii. p. 395). The reason assigned is *ἵνα μὴ τὸ στενὸν τῆς διαλέκτου βλασφημίας παρασχῇ πρόφασιν*, an ambiguous phrase, which Canon Swainson takes to mean, "lest the narrow character of the Latin language should afford any pretext for *evil speaking*;" but of what sort? Probably, cavils against the doctrine from its faulty expression in the Latin version. At all events, the *τὸ στενὸν τῆς διαλέκτου* is an important testimony to the impossibility of dispensing with a knowledge of Greek in the study of antiquity.

therefore, without the Western interpolation, *Filioque*). But the Franks held to their Latin version, which was introduced more and more generally into the regular service of the Western Churches. That form had become universal in the West, except at Rome, by the end of the tenth century; and the resistance of the Popes was at length overcome by the influence of the emperor Henry II. over Benedict VIII.[1] (1014). From that time the Creed was regularly used in all the Latin Liturgies in the form in which it is retained in the Communion Service of the Church of England.

§ 27. Our limits preclude any complete discussion of the much agitated and still very doubtful questions about the origin and date of the composition misnamed "The Creed of St. Athanasius."[2] As to its form and substance, it is not a proper Creed, but a responsive Canticle, meant from the first to be sung antiphonally in worship, and hence it is often entitled a *Psalm*; like the earlier hymns written to inculcate doctrine. It was never used as a Baptismal Symbol, nor was it a Confession of Faith drawn up at any Council; but it is a laboured statement of the ultimate form into which the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation was cast by some keenly logical and dialectic mind. Its great purpose was the public asseveration of the CATHOLIC FAITH, as universally, and undoubtedly essential to salvation:[3] and it is very generally over-

[1] Comp. Chap. XXV. § 2.

[2] "Symbolum St. Athanasii," or "*Athanasianum*," also called "Symbolum *Quicunque*," or "Psalmus *Quicunque vult*" (from its first words), and "Fides Catholica" (from the assertion contained in its first and middle and last verses). With regard to the pretended authorship implied in its title, the student should remember an important critical distinction between three sorts of spurious works. There are those of which the authorship is unknown, but, from marks of age, style, subject, and so forth, they have been honestly ascribed to wrong authors. There are others wilfully fabricated under a famous name. And there are those which, being genuine works of antiquity, but of unknown authorship, have been ascribed to famous writers, who were previously well-known not to be their authors. The "Creed of St. Athanasius" is of the last kind. It was never ascribed to him till long after his death; and his name was evidently connected with it simply as being an exposition of the Trinitarian doctrine, of which he was the zealous champion, but *not* in the peculiar form given to it in this Creed.

[3] These strong asseverations open and close the Creed, and are repeated about the middle, in concluding the statement of the doctrine of the Trinity and passing on to that of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ (vv. 28, 29). The opening verses, and the last, read thus in the original Latin:—"Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est, ut teneat Catholicam Fidem: Quam nisi quisquam integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in æternum peribit: Fides autem Catholica hæc est. . ." Then follows the doctrinal statement, concluding, "Hæc est Fides Catholica,

looked that this necessity of holding the Catholic Faith is the first and main predicate of the Creed; though the necessity of holding it in the particular form stated is included in the assertion. It is this uncompromising Catholicism, rather than the logical form in which the doctrine is stated, that makes it a stumbling-block to those who hold lower views of the authority of the Catholic Church, and of the reception of Catholic doctrine as essential to salvation, than were recognised in the age to which the Creed belongs.

Not only has it no claim whatever to the authorship, or even the age of Athanasius; it did not even originate from the Eastern Church, where it does not appear till the eleventh or twelfth century. It is not only never cited as the composition of Athanasius by any writer near his time, but no trace of its peculiar form and phraseology is found in his writings, or those of his contemporaries, nor in the proceedings of the third and fourth general Councils.[1] On the other hand, the most perfect parallels to its phraseology may be collected from Augustine, Ambrose, Vincent of Lerins, and other Latin divines;[2] and its doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Spirit would alone suffice to mark its Western origin.[3] This doctrine, and the parallels referred to, which are really in the nature of quotations,[4] not only bear witness to the source of the Creed, but mark the superior limit of its date. "It implies (says Schaff), the entire post-Nicene or Augustinian development of the doctrine of the Trinity, and even the Christological discussions of the fifth century, though it does not contain the anti-Nestorian test-word *θεοτόκος*, 'Mother of God.'[5] . . . . . On the other hand, it contains

quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit." The ruling idea is also shown in such passages as "confiteri *christiana veritate compellimur*" (v. 19), and "dicere *catholica religione* prohibemur" (v. 20).

[1] "Ger. Vossius first demonstrated the spuriousness of the tradition in his decisive treatise of 1642 ("De Tribus Symbolis diss. ii.") Even Roman divines, like Quesnel, Dupin, Pagi, Tillemont, Montfaucon, and Muratori, admit the spuriousness. Köllner adduces nineteen proofs against the Athanasian origin of the Creed, two or three of which are perfectly sufficient without the rest."—Schaff, vol. iii. p. 695, note.

[2] See the passages cited by Schaff, *l.c.*

[3] See v. 23, "Spiritus sanctus [est] *a Patre et Filio:* non factus; nec creatus; nec genitus; sed *procedens.*" So Augustine says (*De Trin.* xv. 26), "Non igitur ab utroque est *genitus*, sed *procedit ab utroque* Spiritus sanctus."

[4] No reader of the Latin theologians referred to can fail to see that they are reasoning out their own views of the doctrine, and not quoting them from an existing creed.

[5] The *Western* origin of the Creed perhaps detracts somewhat from the force of the inference as to date drawn from this omission, and also from

no allusions to the Monophysite and Monothelite controversies, and cannot be placed later than the year 570; for at that date Venantius Fortunatus of Poitiers wrote a short commentary on it. It probably originated about the middle of the fifth century, in the school of Augustine, and in Gaul, where it makes its first appearance, and acquires its first ecclesiastical authority. But the precise author or compiler cannot be discovered, and the various views of scholars concerning him are mere opinions.[1] From Gaul the authority of this symbol spread over the whole of Latin Christendom, and subsequently made its way into some portions of the Greek Church in Europe." The earliest distinct example of its formal adoption as a symbol of orthodoxy is a canon of the Council of Christiacum (*Cressy*), A.D. 676, which exacts from every priest, deacon, subdeacon, or *clericus*, assent to the "Fides S. Athanasii praesulis."[2] Its adoption into the Liturgy of the Frank Church is ascribed, with much probability, to the authority of Charles the Great. "Gieseler and others consider that it was this Creed that was ordered to be learnt by heart by the Council of Frankfort, 794, when it decreed, 'Ut fides catholica sanctæ Trinitatis et oratio Dominica atque Symbolum Fidei omnibus prædicatur et tradatur;' but it is more probable that the term *fides catholica* here is generic: at all events we would refer to the creed contained in Charlemagne's letter to Elipandus,[3] which was assigned to the same date (794) as being more probably the *fides catholica* of the Canon. It seems to have been recited at Prime on the Lord's Day at Basle in the ninth century: we hear that in 997 it was sung in alternate choirs in France and in the Church of England: in 1133 it was used daily at Prime in the Church of Autun; from 1200 it assumed the titles 'Symbolum S. Athanasii' and 'Psalmus *Quicunque vult*,' which mark the character it occupies in our services. It was daily used at Prime in those English churches which adopted the use of Sarum, but was always followed by the recitation of the Apostles' Creed:

the illustration (in v. 37), "for as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ;" which (it is urged) would hardly have been used by an orthodox writer after the condemnation of Eutyches by the Council of Chalcedon in 451.

[1] Waterland, in his deeply learned 'Critical History of the Athanasian Creed' (Camb. 1724), collects all the opinions held up to his time, but fails to make out any case for his own ascription of the Creed to Hilary, bishop of Arles (about 430). Vigilius, of Thapsus in Africa (about 484), has many advocates, on the insufficient ground that, for the purposes of controversy, he imposed works of his own on the Vandals as the compositions of Athanasius and Augustine.

[2] *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.* Art. CRESSY. [3] Migne, xviii. 899.

as if the declaration of the Faith of the worshipper always followed on the instruction of the Church as to what it was necessary to believe."[1]

§ 28. It remains to notice the opposition made from time to time within the Church to the views and practices that were gaining ground during the period under review; especially to asceticism and the monastic life, the reverence for saints, relics, and images, and Mariolatry. We need not dwell on that sort of opposition which was prompted by worldly policy, as when the Emperor Valens condemned monasticism because it wasted manly strength, and substituted dreamy contemplation for heroic virtues, when they were most needed for resistance to the barbarians; nor on the dislike of those who felt their self-indulgence rebuked by the stern morality of ascetics. The resistance which most calls for notice is that which sprang from what Schaff describes as "a liberal, almost Protestant[2] conception of Christian morality; which, however, existed mostly in isolated cases, was rather negative than positive in its character, lacked the spirit of wisdom and moderation, and hence almost entirely disappeared in the fifth century, only to be revived long after, in more mature and comprehensive form, when monasticism had fulfilled its mission for the world."[3] The leaders of this opposition are stigmatized as heretics by writers of the Catholic Church.

The most notable of these leaders belong to the latter part of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, when resistance was not yet hopeless,[4] and when also the zeal of Jerome and Epiphanius was awake, to record as well as oppose the heretics. In the East, AËRIUS, a presbyter of Sebaste in Lesser Armenia (about A.D. 360), is known to us through Epiphanius,[5] as an opponent of certain rules and practices, on the ground that they were of no divine authority, and infringed upon Christian liberty. Thus, though his own life was ascetic, he resisted the appointment of stated fasts; he objected to the celebration of Easter; condemned prayers for the dead; and maintained the equality of bishops and presbyters. The last opinion was traced to his disappointment of

[1] Swainson, *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.* vol. i. p. 493. Respecting the new light thrown on the question by the re-discovery of the famous "Utrecht Psalter," see *Notes and Illustrations* (B).

[2] The resemblance is noticed by Roman Catholic as well as Protestant writers. Thus Bellarmine calls Protestantism the *Aërian heresy*, from Aërius.

[3] Schaff, vol. ii. p. 227.

[4] The resistance to monasticism at this time was strong enough to induce Chrysostom to write a work, in three Books, against its opponents, Πρὸς τοὺς πολεμοῦντας τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μονάζειν ἐνάγουσιν.

[5] *Hær.* 75.

the bishopric of Sebaste by the hierarchy, who persecuted him and drove him out, with his followers, to live in the fields and find shelter in caves.

Epiphanius also mentions an Arabian sect, called *Antidicomarianitæ* (*i.e.* "Opponents of Mary"), whose zeal was roused by the semi-heathen worship paid to the Virgin by the female devotees called *Collyridians*.[1]

§ 29. Three Western leaders of this puritan-like opposition are better known from the vehement writings of Jerome against them.[2] HELVIDIUS (about A.D. 383)—whether a Roman lawyer or priest, is doubtful—demands notice for his opposition to the tenet of the perpetual virginity of Mary, which had become an essential support to the exaltation of celibacy above marriage. Helvidius is stigmatized by Jerome[3] as rude and illiterate; but he shows skill in producing the scriptural arguments on which the question turns,[4] and of which Jerome gives ingenious explanations. The question is still regarded as open, even by some Protestant divines;[5] but in that age the denial of the "*perpetua virginitas*" was stigmatized as blasphemous heresy.

The Roman Monk, JOVINIAN, is the most remarkable of these leaders, from the earnestness of his opposition, the broad principles on which he based it, the success he had for a time, and the bitter personal animosity of Jerome.[6] It seems clear that Jerome's own proceedings at Rome[7] provoked the protest of Jovinian against the moral principles and tendencies of monasticism. Not content with writing, he undid much of Jerome's most prized work; for Augustine[8] reproaches Jovinian with misleading many Roman nuns into marriage by the examples of the holy women recorded in Scripture.

Though opposed by the whole clergy of Rome, he carried with him the popular feeling, already excited (as we have seen) by the

[1] From κόλλυρις, diminutive of κολλύρα, *a cake*, because they offered cakes to the Virgin with rites which seem to have been derived from the worship of Ceres. Hence these devotees, who had passed from Thrace into Arabia, are ranked among heretics. Epiphan. *Hær.* lxxix. 1.

[2] A fourth, BONOSUS, bishop of Sardica (A.D. 392), is mentioned by Ambrose as a denier of the perpetual virginity of Mary (*De Instit. Virg.* 35).

[3] *Adv. Helvidium:* Augustine also writes (*De Hæres.* 84) of Helvidius and the sect of the Helvidians.

[4] Namely, Matt. i. 18, 24, 25; Luke ii. 7; and the passages which speak of brothers and sisters of our Lord.

[5] Luther and Zwingli hold the same view as Jerome, and the former calls Helvidius "a gross fool."

[6] See Jerome's work, *Adversus Jovinianum.*

[7] See Chap. XIII. § 17. Jerome was at Rome from 382 to 384, and Jovinian began to write before 390.

[8] *De Hæres.* 72.

results of Jerome's intemperate zeal.[1] His success is bitterly resented by Jerome, who draws a vivid contrast between the elegant, sleek, sensual, and bloated followers of Jovinian—all the swine and dogs, besides vultures, eagles, hawks, and hounds—and his own pale, macerated, pilgrim-like disciples. He accuses "our Epicurus himself" of leading a life of dissolute luxury; but, as Augustine gives a much more favourable account of Jovinian's personal character, the accusations of Jerome may only express his exaggerated view of any departure from his own standard of ascetic purity. The like language was freely hurled against Luther, to whom Jovinian has been compared by Neander and others. But, unlike Luther, Jovinian did not act on Jerome's challenge to put his principle to the test by taking a wife himself, but he seems to have adhered to his monastic profession. The great principle on which he took his stand was this, that all persons once baptized into Christ, whether they be virgins, married, or widowed, if their conduct in other respects be consistent with their profession, have equal merit and equal Christian privileges. Against this position Jerome directs the whole argument of his first book "against Jovinian,"[2] with such intemperate vehemence and contempt for marriage, as to provoke a work from Augustine, maintaining that married life is good, though celibacy is better.[3]

The second book of Jerome is directed against three other heresies, which he ascribes to Jovinian, but which seem to be not so much abstract dogmas, as adjuncts to his main principle. Jerome states them as follows:—that those who are once with full faith born again by baptism cannot be overcome by the devil;—that there is no (moral) difference between abstaining from food and enjoying it with thanksgiving; and that all who keep the baptismal covenant will receive an equal reward in heaven. By *baptism*, however, Jovinian understood that inward influence of the Holy Spirit, of which the outward rite was but the sign; and he drew a corresponding distinction between the visible professing Church and the true spiritual Church. That one broad distinction he maintained as excluding all lesser grades, and especially the superior merit and reward which the current opinion of the age assigned to the monastic and ascetic life. It must be remembered that we only know the views of Jovinian as they are stated by Jerome.

Before the publication of Jerome's work, Jovinian was excom-

[1] Especially in the case of Paula and Blesilla, *loc. sup. cit.*
[2] *Adv. Jovinianum*; written in A.D. 392.
[3] *De Bono Conjugali.*

municated and banished by a council held at Rome under Pope Siricius, a zealous advocate of clerical celibacy (about 390). He went to Milan, in the hope of finding protection from Theodosius; but there also he was condemned by a council held by Ambrose. Jerome speaks of him as dead in A.D. 406;[1] and Augustine says that his heresy was quickly suppressed and died out.[2]

§ 30. Jerome's mention of the death of Jovinian occurs in a tract—said to have been dictated in a single night at Bethlehem—against VIGILANTIUS, whose reforming zeal seems to have been a reaction for his early experience. He was a native of Calagurris,[3] a village on the north side of the Pyrenees, and probably the son of an innkeeper. In the family of Sulpicius Severus, the disciple and biographer of St. Martin of Tours, Vigilantius acquired considerable literary culture, and he was ordained a presbyter. Through Sulpicius he became acquainted with Paulinus of Nola, the friend of Jerome, Augustine, and Rufinus, and one of the most zealous promoters of monasticism and reverence for the saints and their relics. It was in order to be near the remains of St. Felix, a confessor under Decius, that Paulinus, an Aquitanian who had renounced the highest rank for a religious life, removed to Nola in Campania, where he built a church over the tomb of Felix, and adorned it with paintings of subjects from the Old Testament and a symbolic representation of the Trinity.[4] On each annual festival of the confession, Paulinus wrote a poem in celebration of his life and miracles.

From Nola Vigilantius went to the East, with a letter of introduction from Paulinus to Jerome. The intimacy to which he was admitted did not confirm his respect for the recluse of Bethlehem; and he charged Jerome with holding Origenist opinions. Though he retracted the charge, he renewed it on his return to his own country, thus doubtless exacerbating the fury with which Jerome assailed the views that Vigilantius now began to propagate. Gaul (he said) had been free from the monsters that infested other parts

[1] *Adv. Vigilant*, i. "Inter phasides aves et carnes suiles non tam emisit spiritum quam eructavit;" a fair specimen of Jerome's style of writing about Jovinian, and indeed his opponents generally.

[2] *De Hær.* 82. "Cito ista haeresis oppressa et exstincta est."

[3] Now *Casères* in Gascony. Jerome calls him *Iste caupo Calagurritanus*, and compares his "combining poison with the genuine faith" to his "ancient art" of mingling water with the wine. Hence, as the trade of an innkeeper was a disqualification for holy orders, it is inferred that Vigilantius was the son of an innkeeper, and may have assisted his father in his business. Another elegancy of Jerome's attack on Vigilantius is the play on his name, in calling him *Dormitantius*.

[4] Paulin. *Epist.* 32; *Poëma* 28; Robertson, vol. i. p. 374.

of the earth, till "of a sudden, there has arisen one Vigilantius, who should rather be called Dormitantius, contending in an impure spirit against the spirit of Christ, and forbidding to honour the graves of the martyrs. He rejects the vigils: only at Easter should we sing Hallelujah. He declares abstemiousness to be heresy, and chastity a nursery of licentiousness. . . . . He opposes virginity, hates chastity, cries against the fastings of the saints, and would only amidst jovial feastings amuse himself with the Psalms of David."[1] From other passages we learn that the superstitions against which Valentinian directed his most strenuous protests were those relating to departed saints. He denounced the worship of them as idolatry, and those who collected and adored the "wretched bones" of dead men as "ash-gatherers and idolaters." Their souls, which exist "in Abraham's bosom,"[2] or in their appointed place of rest "under God's altar,"[3] cannot (he said), be present at their tombs; and the miracles wrought there were not only false in fact, but inconsistent with the purpose of miracles, which was the benefit of unbelievers. He denounced the lighting of candles at the saints' tombs as a pagan superstition, and the vigils, or nocturnal worship in their honour, as an occasion of licentious disorder, a fact which Jerome admits. In opposition to the practice of lavishing money on their shrines, as well as to the merit of voluntary poverty, Vigilantius maintained that it was better for a man to use his money wisely, and to seek near home for objects of charity, on which to bestow it according to his own judgment, than to lavish it all at once upon the poor, or send it to the monks at Jerusalem. Amidst these opinions we find no doctrinal heresies, such as Jerome charges against Jovinian; nor is he able—as in that case he proved how strongly he was willing—to attack the moral character of Vigilantius. The teaching which roused his wrath was no new doctrine, but a moderate protest against the superstitious innovations, the evil of which had probably been made clear to Vigilantius from his acquaintance with Sulpicius, Paulinus, and Jerome himself. And though there were but few to raise such a warning voice, the Church was not yet so far gone as to meet it with such hearty denunciation as Jerome desired. We are not told that Vigilantius was condemned for heresy; but we do find that he was countenanced by his own diocesan, as well as by

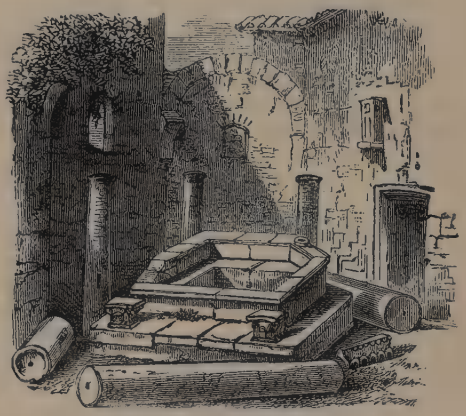
[1] Hieron. *adv. Vigilant.* 1, 2. The last clause of this indictment seems to refer to some appeal that Vigilantius had made in favour of Christian cheerfulness to the words of James, "Is any merry, let him sing psalms." When a person's opinions are only known through the attacks of an enemy, it is necessary to follow the method of "reading between the lines."

[2] Luke xvi. 22. [3] Rev. vi. 9.

other bishops.[1] "It is terrible to hear," says Jerome, "that even bishops are companions of his wantonness, if those deserve this name, who ordain only married persons deacons, and trust not the chastity of the single. We know nothing of the later life of Vigilantius; for it is a mere conjecture that he perished in the invasion of the Vandals, in which catastrophe we lose all further trace of his opinions. The distinction obtained by him and his reforming predecessors is due in a great measure to the fact that they provoked the antagonism of Jerome; but the absence of any more such leaders during the fifth and sixth centuries marks the triumph of the practices against which they raised their protest.[2]

[1] Hieron. *Epist.* cix. 2.

[2] Schaff. vol. ii. pp. 232–3; Robertson, vol. i. pp. 373–6. See also G. B. Lindner, *De Joviniano et Vigilantio purioris doctrinæ antesignanis*, Lips. 1839, and Dr. W. S. Gilly, *Vigilantius and his Times*, Lond. 1844.



Ancient Baptistery at Aquileia.



Chalices, from a Sarcophagus at Bordeaux.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. EARLY ECCLESIASTICAL CALENDARS.

(Chiefly from the *Dict. of Christian Antiqq.* Art. CALENDAR.)

The student of Ecclesiastical History requires some knowledge of the general form of the Calendars used by the Church for liturgical purposes. The early Christian communities continued to use the mode of reckoning and naming of days and years which existed in the countries in which they had their origin. The distinctive Church Calendar exists for the purpose of denoting the days, either of a given year, or of any year, which are marked for religious celebration.

First among these liturgical requirements is the specification of the Lord's Day. This was facilitated by a contrivance borrowed from the heathen Roman calendar.

Just as the *nundinæ* in that calendar were marked by a recurrence of the first eight letters of the alphabet, so in the Ecclesiastical Calendar, the days of the week were distinguished by the first seven letters (A–G). The first letter (A) was assigned to the 1st of January (the beginning of the Roman and historical year), and, whatever the letter to which the first Sunday fell, that same letter of course marked every Sunday in the year, and was called the *Dominical* or *Sunday Letter*.

The Dominical Letter is given among the 'Notes for the Year' in our Almanacs. It *goes backwards* in each successive common year, because, there being one day more than an exact number of weeks ($365 = 52 \times 7 + 1$), the year begins and ends on the same day of the week. In Leap-year, though there is one day more, the last day is still marked A, because the lettering of the day *passes over* the 29th of February (whence the name *Leap*-year); and consequently the Dominical Letter is changed one letter back from that day to the end of the year. Thus, for example, the year 1871 began on *Sunday*, and its Dominical Letter was A. The next year, 1872, began on Monday (A), and G fell to *Sunday* from Jan 7 to Feb. 25, whence we had *M.*, Feb. 26 (A), *Tu.*, 27 (B), *W.*, 28 (C), *Th.*, 29 (no letter), *Fr.*, March 1 (D), *Sat.*, March 2 (E), ☽, March 3 (F); and F. was the Dominical letter for the rest of the year, which is expressed thus, for 1872 the Dominical letter is GF. So, onwards, for 1873, E; 1874, D; 1875, C; 1876, BA, the year beginning on Saturday and ending on Sunday.

But together with the week of seven days, of which the first day, or Sunday, was assigned to the celebration of the Lord's Resurrection, there existed from the earliest times a yearly commemoration (*Easter*), which, eventually, by general consent of the churches, at first divided on this point, was assigned to the Sunday next after the day on which, according to certain calculations, the Jews were, or should have been celebrating their Passover, that is, the day of the full moon nearest to the vernal equinox. Hence the year of the Christian Calendar is partly solar of the Julian form, partly lunar. All the Sundays which are related to Easter, *i.e.* all from our Septuagesima Sunday to the last Sunday after Trinity, change their places year by year: the rest, *i.e.* from 1 Advent to the Sunday before Septuagesima, shifting only to a place one day later; in leap-years, two. About the middle of the fourth century,

the Nativity of Christ, until then commemorated, if at all, on the 6th January, was fixed to the 25th December. And as other days, commemorative of bishops, martyrs and apostles came to be celebrated, these also were noted in the fixed Calendar.

The Calendar existed in two forms: one, in which all the days of the year were noted, with specification of months and weeks: the other a list of the holy days, with or without specification of the month date. Of the full Calendar, what seems to be the earliest extant specimen is furnished by a fragment of a Gothic Calendar, composed, probably, in Thrace in the fourth century, edited by Mai, *Script. Vet. Nova Collectio*, v. i. 66–68. This fragment gives only the thirty-eight days from 23 October to 30 November. It assigns the festivals of seven saints, two of the New Testament, three of the Universal Church, two local, namely Gothic.

Not less ancient, perhaps, is a Roman calendar, of the time of Constantius II., forming part of a collection of chronographical pieces written by the calligrapher, Furius Dionysius Filocalus, in the year 354; edited, after others, by Kollar, *Analect. Vindobon*, i. 961, sqq. This, while retaining the astronomical and astrological notes of the old Roman Calendars, with some of the heathen festivals, is so far Christian that, side by side with the old nundinal letters A–H, it gives also the Dominical letters, A–G, of the ecclesiastical year; but it does not specify any of the Christian holy days. (Comp. Ideler, *Hdb.* 2, 140.)

Next in point of antiquity is the Calendar composed by Polemeus Silvius, in the year 448, edited by the Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum*, Januar. vii. 176 ff. This is a full Roman Calendar adapted to Christian use, not only as that of A.D. 354, just noticed, by specification of the Lord's-days, but with some few holy days added, namely, four in connection with Christ, and six for commemoration of martyrs.

Of the short Calendar, the most ancient specimen is that which was first edited by Bucherius, *de Doctrina Temporum*, c. xv. 266 sqq. (Antwerp, 1634) — a work of Roman origin dating from about the middle of the fourth century, as appears from the contents, as also from the fact that it is included in the collection of Filocalus, thence edited by Kollar, *u. s.*; also with a learned commentary by Lambecius, *Catal. Codd. MSS. in Biblioth. Caesar. Vindobon.* iv. 277 ff., and by Graevius *Thes.* viii. It consists of two portions, of which the first is a list of twelve popes from Lucius to Julius (predecessor of Liberius), A.D. 253–352; not complete, however, for Sixtus (Xystus) has his place among the martyrs, and Marcellus is omitted. The other part gives names and days of twenty-two martyrs, all Roman, including, besides Xystus, those of earlier popes, Fabianus, Callistus, and Pontianus. Together with these, the Feast of the Nativity is noted on 25th December, and that of the *Cathedra Petri* assigned to 22nd February.

A similar list of Roman festivals with a lectionary (*Capitulare Evangelorium totius anni*) was edited by Fronto (Paris, 1652, and in his *Epistolae et Dissertat. ecclesiasticae*, p. 107–233, Veron. 1733, from a manuscript written in letters of gold, belonging to the convent of St. Geneviève at Paris. This seems to have been composed in the first half of the eighth century. Another, also Roman, edited by Martene, *Thes. Analect.* v. 65, is perhaps of later date.

A Calendar of the church of Carthage, of the like form, discovered by Mabillon, and appended by Ruinart to his *Acta Martyrum*, is by them assigned to the fifth century. It contains only festivals of bishops and martyrs, mostly local. It opens with the title "Hic continentur dies natalitiorum martyrum et depositiones episcoporum quos ecclesiae Carthaginis anniversaria celebrant."

As each church had its own bishops and martyrs, each needed in this regard (*i.e.* for the days marked for the *Depositiones Episcoporum* and *Natalitia Martyrum*) its separate calendar. It belonged to the bishop to see that these lists were properly drawn up for the use of the church. And to this effect we find St. Cyprian in his 36th epistle exhorting his clergy to make known to him the days on which the confessors suffered. "Dies eorum quibus excedunt nunciate, ut commemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus."

Out of these Calendar notices grew the *Martyrologies*, which, however, they greatly surpass in authority and importance. For the Calendar, being essential as a liturgical directory, was therefore composed only by the bishop or by some high officer of the church appointed by him. Nothing could be added to, or altered in the Calendar, but by his authority. It was accordingly prefixed or appended to the

Sacramentaries and other liturgical books. As an example of an early form of this Liturgical Calendar, the following is here given from the *Responsoriale* and *Antiphonarium* ascribed to St. Gregory the Great (ed. Thomasius):—

Specimen distributionis officiorum per circulum anni.

Dominica I. Adventus Domini.
Dominica II. ante Nativ. Domini.
Natale S. Luciae Virginis.
Dom. III. ante Nativ. Domini.
Dom. proxima ante Nat. Dom.
Vigilia Nat. Dom.
Nativitas Domini.
Natale S. Stephani.
= S. Joannis.
„ SS. Innocentium.
Dom. I. post Nat. Dom.
Vigilia Octavae Nat. Dom.
Epiphania (seu Theophania).
Octava Epiphaniae.
Dominica I. post Theophaniam.
Dom. II.
Dom. III.
Dom. IV.
Parasceve.
Sabbatum sanctum.
Vigiliae S. Paschae.
Dominica S. Paschae.
Dom. octava Paschae (seu, post albas paschales).
Dom. I. post Pascha.
Dom. II.
Dom. III.
Dom. IV.
Litania major.
Vigilia Apostol. Philippi et Jacobi.
Dom. III. et IV. in Pascha R. R. de Auctoritate.
Dom. V. et VI. in Pascha R. R. de psalmis.
In Natalitiis Ss. infra Pascha.
In Natalitiis unius Martyris sive Confessoris.
In S. Crucis Inventione.
In exaltatione S. Crucis.
Ascensio Domini.
Dom. V.
Responsoria de Psalmis.
Diebus Dominicis Antiphonae.
Vigilia S. Sebastiani.
Natale S. Agnetis.
Purificatio S. Mariae.
Vigilia et Natale S. Agnae.
Adunatio S. Mariae.
Dominica in LXXma.
Dom. in LXma.
Dom. in Lma. (seu Carnisprivii et excarnaliorum).
Dom. I. in XLa.
Dom. II.
Dom. III.
Dom. in medio XLmae (seu de Jerusalem).
Laetare (vel de Rosa).
Dom. de Passione Domini (seu Mediana).
Dom. in Palmis (seu indulgentiae).
Vigilia Coenae Domini.
Dominica post Ascensum Domini (seu item de Rosa).
Pentecoste.
Octava Pentecostes.
Vigilia Nativitatis S. Joannae Baptistae.
(Sic sequuntur officia propria de Sanctis usque ad Adventum.)
Communia Officia.
Responsoria de libro Regum, Sapientiae, Job, Tobia, Judith, Esther, historia de Machabaeorum, de Prophetis
Antiphonae ad hymnum trium puerorum.
De Cantico Zachariae. S. Mariae.
Antiptonae dominicis diebus post-Pentecosten a L. usque ad XXIV.

It is not always easy to say to what age, or to what province of the Church, a given Calendar belongs. It is doubtful whether any of them contains the genuine materials of such lists existing in times earlier than the beginning of the fourth century. For of these lists scarcely any can be supposed to have escaped, in the Diocletian persecution, from the rigorous search then decreed for the general destruction not only of the copies of the Scriptures, but of all liturgical and ecclesiastical documents, among which the Calendars, lists of bishops and martyrs, and acts of martyrs, held an important place (Euseb. *H. E.* viii. 2; Arnob. *adv. Gentes*, iv. 36). Some rules, however, which may help to determine the relative antiquity of extant calendars, may be thus summarised:—

1. Brevity and simplicity in the statement concerning the holy-day are characteristic of the earlier times. Only the name of the martyr was given, without title or eulogy; even the prefix S. or B. (*Sanctus*, *Beatus*) is sparingly used. Sometimes the martyrs of a single province are included under a single entry. Thus the Calendar of Carthage, in which eighty-one days are marked, has, at 2 Kal. Jan. *Sanctorum Temidensium*; 15 Kal. Aug. *SS. Scilitanorum*. In several other calendars one name is given, with the addition, *et sociorum* (or *comitum*), *ejus*.

2. To one day only one celebration is assigned in the oldest Calendars. "Commemorationes" were unknown or very rare in the earlier times. These seem to have come into use in the ninth century, by reason of the increasing number of Saints' days.

3. The relative antiquity of a Calendar is

especially indicated by the paucity, or entire absence, of days assigned to the B. Virgin Mary. Writers of the Church of Rome satisfy themselves in respect of this fact with the explanation, that the days assigned to the Lord include the commemoration of the Blessed Virgin Mother. Thus, for example, Morcelli (*Afr. Christiana*, cited by Binterim, *u. s.* p. 14) accounts for the entire silence of the *Calend. Carthag.* concerning the days of the V. Mary; and the like explanation is given of the fact that of St. Augustine we have no sermon preached for a festival of the Virgin.

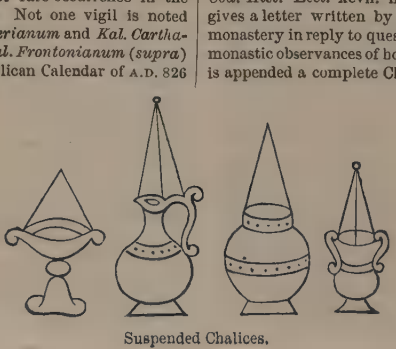
4. Another note of antiquity is the absence of all saints' days and other celebrations from the period during which Lent falls. Thus March and April in the Carthaginian Calendar exhibit no such days; and the like blank appears in the calendars of Bucherius and Fronto. For the 51st canon of the Council of Laodicea (cir. A.D. 352) enjoins: "a martyr's day must not be kept during the quadrigesima, but must (at that time) be reserved for Sabbaths and Lord's-days" (Bruns, i. 78). And with this agreed the rule of the Latin Church, as expressed in the 1st canon of the 10th Council of Toledo, A.D. 656 (Bruns, i. 298), with especial reference to the falling of Lady-day (Feast of Annunciation, 25 Mar.) in Lent, or on Easter-day itself.

5. Before the 5th century, no day of a canonized bishop or other saint is marked to be kept as festival, unless he was also a martyr. The occurrence of any such day is a sure indication that the Calendar is of later date than A.D. 400; or, that the entry is of later insertion. To the bishops is assigned the term *Depositio;* to the martyrs, *Natalis* or *Natalitium*.

6. Vigils are of rare occurrence in the oldest Calendars. Not one vigil is noted in the *Kal. Bucherianum* and *Kal. Carthaginens*. The *Kal. Frontonianum (supra)* has four. A Gallican Calendar of A.D. 826 edited by d'Achery (*Spicileg.* x. 130), has five; and another, by Martene, for which he claims an earlier date (*Thes. Anecd.* v. 65) has nine.

For the determination of the Province or Church to which a Calendar belongs, the only criterion to be relied on is the preponderance in it of names of martyrs and saints known to be of that diocese or province. Naturally each Church would honour most its own confessors and champions of the faith. Especially does this rule hold in respect of the bishops, whose names, unless they were also martyrs or otherwise men of highest note in the Church, would not be likely to obtain a place in the Calendars of other than their own Churches.

The Greek Church had its calendars, under the title ἐφημερίς (ἑορταστική), μηναῖον (ἑορτ.); later, καλεντάριον, which, as containing the offices for each celebration, grew into enormous dimensions. One such, with the designation, Μηνολόγιον τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἑορταστικὸν sive *Kalendarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, edited from a manuscript in the Albani Library by Morcelli, fills two quarto volumes, Rome, 1788. But the title μηνολόγιον corresponds not with the Latin Kalendarium, but with the Martyrologium. Cave, in a dissertation appended to his *Historia Literaria*, part ii. (*de Libris et officiis ecclesiasticis Graecorum*, p. 43), describes the καλεντάριον or *Ephemeris Ecclesiastica in usum totius anni*, as a digest of all Church festivals and fasts for the twelve months, day by day, beginning with September. "That Calendars of this kind were composed for the use of the churches is plain from Biblioth. Vindobon. *Cod. Hist. Eccl.* xcvii. num. xiii., which gives a letter written by the head of some monastery in reply to questions concerning monastic observances of holydays; to which is appended a complete Church Calendar.



Suspended Chalices.

B. THE ATHANASIAN CREED AND THE UTRECHT PSALTER.

Among the MSS. used by Archbishop Ussher for his work, *De Symbolis* (1647), was one in the Cottonian Library (press-mark, *Claudius A. VII.*), which had disappeared when Waterland wrote his *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, in 1724. The missing MS., still bearing its press-mark, was found a few years ago in the University Library at Utrecht, to which it was presented by a certain Monsieur de Ridder in 1718; but as to how he got it, or how it left the Cottonian Library, there is no evidence.

This splendid MS., on vellum, now famous as the UTRECHT PSALTER, contains, besides the Psalms, the Canticles *Nunc Dimittis* and *Gloria in Excelsis*, the *Pater Noster*, the *Symbolum Apostolorum*, and the *Fides Catholica* ("Athanasian Creed"). The Psalter is of the *Gallican*, not the Roman type. The whole (excepting *perhaps* some corrections, and additions to the punctuation) is written in one hand, in *characters* (as all authorities agree) of the *sixth* century, if not even the fifth. Here, then, is a *primâ facie* case of a copy of the Athanasian Creed* written in the sixth century, as part of a volume prepared either for liturgical use or private devotion. This was the opinion of Archbishop Ussher, and the arguments in confirmation of his view have been elaborately set forth by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.

On the other hand, authorities of equal competence in palæography—especially Mr. Bond, Keeper of MSS. in the British Museum, the Rev. H. O. Coxe, Bodleian Librarian, Professor Westwood, and Mr. E. M. Thompson—find evidence in the MS. of a later date, which they variously assign to the seventh, eighth, ninth, or tenth centuries. Not that it is a forgery, or fraudulent imitation, intended to be passed off as a work of the sixth century—on this all seem now agreed—but a transcript from an earlier MS., the handwriting of which has been faithfully imitated by the copyist.

On this view, the Utrecht Psalter would be none the less a witness for the early date of the Creed, that is to say, if it were a part of the original MS. But it is further argued that the transcriber of the ancient PSALTER may have *added to it* the CREEDS, &c., *still imitating the old handwriting*, certainly a difficult task. Besides the question of the handwriting, the argument turns on the style and subjects of a series of elaborate pictures, with which the MS. is illuminated on almost every page.

That the nature and limits of our work forbid a detailed discussion of the arguments on both sides, is the less to be regretted as the controversy cannot be considered closed. Besides, its bearing on the date of the Athanasian Creed is now generally admitted to be of minor importance in face of the independent proofs of a date for the Creed as early as the earliest assigned to the MS. But the MS. has another quality of interest in connection with the early English Church. This Gallican book of devotion, found in England, may be regarded as a BRITISH PSALTER (that is, one *used in Britain*), in spite of the title accidentally derived from its *conveyance* to the Continent. Its date would carry it back to the time before the landing of Augustine, when the kingdom of Kent was affected by Frank Christian influence. The labour and evident cost bestowed on its writing and illumination can leave little doubt that it was prepared for the use of some royal or noble personage who could read a Latin book of devotion; for if meant for a native Anglian, it would have had an interlinear translation. Of course it may have been brought over to Britain long after it was written in Gaul; and it is, therefore, only as a point of curious interest that we mention Sir Thomas Hardy's conjecture, that the volume may have been brought over by Queen Bertha, on her marriage with Ethelbert,* and by her bequeathed to the monastery of Reculver, the later residence of Ethelbert. "In support of this con-

* A very interesting question is also involved respecting the *Apostles' Creed;* for this copy of it contains the clause *Descendit ad inferna*, which certainly was not in the Roman Symbol till about A.D. 800, or later. But, as affecting the *date* of the MS., this only proves that it was not written *at Rome* so early as its supposed date. The article existed in an Arian version of the Apostles' Creed as early as A.D. 359, and it is found in other undated MSS. which are assigned to the same age, and in another Gallican Psalter bearing the date of 560, in the same *early form* as in the Utrecht Psalter, "descendit ad *inferna*," which exactly corresponds with the Greek κατεχθόνια ("the region below the earth"), whereas the form that has prevailed in the Roman Symbol, from the eighth century to the present day, is "descendit ad *inferos*."

* See Chap. XIX. § 8.

jecture, it is observed that the charter of this monastery appears formerly to have been annexed to the Utrecht Psalter, and to have been detached from it when the volume was rebound in the time of Sir Robert Cotton. The charter is now in the Cottonian Library (*Augustus*, II. 2). The monastery was dissolved in 999, and its effects were removed to Canterbury, and amongst them probably was this MS.; unless it had been previously removed by Bercauld, who was promoted from this abbacy to the archbishopric of Canterbury. And at Canterbury, in all probability, the numerous existing copies of the drawings of this Psalter were executed."*

The views of the defenders and the impugners of the early date of the Utrecht Psalter are set forth in the following works, besides criticisms in various journals and periodicals:—

1. *The Athanasian Creed in connection with the Utrecht Psalter; being a Report to the Master of the Rolls on a MS. in the University of Utrecht.* By Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Records. 1873.

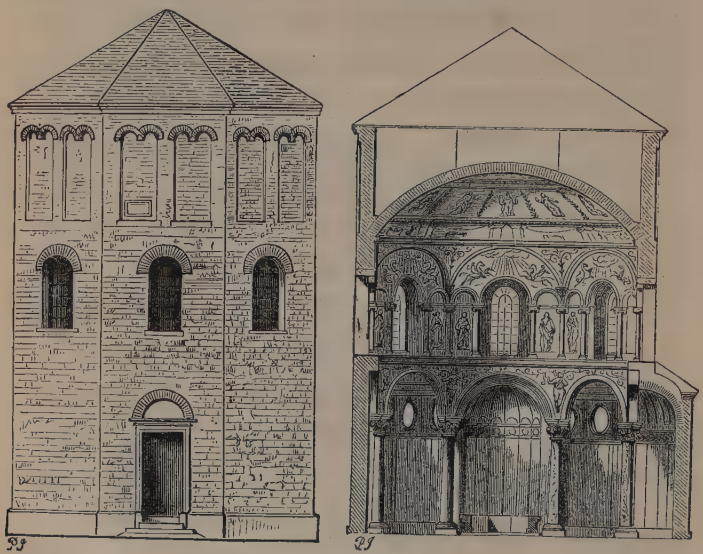
2. *The Utrecht Psalter; Reports addressed to the Trustees of the British Museum on the Age of the Manuscript.* By E. A. Bond, E. M. Thomson, Rev. H. O. Coxe, Rev. S. S. Lewis, Sir M. Digby Wyatt, Professor Westwood, F. H. Dickinson, and Professor Swainson. With a Preface by A. Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. With Three Facsimiles. 1874.

3. *Further Report on the Utrecht Psalter;* in answer to the Eight Reports made to the Trustees of the British Museum, and edited by the Dean of Westminster. By Sir T. D. Hardy, &c. 1874.

4. *The History, Art, and Palæography of the Manuscript commonly styled the Utrecht Psalter.* By Walter de Gray Birch, F.R.S.L., of the British Museum. 1877.

An inspection of the MS., which has now been photographed, is essential to the appreciation of the arguments.

* *Saturday Review*, April 26th, 1873, vol. xxxv. p. 562. There are also important reviews of the controversy in the *Saturday Review*, Feb. 6th, 1875, vol. xxxix. p. 195; and in the *Academy*, Aug. 1st and 8th, 1874, vol. vi. pp. 113 and 115.



Baptistry at Ravenna. Begun in the Fifth Century, and finished in the Sixth.



St. Martin's Church, Canterbury.

BOOK III.

THE DECLINE OF THE EASTERN CHURCH, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

CENTURIES VII.–X.

CHAPTER XIX.

POPE GREGORY THE GREAT AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

THE SEVENTH CENTURY.

1. Transition to the Church of the Middle Ages—The chief interest transferred to the West. § 2. POPE GREGORY I. THE GREAT—His early Life—Visit to Constantinople—Election to the Papacy. § 3. State of the Church—Gregory's Administration—His Charity and Hospitality. § 4. His relations to the Western Churches—Assertion of the Supremacy of Rome. § 5. His Contest with Constantinople about the title of *Œcumenical Bishop*—The Emperors MAURICE and PHOCAS. § 6. Gregory's Toleration — His Zeal against Paganism and for Missions. § 7. His

Death, Works, and Opinions. § 8. The Mission of AUGUSTINE to England —Conversion of Ethelbert. § 9. Establishment of the See of Canterbury. § 10. Character impressed from the first on the English Church. Constitution of the English bishoprics—Sees of York, London, and Rochester. § 11. Gregory's directions about Heathenism and the Customs of the Churches—The native British Church put under Augustine—His Quarrel with the Welsh Bishops. § 12. Death of Augustine—Conversion of Northumbria, East Anglia, Wessex, Mercia, and Sussex. § 13. St. Ninian and the Pictish Church—The Scots in Ireland—Pelagianism in Britain—Mission of St. Germanus—Palladius sent to the Scots in Ireland. § 14. ST. PATRICK, the Apostle of Ireland—His Life, Labours, and Writings. § 15. Irish Missions to North Britain—ST. COLUMBA and the Community of Iona—Independence of the Scoto-Irish Church—Their Rule of Easter. § 16. Irish Missions to the Continent—St. Columban, St. Gall, and others. § 17. The Scoto-Irish Church in Northumbria—King OSWALD —Bishopric and Monastery of Lindisfarn — King OSWY—WILFRID— —The Synod of Whitby adopts the Roman Use of Easter and the Supremacy of the Pope—Wilfrid made Bishop of York. § 18. THEODORE, Archbishop of Canterbury—The Synod and Canons of Hertford. § 19. Division of Sees—Banishment of Wilfrid, and his Appeal to Rome—Theodore and King Ecgfrid resist the Pope—Wilfrid converts the South Saxons —His restoration, vicissitudes, and death. § 20. Advance of Religion and Learning by Wilfrid and Theodore, Hadrian and Benedict Biscop—Improvements in Churches and Worship—Libraries—Monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow—The VENERABLE BEDE—EGBERT, Archbishop of York—ALCUIN—Decline of Northumbria and of English Learning.

§ 1. As the early part of the third century marks the transition from the primitive church to the system of imperial Christianity, so, after tracing the connection of the Church with the Empire for three hundred years, we find, at the end of the sixth century, another transition to the Church of the Middle Ages. The Eastern Church, rapidly falling into decay through its own corruptions and the weight of Byzantine despotism, and about to suffer the great catastrophe of the Mohammedan conquest, recedes into comparative insignificance. As the new Christian states of the West come to the front of our scene, their ecclesiastical interests are so mixed up with their civil polity, as to form an integral part of the history of each nation, leaving only the most important facts to the distinct province of Church History. At the same time Rome has assumed a position which makes it the centre of the whole subject; and the distinct attainment of that position dates from the pontificate of Gregory the Great.

§ 2. Gregory was born at Rome, about 540, of a family of senatorial rank, and he was the great-grandson of a Bishop of Rome.[1]

[1] Either Felix III. or Felix IV. It is uncertain which.

He rose to the office of Prætor; but about the age of thirty-five he devoted his time and property to religious objects. Besides founding six monasteries in Sicily, he established one in his own house on the Cælian Hill. In this monastery, which he dedicated to St. Andrew, but which has since been called by its founder's name, Gregory persevered in a strictly ascetic discipline, notwithstanding frequent severe illness. About 577 he was ordained deacon, and he was soon afterwards sent as the legate of Pope Pelagius II. to the court of Tiberius II.[1] At Constantinople he maintained the reality of the resurrection body against the Origenist opinions of the patriarch Eutychius so successfully, that the doctrine of Eutychius was condemned by the Emperor and renounced by the patriarch himself on his death-bed.

Gregory returned to Rome in 584, and became ecclesiastical secretary to Pope Pelagius. While residing in his monastery as abbot,[2] he is said to have witnessed that memorable scene of the Anglian captives in the slave-market, which moved him to undertake the conversion of our heathen forefathers.[3] But his services could not be spared at Rome, and on the death of Pelagius, in January 590, the Senate, clergy, and people elected Gregory his successor. In vain he tried every means to escape the dignity, and wrote to entreat the Emperor MAURICE[4] to withhold his confirmation; the Governor of Rome opened and detained the letter; and Gregory was consecrated in September 590.

§ 3. At this epoch Rome and Italy were reduced to the deepest distress, and the Western Church is compared by Gregory himself to "an old and shattered ship, admitting the waters on all sides, its timbers rotten, and shaken by daily storms, and sounding of wreck." In Italy, the Arian Lombards had destroyed churches and monasteries; the clergy were too few for their flocks, and both they and the monks were grievously lax in discipline. The corruptions of the Frankish kingdom have already been described. Spain had only just recovered from the Arian heresy; Africa was again troubled by the Donatists; and the schism caused by the question of the "Three Articles" was still maintained at Aquileia and in other parts.

Gregory set himself to encounter these difficulties—with that marvellous activity and capacity for affairs, sacred and secular, to which his letters[5] still bear witness—from the government of the

[1] Tiberius II. was sole emperor, 578–582, after having been associated with Justin II. for four years.

[2] It is not certain whether he was already abbot before his mission to Constantinople, or was elected after his return. [3] See below, § 6.

[4] Mauricius was emperor for twenty years, 582–602.

[5] They are nearly 850 in number.

churches, the defence of the country, the conversion of the heathen and the reclaiming of heretics, to the minutiæ of discipline, the management of a farm, and the relief of individual distress. He still continued his simple monastic life, confining his society to the monks and clergy, with whom he pursued his studies, and for whose education he provided. He re-organized his Church and improved its Liturgy, arranging the service of the mass nearly in its present form, and establishing a singing school,[1] with the style of chanting which still bears his name. In preaching he was constant and so powerful, that he was believed to be inspired by the Holy Ghost in the form of a white dove. The wealth of his see was devoted to the daily relief of the needy; for whom he felt so deeply responsible, that when a poor man was found dead in the streets, Gregory took the guilt to himself. His monastery was open to strangers and wanderers; and once he is said to have received assurance of the reward promised by the Apostle,[2] in a vision of the Saviour, who said to him, "On other days thou hast relieved me in my Members, but yesterday in Myself." He took part in political affairs in the hope of securing peace for the Church, and his negociations with the Lombards more than once averted the miseries of war.

§ 4. In his administration and his intercourse with other churches, Gregory used the agency of the commissioners who managed the property of the Roman see, or, as it now came to be called, the Patrimony of St. Peter.[3] They were deacons and sub-deacons, and laymen who were called *Defensores*. In some provinces and kingdoms —as in Gaul and Spain—he was represented by bishops called *Vicars*, on whom he bestowed special privileges, the badge of which was the pall (*pallium*). He did not interfere in the internal affairs of the churches beyond the suburbicarian provinces, which he took under his own special care. But in all parts of the West he asserted the supremacy of the see of Rome as the centre of ecclesiastical privileges and jurisdiction. His agents, even when only sub-deacons, were empowered to admonish bishops, and to summon those even of a whole province to receive the advice and rebuke of the Pope. He acquired a new authority over the African Church by aid of the imperial governor, Gennadius; and in Gaul he established a connection with the Frankish kingdom, which might supply and counterbalance any want of support or jealousy from the Emperor.

[1] "He superintended in person the exercises of the choristers; the whip with which he threatened and admonished them was still preserved for centuries as a relic (Joh. Diac. ii. 5–6)."—Robertson, vol. ii. p. 5.

[2] Heb. xiii. 2; Gen. xix. 1.

[3] This included estates not only in Italy and the adjacent islands, but in Gaul, Illyria, Dalmatia, Africa, and even Asia. (Robertson, vol. ii. p. 7.)

§ 5. In his relations with the Eastern Church, Gregory took his stand on equality and mutual independence.[1] He distinctly recognized the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch as his equals, because they were, "like himself, successors of St. Peter, and sharers with him in the one chair of the same founder."[2] But, like his predecessor, Pelagius, he contested the right of the Patriarch of Constantinople (John the Faster) to assume the title of *Œcumenical Bishop*. He objected to it as interfering with the honour due to the Emperor, and also on grounds which have a most interesting bearing on the Romish assumption of supremacy; for, in rebuking John, Gregory renounced for himself all similar assumption. He condemned it as proud and foolish, an imitation of the Devil, and quoted against it the position of St. Peter, who was only one of the Apostles, though the first. He declared that the bishops of Rome had abstained from using the title, though conferred on them by the Council of Chalcedon, lest they should seem to deny the pontificate to others. He urged the argument, which has lately acquired a new force, that if an Œcumenical Bishop should err, the whole Church would fail, and that, in fact, there had been patriarchs of Constantinople who were not only heretics but heresiarchs.

Gregory's remonstrances were unavailing, alike with John and his successor Cyriac, and with the Emperor Maurice, who had other grounds of quarrel with the Pope. The Emperor often interfered with Gregory's strict discipline, as unsuited to the troubles of the times. When Maurice issued an edict forbidding soldiers and civil officers to become monks, Gregory told him that he was imperilling his salvation. The part which Gregory took in political affairs was misrepresented to the Emperor, of whose neglect and weakness it was a practical rebuke.

Such were the relations between the Emperor and the Pope, when an outbreak at Constantinople deposed Maurice, and gave the purple to the centurion PHOCAS (602-610), a monster of vice and cruelty. The usurper sought the favour of the Roman bishop; and Gregory's warmest admirers have failed to excuse his letters of congratulation and other marks of honour to Phocas. Cyriac had to abandon the disputed title; but it was finally sanctioned by the Emperor Heraclius and by the Sixth General Council (681).[3] At the same Council the title was claimed for Pope Agatho by his legates, and it was thenceforward usually assumed by the successors of the great bishop who had disowned and condemned it.

[1] There are, indeed, passages in which he seems to claim some sort of supremacy for the see of Rome; but their precise scope is questionable, and the question must be decided by the general tenor of his language.

[2] *Epist.* vi. 60; vii. 40: Robertson, vol. ii. p. 8.

[3] See Chap. XVI. § 15.

§ 6. Gregory succeeded in partly, though not completely, healing the schism of Aquileia and Istria, by taking his stand on the first four Councils (which he likened in authority to the Four Gospels), and treating the fifth as of minor importance. By this compromise, too, he effected a reconciliation between the orthodox Bishop of Milan and the Lombard queen, Theodelinda, who became a friend to the Roman see. Her son was baptized in the communion of Rome, and Arianism died out among the Lombards by the middle of the seventh century.

Towards heretics in general Gregory was tolerant; but he urged the execution of the severe laws against the fanatical Donatists. He protected the Jews, and discouraged the attempts at their compulsory conversion, which were now often practised in Gaul and Spain. But he was zealous in rooting out the remains of heathenism among the rural population; reproving landowners who allowed the practice of Pagan rites, and urging the authorities to reclaim the rustics sometimes by lenity, sometimes by increased taxes, or even by personal chastisement. Pity for the men of old who had perished in heathenism was a constant emotion of Gregory's. The character of Trajan in particular is said to have so impressed him, that he prayed in St. Peter's church that God might yet give the soul of the Emperor grace to know the name of Christ and to be converted. But he knew that heathen nations were still within the reach of his own efforts; and his yearning for their salvation, finding an occasion from his benevolence in redeeming the captives, led to that famous scene in the slave-market at Rome, from which we may date the long history of those missions to the heathen, of which England was first the object and for ages afterwards the source.

§ 7. But before relating this beginning of our own church history, we must record the death of Gregory, which took place soon after the success of the English mission was fully assured. His letters to Augustine and others, of which we have presently to speak, are the more interesting because dictated from the bed to which his infirmities confined him for some years before his release on the 12th of March, 604.

Among the literary works for which he found time amidst his incessant labours and frequent illness, was the "Morals" on the Book of Job, written at the suggestion of Leander, bishop of Hispalis (Seville). Regarding much of the book as figurative, he attempts to trace its spiritual and moral sense; making Job the type of the Church, and his wife the carnally-minded; his friends are the heretics, and their conviction is the reconciliation of heretics to the Church. This extravagance of allegory is fitly sustained by

a constant wresting of the Scripture text and importation of foreign matter. The great Pope had no pretensions to be a critical expositor, and he confesses his ignorance of Greek. His practical wisdom appears in his *Pastoral Rule*, which became a model for the bishops of the West, especially for those of the Franks under Charles the Great, and the English under Alfred. His *Dialogues*, addressed to the Lombard Queen Theodelinda, show the hold which miraculous legends had now gained in the Church, and bring out the doctrine of *purgatory* more distinctly than any former work. His Letters abound in passages showing a great reverence for *relics*.[1] He strongly advocates the monastic life, which he himself practised; and he supported monasteries against the encroachments of bishops. But he condemned the excesses of asceticism; and, though he contributed to extend celibacy among the clergy, he did not sanction the separation of those who were already married.

§ 8. The most lasting, and to us the most interesting fruit of Gregory's labours, is the introduction of Christianity among the heathen conquerors of Britain. We need not repeat the beautiful story, told by our first native historian,[2] how Gregory, while still abbot of his monastery of St. Andrew's, was moved by the sight of some Anglian slaves from Britain to vow that the praises of God should be sung in their land. The Pope[3] gave his consent, but the people of Rome would not suffer Gregory to leave them. Still, the purpose of bringing the heathen people of the remote and once Christian island within the pale of the Church was among the first objects that Gregory kept in view on the papal

[1] His opinions on the growing use of images in churches are very interesting. (See Chap. XVIII. § 16, pp. 450–1.)

[2] Bede, *H. E.* ii. 1. See the *Student's Hume*, ch. ii. § 14, and the picturesque narrative of Dean Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*. It may well be doubted whether the scene with the Anglian slaves belongs to the real history, or to the legends, of Gregory's life. (1) The elaborate play on words suggests a *suspicion* that the story is rather *ben trovato* than *vero*. (2) Bede does not relate it in its place as part of the history of the mission (i. 53), but he brings it in afterwards as an episode. (3) The very words with which he introduces and dismisses the story seem to mark it as derived from those legendary histories of Gregory which we know to have been popular in England (Joh. Diac. ii. 41, 44), rather than from the authentic records which were copied for Bede at Canterbury and Rome, and from which *monumenta literarum* he expressly distinguishes that *seniorum traditio* about Gregory and his disciples (Præfat.) which he here cites:—"Nec prætereunda *opinio* quæ de beato Gregorio, *traditione majorum* ad nos usque perlata est;" and, at the end, "Hæc juxta *opinionem*, quam *ab antiquis* accepimus, Historiæ nostræ ecclesiasticæ inserere opportunum duximus."

[3] It is not quite certain whether this was Benedict II. (574–578) or Pelagius II. (578–590).

throne. There is a letter in which he bids Candidus, his *defensor* in Gaul, to buy some Anglian youths of seventeen or eighteen and send them to be trained in the monasteries at Rome.

In 596 an interval of peace with the Lombards gave the opportunity; and Gregory chose AUGUSTINE,[1] the provost of his monastery of St. Andrew, a man of ardent zeal, but somewhat intolerant and self-sufficient,[2] with a band of his monks, over whom Augustine was made Abbot, to preach the Gospel to the English nation. Augustine was designated as the intended bishop of the new Church.

On their journey through Gaul, the missionaries heard such accounts of the ferocity of the infidel nation, whose language even was unknown to them, that they sent Augustine home to entreat that they might be spared a pilgrimage so distant, perilous, and doubtful in its result.[3] Gregory sent him back with a letter encouraging them to persevere; the party of forty monks was joined, probably by some Gallic presbyters; and in 597 they landed at *Ebbesfleet*, on the S. point of the Isle of Thanet, nearly opposite to the Castle of Richborough on the other side of the channel called *Wantsumu*, which then divided the island from the mainland of Kent. The Christian missionaries were in the same position as the Jutish auxiliaries had been a century and a half before, awaiting in the island the reception they might meet.

Their way was not altogether unprepared. Ethelbert, the King of Kent, who had won a sort of supremacy over all the Anglo-Saxon states south of the Humber,[4] had a Christian wife, Bertha, daughter of Charibert (Herbert), the Frank King of Paris, who had brought with her a bishop, Liudhard, and practised Christian worship in an

[1] In English the name, like that of the great bishop of Hippo, is often abbreviated to *Austin*.

[2] The faults of Augustine are hinted at in Gregory's admonitory letter (Bede, *H. E.* ii. 31), and were shown, with unhappy consequences, in his dealings with the bishops of the old British Church. See also Dean Stanley's sketch of Augustine's character (*Historical Memorials of Canterbury*, p. 52, 5th edit. 1868).

[3] During the century and a half since the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon conquest, Britain seems to have become almost as unknown to the Romans of both empires (and especially in the East, witness the marvellous stories of Procopius) as before the first invasion of Cæsar. Even the commercial intercourse of that age appears now to have had no better counterpart than the slave-trade.

[4] Bede, *H. E.* i. 25, ii. 3. This supremacy, however, must not be exaggerated. Ethelbert's power over the East Angles and the Lindisfare was probably slight; Mercia was still very unsettled, and the West Saxons had long before this (568) worsted Ethelbert in battle and won Surrey from him. Accordingly, we find that *Essex* alone followed him in accepting Christianity.

old British church outside the walls of Canterbury,[1] where the later but very ancient little church, still dedicated to St. Martin, now stands.[2] Ethelbert came to Thanet and held an interview with the missionaries in the open air (for fear of magical influence), and, after hearing Augustine, he postponed his decision, while he offered them hospitality, and liberty to worship and make converts.

They crossed to Richborough and advanced to Canterbury, which they entered singing the *Allelujah* of Gregory's vow; and Ethelbert gave them the lodging called "Stable-gate." Their preaching, prayers, and self-denying life won many converts. After a time they were allowed to worship at St. Martin's, and there it was (according to the local tradition)[3] that Ethelbert was baptized on Whitsunday, 597; and the king's example attracted a multitude of new hearers and converts. A heathen temple, once a British church, between St. Martin's and the town, was given by Ethelbert for a place of worship, and dedicated by Augustine to St. Pancras.[4]

§ 9. According to Gregory's intention,[5] Augustine now went to Arles, to receive consecration from the metropolitan Ætherius, as "Archbishop of the Anglian nation." He returned before Christmas, when ten thousand converts were baptized in the Swale, the channel which divides the Isle of Sheppey from the mainland.[6] Augustine now sent the welcome news of his success to Gregory by the presbyter Laurentius, with a letter asking his directions, the reply to which throws a most interesting light on the first constitution of the English Church.[7] Meanwhile Augustine

[1] The Roman *Doruvernum* had become the capital of the kings of Kent, *Cantwara-burh*, "the fortress of the men of Kent."

[2] The fame of St. Martin of Tours throughout Gaul and Britain justifies the assumption that the Frank bishop would dedicate the chapel to him, if the British Christians had not already done so, as seems to be implied by Bede:—"Ecclesia in honorem Sancti Martini antiquitus facta dum adhuc Romani Britanniam incolerent." The present church, though of great antiquity, cannot be carried back so far as the time of Augustine.

[3] As the *use* of St. Martin's rests, not on tradition, but on the testimony of Bede, the baptism would naturally take place there. The font shown as that in which Ethelbert was baptized is comparatively modern, but Dean Stanley notes its resemblance to that which appears in the representation of the event in the seal of St. Augustine's Abbey. The *day* of the baptism is traditional.

[4] Pancratius (or Pancrasius) was a boy-martyr under Diocletian, whose church at Rome (*S. Pancrazio*) stands on the traditional site of his martyrdom. Gregory's monastery was built on land which had belonged to the family of Pancratius. [5] See above, § 8.

[6] Gregor. *Epist. ad Eulogium*, viii. 30. This letter, written in 598, fixes the consecration of Augustine before the baptism of the ten thousand. Some writers confuse this with the great baptisms of Northumbrians by Palladius in the Yorkshire Swale.

[7] Bede, *H. E.* i. 27; Gregor. *Epist.* xi. 64.

was received in his new character by Ethelbert, who gave up to him his own palace as "a seat suitable to his dignity" in the "metropolis,"[1] the title which has ever since belonged to the see of Canterbury, with the primacy of the Church of England. The British or Roman church in the neighbourhood of the palace became the cathedral church of Augustine,[2] of which no part now remains in the splendid edifice on the same site. To the palace and church Ethelbert added the "possessions of various kinds" which were deemed "necessary" to support the newly-founded church and bishopric. As if to leave the bishop the same isolated dignity in Canterbury that the Pope held in Rome, Ethelbert built himself a new palace at the old Roman fortress of Regulbium (*Reculver*), at the northern entrance of the Wantsume channel. Whether this, or the want of room for a new palace in Canterbury, were the motive of his retirement, at any rate, as Dean Stanley has pointed out, this grant of house and land to Augustine was a step of immense importance in English history, because it was the first instance in England of an endowment by the State. "As St. Martin's and St. Pancras' witnessed the first beginning of English Christianity, so Canterbury Cathedral is the earliest monument of an English Church establishment—of the English constitution of the union of Church and State."[3]

Near the Church of St. Pancras (the position outside the walls being chosen as suitable for a burial-place), Ethelbert granted a site on which Augustine built the Benedictine Abbey of *St. Peter and St. Paul*, since more famous under its founder's name, given to it by St. Dunstan, which became the first great seat of learning in England, and the depository of the earliest records of English history.[4]

§ 10. It is of the utmost importance, for understanding the whole current of English ecclesiastical history, to mark the distinction between the earlier British Christianity, which sprang from the

[1] Bede, *H. E.* xxvi. 55:—"Nec distulit (rex), quin etiam ipsis doctoribus suis *locum sedis eorum gradui congruum* in Doruverni *metropoli* sua donaret, simul et *necessarias in diversis speciebus possessiones conferret.*"

[2] It was dedicated to the Saviour, and, besides being the cathedral, it became the abbey church of the monastery of Christ Church.

[3] *Memorials of Canterbury*, *l. c.* On the parallel drawn by Gocelin (*Act. Sanct.* p. 383) between this transaction and Constantine's donation of the Lateran palace to Pope Sylvester, and his own retirement to Constantinople, the Dean observes, "That the parallel of Constantine was present to the minds of those concerned is evident from the appellation of *Helena* given by Gregory to Bertha, or (as he calls her) *Edilburga*" (Epist. ix. 60); and the comparison of Ethelbert to Constantine is made in Gregory's own letter to the king (Bede, i. 32).

[4] Its site is now most fitly occupied by the Missionary College of St. Augustine.

gradual diffusion of the Gospel by personal conversions, and went through the ordeal of persecution,—and the acceptance by kings and whole masses of their subjects of a fully-organized form of Christianity, which was forthwith established and endowed as the religion of the State. Christianity was brought into England by Augustine in the form in which it had become organized in the Roman Church, with its full body of doctrine, ritual, discipline, and hierarchy, including the same degree of respect for the Bishop of Rome which Gregory himself claimed from the other Western Churches, and limited by Gregory's own disclaimers of any authority as "Universal Bishop." The example set in Kent was followed in the other English kingdoms. The bishop's throne was set up beside the king's; the *king-dom* of the one became the *bishop-ric* of the other;[1] the bishops sat in the Council of the Wise Men as equal with the Ealdormen (the rank next to the king's); the clergy ranked with the thanes; the laws of the Church were laws of the State. In one respect there is a striking difference between the Church of England and those of the provinces of the Empire. In the latter the primitive state of things survived in the great number of bishops; there being generally one for every town, however inconsiderable. The different state of things in England (as in a lesser degree in Germany) may be explained partly by the tribal constitution of the Teutonic race, to whom it would seem natural that the people of one king should also have one spiritual head, and partly from respect for the instructions of Gregory.

In a letter which Gregory sent to Augustine by Mellitus, who led a new band to reinforce the mission (601), he directed Augustine to ordain twelve bishops for as many places.[2] He

[1] The parallel, partly concealed by the two different suffixes, is more obvious in the old *cyne-rice* and *biscop-rice* (*rice* signifying *dominion*), *cyne-setl* and *biscop-setl* (*seat*), *cyne-stōl* and *biscop-stōl* (*dwelling*). An interesting "survival" of the coincidence of dioceses with kingdoms is seen in the bishopric of Winchester, which still includes Surrey, because Ceawlin of Wessex won that sub-kingdom from Ethelbert of Kent by the battle of Wimbledon (568).

[2] Bede, *H. E.* i. 29: "per loca singula;" the choice of sees being evidently left to Augustine. The *number* seems to be derived from that of the Apostles; but it may also be, as Dean Stanley suggests, that Gregory had an inadequate idea of the magnitude of Britain, or at least of the part held by the Teutonic tribes. In Gregory's former answer to Augustine, he directs that the bishops should not be at long distances from one another (*ut ipsi sibi episcopi longo intervallo minime disjungantur . . . . in propinquis sibi locis ordinati*): but this is only in order that three or four may be conveniently assembled for ordinations. Dean Stanley points out the coincidence, that the total of twenty-four bishops in the two provinces (making, however, twenty-six with the two archbishops) was the same as the number of English bishops fixed under Henry VIII.

was also to send a bishop to York (*Eburacum*)—which had been the Roman capital of North Britain and the seat of a British archbishopric, and was now the capital of the northern Anglian kingdom[1]—who was to be made a metropolitan when a church should be formed, and who was likewise to ordain twelve bishops. The Archbishop of York was to be subject to Augustine, but not to his successor; the archbishops of the two sees taking precedence according to the priority of ordination.[2] It was not, however, till some years after Augustine's death that the intended mission was sent to York.

Augustine himself, shortly before his death, ordained two of the new comrades who had been sent after him, MELLITUS and JUSTUS, as bishops: the one of *London*, the capital of the East Saxons, whose king, Sebert, was the nephew and subject ally of Ethelbert; the other of *Rochester* (the Roman *Durobrivis*), the capital probably of a sub-kingdom of West Kent. At London Ethelbert built the cathedral church of St. Paul the Apostle, whose journeys tradition had extended to Britain;[3] at Rochester that of St. Andrew, the patron saint of Gregory's monastery; and he endowed both richly with lands and other property[4] (A.D. 604).

§ 11. The letters of Gregory upon the mode of propagating Christianity among our heathen forefathers are very interesting. In his first fervour of joy and zeal, he sent a letter of congratulation and advice,[5] with presents, to "the most glorious lord and our most excellent son Ethelbert, King of the Angles," whom he urges to extend the faith of Christ among the peoples under his rule, to root out the worship of idols and overturn their temples. But another letter, sent after the fresh band of missionaries[6] expressed his more

[1] When Gregory sent these instructions, he had doubtless been informed by Augustine that the power of Ethelbert did not extend beyond the Humber.

[2] In this letter Gregory speaks of London (not of Canterbury) as the intended see of the primate, evidently in ignorance of the relations between Kent and Essex. The modern ignorance or carelessness which calls St. Paul's the "*metropolitan* cathedral" is far less excusable.

[3] London had been a bishop's see in the times of Roman Britain; and its old church, probably dedicated to St. Paul, appears to have stood on the hill afterwards occupied by Sebert's and each succeeding cathedral down to Wren's, which tradition made the site of a temple of Diana. Bede says nothing of the monastery of St. Peter (the *West-minster*), which an interesting tradition relates to have been built by Sebert, in obedience to a miraculous vision of the Apostle (see Ailred of Rievaulx, and the French Life of Edward the Confessor).

[4] Bede, *H. E.* ii. 3.

[5] Ibid., i. 32. A.D. 601, at the same time as that to Augustine, by Mellitus and his companions.

[6] Addressed to Mellitus; Bede, *H. E.* i. 30.

deliberate thoughts;[1]—that the temples of the idols ought by no means to be destroyed, but purified with holy water and fitted up as churches; and that the heathen sacrifices of oxen should be converted into feasts in honour of saints and martyrs; "to the end (says Gregory) that through having some outward joys continued to them, they may more easily agree to accept the true inward joys. For assuredly it is impossible to cut away all things at once from minds hardened by evil custom, just as the man who strives to reach the summit of perfection climbs by steps or paces, not by leaps and bounds." The traces of this policy are still seen in many ideas and customs that survive in England, and in the very language of the Church, which calls its greatest festival by the name of a goddess of our heathen forefathers.[2]

In the like liberal spirit Augustine was directed to arrange the worship of the newly-founded Church, not by one example, either of Rome or Gaul (the differences between which had caused him to put the question to Gregory), but to make a careful choice of whatever he found in the Roman or the Gallic, or any other Church, to be more acceptable to God, and to "pour into" the English Church, while new in the faith, the good usages of many churches. "For (says Gregory) things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of things."

It would have been well for the peace of Britain and her churches if Augustine could have bent his haughty temper to act on this wise principle in his dealings with the existing British Church. The remnant of the native Britons, driven back into the western parts of the island, had still their ancient Church, with a primate at Caerleon on the Usk, though distracted and degraded by the vices and corruptions of princes and clergy.[3] The bitter animosity and incessant warfare between these British Christians and their exterminating conquerors may extenuate the reproach that they had made no effort for their conversion during the past century and

[1] "Quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi."

[2] *Easter*, from *Eastro*, a goddess whose festival was in April. The old name for Christmas, still preserved in poetical and festive language, *Yule*, was that of the Pagan festival of the winter solstice (from *geól* or *jûl*, "merry"). The use of the old heathen names of the days of the week was in conformity with the practice of Christendom, with only the difference that in England the names of Teutonic deities were retained—Tuisco, Woden, the Thunderer, Friga, and Sæter—in place of Mars, Mercury, Jove, Venus, and Saturn.

[3] Our great authority on this point is the book of the monk Gildas, in the sixth century, *De Excidio Britanniæ Liber Querulus*, with the appended *Epistle* of reproof and invective against certain British chieftains. Valuable as this sole *contemporary* record is, it is marred by party spirit and rhetorical exaggeration.

a half, and had left the work to be done by a fresh mission from Rome. Gregory seems to have thought that a church so inactive needed new direction; for he committed to Augustine the charge of all the bishops of the several parts of Britain, expressly for the purpose "that the unlearned might be taught, the weak strengthened by persuasion, the perverse corrected by his authority."[1]

The last clause of this commission was the most congenial to Augustine's temper. Through the influence of Ethelbert he arranged a conference with the British bishops of Wales at a place called *Augustine's Oak*.[2] He exhorted them to join him in "catholic peace," that they might unite in the common work of evangelizing the heathen. The main offence of the Britons against the "catholic peace" was their reckoning of Easter.[3] When, after all the arguments and persuasions of Augustine and his companions, they obstinately preferred their own traditions to the judgment of all the churches, Augustine proposed an appeal to God by the test of a miracle. A blind man, of *English* race, having been brought before the British bishops without result, was restored to sight by the prayers of Augustine. The Britons confessed that Augustine was the preacher of the truth; but, as they could not give up their customs without the consent of their people, they postponed the decision to a second and more numerous synod.

For this conference seven British bishops were selected, with the most learned men of their great monastery of Bangor-in-

Bede, *H. E.* i. 17, § 7: "*Britanniarum vero omnes episcopos tuæ fraternitati subjicimus*, ut indocti doceantur, infirmi persuasione roborentur, perversi auctoritate corrigantur." This language evidently points to the *existing* state of an ignorant, weak, erring, and unruly Church, and cannot possibly refer to the bishops hereafter to be ordained in the English parts of Britain, whose very appointment is only provided for in a subsequent letter, as we have already seen.

[2] Bede, *H. E.* ii. 2. Usually identified with Aust Clive on the Severn; but this is doubtful. The common date (603) is also uncertain.

[3] See Ch. VIII. §§ 14–16. They were not, as some thought (says Bede, iii. 4), *quartodecimans*, for they always kept Easter on Sunday: but their rule allowed it to fall from the 14th to the 20th of the Paschal month, instead of from the 15th to the 21st. They really followed the old Roman custom, which had been modified by the last reformations of the Paschal cycle. Among the "very many other things which they did contrary to the unity of the Church" (Bede), were their mode of administering baptism and their form of tonsure. Bede writes not only as an adherent of the Roman customs, but with a strong Anglian dislike of the Welsh. As to the *miracle*, it is to be observed that Bede lived when such legends and faith in them were equally common; and the credulity of his age is neither binding on our belief, on the one hand, nor any disparagement of his general testimony to historic facts. Like all true historians, from Herodotus downwards (as they both expressly tell us), he made his history the mirror of the authorities which he had before him.

the-Wood,[1] near Chester, and their abbot Dinoth. It is said (and the story at all events reflects the prevalent opinion of Augustine's character) that they went first to consult a famous hermit, whether they should yield the points at issue. He told them to be guided by Augustine's own spirit, whether he were meek and lowly, as Christ commanded, or stern and haughty. They would discern this by his rising, or not, to receive them when they came to the place of meeting. When, on their arrival, he remained seated in a chair, his pride hardened them into contradiction; for, they thought, if he despised them now, how would he treat them if they submitted? Though he now offered to tolerate their other customs, if they would accept the Catholic usages of Easter and baptism, and join him in preaching the Gospel, they refused to do any of these things or to receive him as their bishop.[2] Augustine, assuming a threatening tone, foretold that, if they would not have peace with their brethren, they should have war from their enemies; and if they would not preach the way of life to the English nation, they should suffer the penalty of death at their hands. And so it happened when, a few years later, Ethelfrith, king of the Northumbrian Angles, overthrew the Britons with great slaughter, near Chester, and massacred the monks of Bangor, who were praying on the field of battle.

§ 12. Augustine died in 604, after ordaining Laurentius as his successor. The stamp which his mission left upon the whole character of the English Church has demanded a full narrative of its progress; but the details of the progress of Christianity in England must be left to the special histories of our country. The great northern kingdom of NORTHUMBRIA, under Edwin (whose name is preserved in that of Edinburgh), was converted in 627 by Paulinus, one of Augustine's comrades, who was the first Archbishop of York; and the conversion of EAST ANGLIA was a result of Edwin's supremacy over the English kingdoms (632). The WEST SAXONS were converted about the same time by a separate mission from Rome (636). MERCIA—whose heathen king, Penda, had slain in battle two Northumbrian Bretwaldas, Edwin and Oswald, and three Christian kings of East Anglia, but was defeated and slain in his turn by Oswald's brother, Oswy (655)—became

[1] *Bancornaburg* (Bede), now *Bangor-ys-y-coed*, or *Bangor Iscoed*, in Flintshire. It was one of the greatest monastic establishments in Britain, having more than 2000 monks (Bede, *l. c.*). The name *Ban-cor* signifies the "High Choir," as also at Bangor, in Caernarvonshire. There was an Irish monastery of the same name.

[2] Not a word is said throughout the whole discussion about the supremacy of the Pope. The inference of some Roman Catholic writers, that this was tacitly admitted, is truly marvellous.

Christian under Peada, the son of Penda, and son-in-law of Oswy. It was from Northumbria also that Christianity was carried to the SOUTH SAXONS, last of all, by WILFRITH, bishop of York (680 or 685). Thus all the Anglian and Saxon kingdoms had become Christian within a hundred years of the landing of Augustine; and, in the early years of the eighth century, English Christianity was fully organized, and its results were felt throughout society and the state. The two great centres of religious and intellectual life were Canterbury and the Northumbrian kingdom; and the latter owed much, not only to the former, but to the older churches founded beyond the limits of Roman Britain, at which we must now glance back.

§ 13. At the very time when the invasions of the Picts and Scots overthrew the Roman power in Britain, those rude tribes began to receive the light of Christianity, partly from Britain itself and partly from Rome. The labours of ST. NYNIA or NINIAN, whom tradition makes the Apostle of the Southern or Lowland Picts,[1] are involved in much obscurity. He is said to have been a Briton, brought up at Rome, and on his way home to have visited Martin, bishop of Tours, who ordained him to his missionary work, and whose name he gave to the church which he founded in Galloway for his bishopric, and which, from being built of stone,[2] was called the White House (*Candida Casa*, identified by tradition with *Whithorn* in Wigtonshire).[3] His labours are placed by various authorities between 410 and 432.

We have more certain knowledge concerning the plantation of Christianity amidst the Gaelic race of the *Scots* in Ireland, and its diffusion thence among their brethren who had passed over to the western isles and adjacent coasts of North Britain (to which they at length gave the name of Scotland), and thence among the Picts. Just at the date commonly assigned to the death of Ninian, we meet with the first mention of Irish Christianity among the doubtful stories of the time succeeding the recal of the Roman legions from Britain by Honorius.[4] The bond of Christianity, here as elsewhere,

[1] Those between the Grampians and the two Roman walls.

[2] The early British churches were of wood or wattled work.

[3] Bede, *H. E.* iii. 4. The locality of Ninian's labours among the Galwegians, who were a peculiar branch of the Picts (probably, from their name, of the Gaelic race), rests on the traditional identification of Bede's *Candida Casa* with Whithorn. Bede seems to imply that the Christianity planted by him spread more or less widely among the Lowland Picts.

[4] The stories commonly set down in English histories about the exploits of St. Germanus in Britain, and the "Hallelujah Victory," are taken by Bede (i. 17–20) from the legendary biography of St. Germanus by Constantius, written about forty years after the bishop's death; and they cannot be turned into history by simply leaving out the miracles.

replaced the parting ties of political union; and it would seem that the bishops of Gaul, and the Pope himself, cared for the state of Christianity in Britain after the Roman legions and officials had abandoned the island. The Pelagian heresy did not take root in the native country of its author till it was introduced by one of his disciples, named Agricola. The people of Britain sought the advice of the Gallic bishops, who held a synod and sent over Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, bishop of Troyes, whose miracles won back the people to the Catholic faith[1] (A.D. 429).

The chronicler Prosper Aquitanus[2] ascribes this mission to Pope Celestine, who was moved to it by the deacon Palladius, who was himself sent by Celestine two years later as bishop "to the *Scots* believing in Christ,"[3] a phrase which, at this time, can only signify the *Scots in Ireland*. Accordingly Prosper says elsewhere[4] that Celestine, "having ordained a bishop for the Scots, while he aims to keep the *Roman island* [Britain] Catholic, makes the *barbarian island* [Ireland] Christian." This is all we know of Palladius from primary authorities. A medieval biographer of St. Patrick[5] (perhaps disparaging the work of Palladius, to preserve for Patrick the sole honour of converting Ireland) says that Palladius, disheartened by his little success in Ireland, crossed over to Britain and died among the Picts. This agrees with a local tradition at *Fordoun*, where the shrine of St. Palladius is shown.

§ 14. At all events the fame of Palladius was at a very early time eclipsed by that of PATRICIUS (St. Patrick) as the Apostle of Ireland; but his true life is involved by the monkish writers and native annals in an inextricable maze of legends. The only safe guide is the autobiographical "Confession of St. Patrick;"[6] but

[1] This is Bede's account, from Constantius (i. 17). Constantius and Bede (i. 21) mention a second visit of Germanus, to put down a new outbreak of Pelagianism, in the year before his death (447), just before (some make it the very year of) the arrival of the Jutes under Hengist and Horsa. It must be remembered that Bede's chronology of this period is artificially constructed from different sets of *data*.

[2] Ann. 429; *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. lxxxii.

[3] Prosper, ann. 431, copied by Bede, i. 13: *Ad Scotos in Christo credentes*. The apparent contradiction between this and the next statement quoted from Prosper has been explained by supposing that Palladius had, as a missionary from Britain, begun the conversion of the Scots, and had then gone to Rome to interest the Pope in the state of both islands. But such fragmentary statements must leave much in doubt.

[4] *Contra Collatorem*, c. 21, § 2.

[5] Jocelin of Furness, in the twelfth century (*Acta Sanctorum, Martii*, vol. ii. p. 545; *Julii*, vol. ii. p. 289).

[6] *Confessio S. Patricii de Vitâ et Conversatione suâ*—a sketch of his own religious life, and especially of the motives which urged him to preach to the Irish, to whom the work is addressed. It is written in a rude style,

even the genuineness of this is questioned. He came of a noble and Christian stock, his grandfather, Potitus, being a presbyter, and his father, Calphurnius, a deacon and a man of curial rank, who appears to have held some office in connection with the Northern Roman Wall. He is frequently called by the epithet "Briton" (*Brito*); and he himself speaks of being with his parents "in Britanniis," and names as his birthplace the village of *Benaven* or *Bonavem Taberniæ*, which is commonly identified with the place near Dumbarton, to which the local tradition has preserved the name of *Kilpatrick* (*i.e.* St. Patrick's Cell or Church).[1] His native name is said to have been *Succath*; but a doubt is thrown on this by the Roman names of his father and grandfather.[2] The traditional date of his birth (372), coupled with that of his death (492 or 493), demands the belief that he lived 120 years, and some authorities make it longer.[3] These difficulties are perhaps created by the attempt of his biographers to place his mission earlier than its proper date, and to ascribe his ordination, as well as that of Palladius, to Pope Celestine.[4]

At the age of sixteen Patrick was taken prisoner by the Scots, whose piratical vessels infested the coast, and was carried off to Ireland, where he was employed as a shepherd. In his solitary meditations, his sense of his own lost state awakened the earnest desire to preach the Gospel to the heathen natives around him; and on recovering his liberty he devoted himself to the work. His biographers mention a visit to Gaul and Italy,[5] in the course of which he studied under St. Martin of Tours and St. German of Auxerre, and was ordained, either by Pope Celestine or by the Gallic primate,

and the author often alludes to his literary deficiencies and want of education. There is no decisive evidence for or against its genuineness.

[1] Some Irish antiquaries plead eagerly for the Gallic origin of St. Patrick, interpreting *Benaven* or *Bonavem* to mean *Boulogne*, and the epithet *Brito* a native of Brittany. It might be enough to set the two explanations against each other, for Boulogne was never in or near Brittany. Nor could *Bononiæ* be turned into *Benaven*, which is plain Celtic, exactly describing the position of Kilpatrick, a hill upon a river.

[2] His name *Patricius* is explained as denoting his noble birth, or, more probably, as the new name received at his ordination, according to a well-known usage.

[3] The *Annals of Connaught* carry back his birth to 336.

[4] This rivalry between the fame of Palladius and Patricius is one key to the difficulties. Another is found by Mr. Petrie (*Hist. and Antiqq. of Tara Hill*) in the supposition of *two* St. Patricks in the fifth century, to the later of whom much was ascribed that really belongs to his greater namesake; but such duplications are always very suspicious.

[5] Though he does not mention this, it was a usual mode for a person in a remote country to seek ordination, which it is not easy to see how Patrick could have received otherwise in the existing state of Britain.

Amatorex, as missionary bishop to the Scots in Ireland. The commencement of his mission is usually placed in 432, immediately after the death of Palladius,[1] but one Irish authority places it above half a century later.[2] Thus much alone can be affirmed with safety, that St. Patrick left a fully-organized church among the Scots in the north-eastern parts of Ireland about the end of the fifth century; that is, about a hundred years before Augustine landed in Britain. Though founded by a Briton, this church was no fruit of missionary effort from that of Britain; and how little communion there was between the two is remarkably indicated by a letter of St. Patrick (if genuine), denouncing the wickedness of a Welsh Prince, who bore the classic name of Caradoc, for keeping in cruel slavery a number of captives whom he had taken in a descent on Ireland.[3]

While the best parts of Britain were overrun by the Teutonic heathens, and the remnant of the old British Church was inactive and corrupt, Christianity flourished in Ireland, and its many monasteries preserved learning and diffused civilization among tribes still barbarous and disturbed by factions.[4] Meanwhile large bodies of the Scots had crossed the channel, and formed settlements on the Western Islands and neighbouring coasts of North Britain; and to these Scots of Caledonia their Irish brethren carried back the Christian light which had come to them from Britain, and spread it further among the Northern or Highland Picts.[5]

§ 15. The leader in this work was an Irish abbot of royal race, named COLUMBA,[6] or, as he was called while still a child, from his

[1] This allowance of only one year (or, at most, parts of two years) for the whole mission of Palladius, down to his death, is again suspicious.

[2] Under King Lughaidh, whose reign is placed from 484 to 508. (*Book of Secan.*)

[3] *Epistola ad Coroticum*, or rather, *Epistola ad Christianos Coroticí tyranni subditos.* The other chief works ascribed to St. Patrick are three collections of *Canons* and some *Proverbs;* besides others which are certainly spurious.

[4] The Irish Annals dispel the traditional dream of a sort of golden age of holy peace; and the name of "Islands of the Saints," on which the tradition partly rests, appears to have been simply derived from the old Greek appellation of *ἱερὰ νῆσος*, which was but a corruption of the native name, *Éri* or *Erin.*

[5] These Northern Picts occupied all the country north of the *upper* Roman Wall, except the Western Islands and the part of the mainland (nearly answering to Argyleshire) where the Scots had settled. The Anglian kingdom of Northumbria reached to the Forth, and the British kingdom of Strathclyde to the Clyde.

[6] Bede, *H. E.* iii. 4; the various Irish Annals; and especially the *Life of Columba* by Adamnan, the ninth abbot of Hii (Iona), about A.D. 700. Dr. Reeves's edition of Adamnan is a mine of trustworthy information on Columba and the Scottish Church, both in Ireland and at Iona.

diligent attendance at church, *Columkille*,[1] the "dove of the church" (born about 520). After founding several monasteries in Ireland, the most famous of which was that of *Dearmach*, the "field of oaks,"[2] Columba crossed over to North Britain in a wicker boat with a small band of monks, about A.D. 563 (565, Bede), and received (probably as a gift from the king of the Dalriad Scots)[3] the little island called after him *Icolmbkill*, which has acquired universal fame, in religion and poetry, under its curiously transformed name of IONA.[4] Columba crossed the Grampians to preach to the Northern Picts, who with their powerful king, Brud,[5] were converted to the Christian faith. After labouring for nearly thirty-five years from his migration, St. Columba died on the 9th of June, 596, at the age of seventy-six,[6] and was buried at Iona, in the very year in which Augustine was on his way to England.

The community which he founded at Iona became the centre of religious life in the whole land of the Picts and Scots. Its abbots were of such dignity that they had authority over bishops. As one result, indeed, of the mode in which the Scoto-Irish Church was established, in contrast with the fully-organized form brought into England by Augustine, it had, like the old Roman provinces, a great number of bishops, many of them ministers of single congregations.[7] Not a word is said in Bede or in Columba's Life of his being in any way subject to the Bishop of Rome; though it is mentioned that his fame had spread over Britain, Gaul, and

[1] In Latin, *Columcelli*: "nomine composito a *Cella* et Columba" (Bede, v. 10).

[2] Now Durrough, in King's County.

[3] Bede says it was given by the Pictish king; but he himself says that the Scots inhabited these parts.

[4] Its original name, simply the Celtic word for an "island," is given in the various forms of *Y*, *Hy*, *Hii* (Bede), *Iave* (the usual Irish form), or *Iou*, from which Adamnan forms the adjective *Ioua*, agreeing with *insula*; and the mere miswriting of this form produced *Iona*, the more readily perhaps as the same word is in Hebrew the equivalent of Columba's name, "a dove," as Adamnan observes (see Reeves, pp. 258–262; and, for other proposed etymologies, p. 413). *Icolmkill*, i.e. *I-columbkill*, is "the island of Columbkill."

[5] Called Bruidi McMaelchon in the *Annals of Tigernach*, and Bridius by Bede, who places the arrival of Columba in the ninth year of his reign. The dwelling of Brud seems to have been on the borders of the Ness. For some interesting notices of him and his relations with Columba, see Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 228, 230, 275, 281, 311; and on the whole subject of early Christianity in Scotland, the Church of the Irish Scots, and Iona and the Columbite Church, see Burton, chaps. vii. and viii.

[6] Tigernach.

[7] The bishops consecrated by St. Patrick in Ireland were reckoned by hundreds. "One of the most moderate of the estimates makes them 365, one for each day of the year. When Ireland was subjected to the Papacy, these were converted into rural deans" (Burton, vol. i. p. 269).

Spain, and had reached Rome, the greatest of cities. This independence of Rome was not only a natural consequence of the isolation in which the Scoto-Irish Church sprang up and grew, but also of the very important facts, that Ireland, the cradle of this church, had remained untouched by the arms of Rome, and that the Caledonian highlands were never really subject to the Empire. Hence the Scoto-Irish Church had many peculiar customs, to which it clung all the more tenaciously when it found itself regarded as heretical by the churches in closer communion with Rome. Chief among these was their observance of Easter, for which they followed the same rule as the old British Church.[1]

§ 16. To the Scoto-Irish Church belongs the honour of sending forth the earliest missions from the British Isles, even before the arrival of Augustine in England. COLUMBAN, the leader in this work, was born in Leinster about 560, and was trained in the great Irish monastery of Bangor. In 589 he crossed the sea, with twelve companions, first to Britain and thence to Gaul, intending to preach to the heathen nations of Germany. But he found a more pressing work to do for the decayed religion of the conquerors of Gaul. He settled in Burgundy at the invitation of King Guntram, and established three monasteries in the desolated region of the Vosges Mountains. The strict "Rule of St. Columban" and the labours of the monks, who cleared and tilled the land while they taught the people, won many converts. Columban showed the independent spirit of the Scoto-Irish Church in his controversies with the Popes about Easter and the authority of the see of Rome, above which he sets that of Jerusalem. In reply to the appeal of Gregory the Great to the authority of Leo, he says that "perhaps in this case a living dog may be better than a dead Lion." To a Gaulish synod he makes a touching appeal that they would allow him to live peaceably, as he had already lived for twelve years, amid the solitude of the forest, and beside the bones of his seventeen deceased brethren.[2]

After twenty years, Columban's faithful reproof of the dissolute life of Theodoric II. incurred the displeasure of the young king and the resentment of his grandmother, Brunichild.[3] Columban and his Irish monks were taken to Nantes, to be sent back to their own land; but the voyage was prevented by miraculous interference; and the missionaries went to Metz and preached in Austrasia.

[1] Bede, iii. 25; v. 15, 21, 22. They followed the Paschal Canon of Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea, about 270 (Bede, iii. 3). Bede mentions incidentally that the Scots of *Southern Ireland* had very early conformed to the Roman Use of Easter. Perhaps they were converted by a separate mission from Rome. [2] Columban, *Epist.* ii.; Robertson, vol. ii. p. 29.

[3] Brunichild, like the Frank Mayors of the Palace, encouraged her grandson's sensuality, in order to govern in his name.

They ascended the Rhine to Switzerland, where Columban performed many miracles, and settled at Bregenz on the lake of Constance. Driven out thence, when his protector, Theodebert of Austrasia, was conquered by his enemy Theodoric (612), he crossed the Alps into Lombardy, where he was received with honour by Agilulf and Theodelinda, and founded another famous monastery at Bobbio. He had again engaged, with his native impetuosity, in a controversy with Boniface IV. on the Three Articles, which threatened serious consequences, when he died in 615. The monasteries of Columban became the parents of many others, and centres of missionary efforts. The most famous of his disciples was ST. GALLEN or ST. GALL, who, remaining behind when Columban went into Italy, founded the monastery which bears his name, and became honoured as the Apostle of Switzerland. He died in 627.

In 613, a council of the Frank Church sent Eustasius, the successor of St. Columban in the monastery of Luxeuil, in the Vosges, on a mission to Bavaria, where the Christianity planted in the fifth century by St. Severin, "the apostle of Noricum," had become infected with heresy. But the final establishment of Christianity in Bavaria was not effected till about the end of the century by Rudbert, bishop of Worms. Another Irish missionary, Kyllena or St. Kilian, is said to have converted Gozbert, duke of the Thuringians, but to have suffered martyrdom from the Queen Geilana (689). Livin, an Irishman, became Bishop of Ghent, and was martyred about 650.

§ 17. It was for some time doubtful whether the customs of the Scoto-Irish Church would prevail, in Northumbrian England, over the forms introduced by Augustine. For when Ethelfrith was killed in battle by Edwin (617), his sons took refuge among the Picts, and were brought up in the Scottish form of Christianity. Edwin, as we have seen, was converted, with his people, by Paulinus, the associate of Augustine; but, when he was defeated and killed by the combined forces of Penda of Mercia and Ceadwalla of Wales, the newly-planted Christianity was almost rooted up again.[1] When Oswald, the second son of Ethelfrith, killed Ceadwalla in battle and recovered the kingdom (635), he naturally sent to the Scots for a missionary bishop. The community of Iona

[1] It is one of the charges brought by Bede against the Welsh, that the party and national hatred of Ceadwalla prevailed over his Christianity, so that he permitted, if he did not even take part in, the persecution of the Northumbrian Christians by the heathen Penda. It would seem, too, that the fruits of the labours of Paulinus were nearly confined to *Deira*, and that Bernicia (from the Tees to the Tweed) was little affected by them (Bede, iii. 2).

sent him Aidan, a most saintly and zealous man, to whom Oswald assigned the island of Lindisfarn (hence called *Holy Island*) for his bishopric. Here Aidan established a monastic community in close imitation of that of Iona; and here a cathedral church was built by Finan, the successor of Aidan, who also came from Iona.[1]

OSWY (642–670), the brother of Oswald and his successor as King of Northumbria and Bretwalda, was a great founder of monasteries. His daughter Ælfleda entered the Abbey of "Hart's Island,"[2] under the Abbess Hild, who soon afterwards left it, to found the more famous monastery of Streoneshalh (afterwards Whitby),[3] where the light of English literature first breaks upon us in the poetry of CÆDMON. Here, in 664, King Oswy called a synod to decide the dispute concerning Easter, which had broken out with new violence, under Bishop Colman, another monk from Iona, who had succeeded Finan at Lindisfarn.[4] The king himself was devoted to the usage of the Scottish Church in which he had been brought up; but his wife Eanfled, a Kentish princess, was equally attached to the Roman practice, and so was their eldest son, Alfrid, who had been educated by the famous Wilfrid.[5]

This great light of the English Church, equally distinguished for his learning, his energy, and the vicissitudes of his life, had been brought up at Lindisfarn; but, wishing to compare the customs of his Church with those which claimed to be Catholic, he had been sent by Eanfled to Gaul and Rome, and had returned full of zeal to reform his native Church according to the Roman usages. Alfrid had set him over the monastery of Ripon,[6] expelling the Scottish monks for whom he had himself founded the cloister; and he procured Wilfrid's ordination as a presbyter by Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons.[7] This bishop appeared at the synod as the leader of

[1] Bede, iii. 17, 25. The church was built of oak, with a thatched roof; and, after it had been twice burnt and restored, the seventh bishop, Eadberct (688–698), removed the thatch, and covered both roof and walls with lead. At the same time the church was dedicated anew to St. Peter by Archbishop Theodore.

[2] Bede, iii. 24. "Heruten (*Heortea* in the Anglo-Saxon version), id est Insula Cervi:" now Hartlepool.

[3] The name *Whitby* (*i.e.*, "White Town") belongs to the Danish times.

[4] Bede, iii. 25.

[5] Wilfrid was now thirty, having been born about 634. The more proper form of the name is *Wilfrith*, but it seems most convenient to keep the simpler forms of such names, usually adopted by historians, from the Latin names given by Bede.

[6] Inrhypum.

[7] He was Bishop of Dorchester, near Oxford, the original see of the West Saxon bishopric.

the Roman party; but, being a native of Gaul, he chose Wilfrid as his spokesman. Bishop Colman argued for the Scottish practice from the authority of St. John and the custom of the churches founded by him. Wilfrid pleaded the custom of Rome and the Church of Christ in every land, "except only these [the Scots] and their accomplices in obstinacy, the Picts and Britons, who, from these two remote islands of the ocean, fight against the whole world." Above all he insisted on the authority of St. Peter; and asked if even the holy Columba was to be preferred to the Apostle on whom Christ had built His Church and given him the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Upon this the king asked Colman whether these words were really spoken by Christ to Peter. When he confessed that they were, and that no such power had been given to Columba, the king declared that he would not contradict the door-keeper, "lest, perchance, when I arrive at the gates of the kingdom of heaven, there should be none to open to me, because I have made an enemy of him who is proved to hold the keys."

If the story be true, the ratification of such a decision by the whole synod proves that the question was already pretty well settled by the opinion of the Northumbrian Church.[1] It is worthy of special notice that the argument of Wilfrid, and the decision of the synod, were based on the assumption of the authority of St. Peter as residing in the Roman Church, and thus this greater question was conceded with the lesser about the reckoning of Easter.

Colman and the other Scots withdrew to their own country; and, after the speedy death of the bishop appointed to succeed him, the see of Lindisfarn was conferred on Wilfrid. He preferred, however, to to take his title from YORK, the old northern capital and see of Paulinus; and, as the northern bishops were generally tainted with the Scottish heresy, he went to Gaul to receive consecration from Agilbert, now Archbishop of Paris. His return was delayed for three years,[2] and, finding that during his prolonged absence Oswy had given the bishopric to Ceadda,[3] Wilfrith retired to his abbey of Ripon.

§ 18. In the year of the synod of Whitby, the same plague which removed Wilfrid's predecessor in the northern see carried off

[1] The steps by which various branches of the Scoto-Irish Church were slowly won over to the Roman practice are related by Bede.

[2] On his voyage back (667) his ship was stranded on the coast of Sussex, but got off after a combat with the heathen people, whose savage conduct moved Wilfrid to the mission for their conversion, which he undertook about twelve years later.

[3] St. Chad, afterwards abbot of Lastingham and bishop of the Mercians, with his see at Lichfield.

Deusdedit,[1] the first Archbishop of Canterbury of English birth. Oswy, as Bretwalda, joined with the King of Kent in choosing a successor, Wighard, whom they sent to Rome for consecration; but he died there, and Pope Vitalian, apparently at the request of Oswy,[2] made an appointment to the see which forms a landmark in the history of the English Church.

It is, as we have seen, a fond belief that the Apostle Paul first brought the light of Christianity to Britain; but it is an historic fact that another native of Tarsus, THEODORE, was the chief agent in uniting the churches founded in the various Anglian and Saxon kingdoms, in organizing and improving their worship, and in diffusing the light of learning over England. It was of lasting consequence to the freedom and enlightenment of England that this work was done by a Greek, who, though decidedly attached, was not bigotedly devoted to Rome, and who was deeply imbued with Greek literature, the organ of all the best thought of the ancient world.

Though already sixty-six years old, Theodore held the primacy for more than twenty-one years (668–691), and displayed the greatest activity in his duties. Arriving in England in 669, he visited every part of the country,[3] and exercised his authority in Northumbria by restoring Wilfrid to the see of York. The council gathered by Theodore, of his own authority, at Hertford[4] (673), marks the first united action of the English Church. Theodore first asked the assembled bishops, one by one, if they agreed to keep what had been decreed canonically by the fathers of old. On their all assenting, he produced a book of Ten Canons, which were adopted by the Council. They relate to the celebration of Easter, the bishoprics, monasteries, and clergy, the assembling of a synod once a year, and marriage and divorce; and all who should offend against them were to be suspended from the episcopal office and from the communion of the Church. Another synod was held at

[1] Also called Adeodatus; his English name was Frithona (655–664). He was the sixth primate: his predecessor being Honorius (627–653), who had followed the three fellow-labourers of Augustine, Laurentius (604–619), Mellitus (619–624), and Justus (624–627).

[2] See the letter of Vitalian to Oswy, congratulating him on his turning to the true and apostolic faith (Bede, iii. 29).

[3] Theodore, like Augustine, was Primate of all England, for there had been no archbishop in the north since Paulinus. The *arch*bishopric of York was not revived till 755, when Pope Gregory III. sent the *pallium* to Egbert.

[4] *Herutford* (Bede, iv. 5). This synod was attended by the bishops of *East Anglia*, *West Kent* (Rochester), the *West Saxons*, and *Mercians*; *Northumbria* was represented by legates from Wilfrid. *Sussex* was still heathen; and *Essex* had about this time apostatized (Bede, iii. 30), though it was soon recovered to the faith.

Hatfield, in 680, to communicate to Pope Agatho the opinion of the English Church on the Monothelite controversy, by way of preparation for the General Council of the following year.[1]

§ 19. Among the points which Theodore had most at heart was the arrangement of the bishoprics as nearly as possible upon the plan of Augustine, and especially the division of such enormous sees as those of Northumbria and Mercia. His proposals on this subject at Hertford led to some discussion; and the only agreement come to was that, as the faithful increased, bishops should be multiplied. Theodore divided the East Anglian bishopric into the two sees of Elmham and Dunwich; in Mercia he consecrated bishops for Hereford, Worcester, Leicester, and Lindsey; and in Northumbria for the new sees of Hexham and Sidnacester (near Gainsborough), as well as for Lindisfarn. Wilfrid opposed the division of his see; but he was already involved in a quarrel with Ecgfrith, king of Northumbria,[2] on a point of discipline; and the archbishop and king united to depose and banish him (675). Wilfrid carried his appeal to Pope Agatho, and after preaching, on his way, to the heathen Frisians,[3] the closest continental kinsmen of the English, he arrived at Rome in 679.[4] He returned in 680 with a decree of the Pope and the Roman council in his favour. But Theodore and Ecgfrith disregarded the anathema against all, *whoever they might be*, who should attempt to infringe the decree; and the Pope made no attempt to enforce it. Here is the first open resistance of the English Church to the authority of Rome.

Wilfrid was imprisoned by Ecgfrith and afterwards banished; and he sought a refuge from his persecutors in carrying out the design he had long formed for the conversion of the South Saxons. Supported by their king Ethelwalch, who had been baptized in Mercia, Wilfrid spread Christianity not only among them, but among the Jutes of the Isle of Wight and the opposite shores (about 685), and founded the South Saxon bishopric at Selsey, which was afterwards transferred to Chichester. Soon after this, Theodore, near the end of his life, relented towards Wilfrid, and

[1] See Chap. XVI. § 14.

[2] Ecgfrith, the second son of Oswy, succeeded his father in 670. His first wife, Ætheldreda (Æthelthryth), daughter of Anna, king of East Anglia, was supported by Wilfrid in keeping her vow of virginity, and became a nun at Coldingham, and afterwards abbess of Ely. Ecgfrith regarded the separation as a divorce, and married again, and Wilfrid's opposition to this step provoked the enmity of the king and his new queen.

[3] We are not told whether he was driven on their coast by stress of weather.

[4] We have already seen that he took part in the Roman synod against the Monothelites. (Chap. XVI. § 14, note.)

reconciled him to Aldfrid, the half-brother and successor of Ecgfrith,[1] who restored him first to the see of Hexham and then to that of York. But he was again expelled (692), and retired into Mercia, where he held the bishopric of Lichfield for ten years. In 702 he was cited before a synod at Onesterfield, in Yorkshire, and deprived of the episcopal office. Again he went to Rome and was acquitted (704), and after some delay he was restored to the see of Hexham. His troubled and energetic life was closed in the monastery of Oundle in 709.

§ 20. Wilfrid and his associates and disciples in Northumbria divide with Theodore the honour of great improvements in the fabrics and worship of the Church, as well as in the advance of literature. When Theodore came to England, he was accompanied by two of the chief leaders in these good works. The one was HADRIAN, said by some to have been also a Greek of Asia Minor, whom Theodore made Abbot of St. Augustine's. Bede describes the assiduous pains of the archbishop and abbot to train their numerous disciples in sacred and secular learning, in Greek as well as Latin, and to commit to books all the science of the age.

The other companion of Theodore was BISCOP,[2] whose ecclesiastical name was BENEDICT, a native of Northumbria, who had once before been to Rome with Wilfrid, and who was now made Abbot of St. Peter's, Canterbury, but afterwards settled in his native kingdom and became a great link between the North and South. Benedict Biscop (as he is commonly called) made no less than six journeys to Rome, always returning with some new contribution to the light, order, dignity or comfort of the English Church and people. At one time he brought back the arch-chanter John, to teach the clergy and monks the Gregorian chants and other points of the Roman ritual. At another time he brought artificers to fill in with glass the windows of the new stone churches, built by him and especially by Wilfrid,[3] with the help of masons from Gaul, after "the Roman manner," instead of the old wooden or wattled and thatched churches of the Britons and Scots. These churches were

[1] Aldfrid (*Aldfrith* or *Ealdfrith*), the natural son of Oswy, and king from 685–705, must not be confounded with Alfrid (*Alchfridus*, *Alhfrith*), the eldest legitimate son of Oswy, who appears to have died before his father.

[2] That is, *Bishop*, not as an ecclesiastical title, but a proper name found in the genealogies of the kings of Lindsey. As to whether it got there from the Latin *episcopus*, or one of those strange but frequent coincidences which defy improbability, there is no evidence.

[3] Chief among the churches of Wilfrid were that of York, which enclosed the old wooden church said to have been built by Paulinus, his minster-church at Ripon, and his cathedral at Hexham, reputed to have been the most splendid ecclesiastical building north of the Alps.

adorned with vessels for the altar, vestments, relics, and pictures, brought by Benedict from Italy; but his many "divine volumes" were a greater treasure.[1]

To find a permanent home for these books, as well as to carry out the monastic life after the pattern which he had seen in Rome and Italy, Benedict obtained from Ecgfrith a grant of the lands on the Wear and Tyne, on which he built the two famous monasteries of St. Peter's at Wearmouth and St. Paul's at Jarrow (674–682),[2] which were united under Abbot Ceolfrith (684).[3] The first and most lasting fruit of these foundations is preserved to us in the life and 'History' of the "Venerable BEDE."[4] Born on the land of Wearmouth about the time when it was first granted (673), he was placed in the abbey at the age of seven to be educated under Benedict (679), and removed probably with the monks who went to found Jarrow (682), where Ceolfrith was his tutor. He was ordained by John, bishop of Hexham, as deacon in his nineteenth year (690) and priest in his thirtieth year (701–2); but he spent his whole life in his monastery, where he died in 735. His own simple words describe the best side of the English monastic life of that age: "Spending the whole time of my life since then in the same monastery, I have given my whole labour to studying the Scriptures; and in the intervals of my observance of the monastic discipline and the daily occupation of chanting in the church,[5] I have always found pleasure

[1] The epithet used by Bede implies that these were chiefly works of sacred learning; and this agrees with what we know of the studies of the age; but the evidence is equally clear that they embraced a much wider range of literature.

[2] The establishment of these cloisters is related by Bede in his *Historia Abbatum Uuiremuthensium et Gyruuensium.* (The *uu*'s = *w*'s.)

[3] It was Ceolfrith who, in reply to a letter of inquiry from Naiton (Nectan) king of the Southern Picts, instructed him and his people in the Roman Use of Easter and the tonsure, and also sent him architects to build a stone church after the Roman manner, A.D. 710 (Bede, v. 21).

[4] Legend ascribes this title to the miraculous impulse which prompted a writer when at a loss for a word to fill up the epitaph:—

"Hac sunt in fossa Bedæ *venerabilis* ossa:"—

"Beneath these stones are laid the bones
Of Venerable Bede."

[5] Bede was a writer of hymns, chiefly, no doubt, in Latin, but some probably in English; for, in the account of his death by the monk Cuthbert, there is a fragment of a hymn which Bede recited (after some passages of Scripture in Latin) "in nostra quoque lingua, ut erat doctus *in nostris carminibus.*" At all events this proves the existence of hymns in the vernacular. Bede's contemporary, ALDHELM, first bishop of Sherborne (*ob.* 709), the most learned of the pupils of Abbot Hadrian, wrote poems in the Saxon dialect, though unfortunately the ecclesiastics only cared to preserve his Latin verses.

in either learning or teaching or writing."[1] His chief occupation was in "writing Commentaries on the Sacred Scriptures, to suit my own needs and those of my brethren, gathered from the works of the venerable fathers." His own list of these and his other works contains thirty-six titles, besides the 'Ecclesiastical History of our Island and Race,' which he brought down to the year 731.

From the middle of the seventh century Northumbria had been the chief English seat of learning, in which her kings took the lead together with the clergy. Bede celebrates the learning of Aldfrid and Ceolwulf, to whom he dedicates his history. The next king, Eadbert (737–758), supported the efforts made in the same cause by his brother EGBERT, archbishop of York (732–758),[2] who continued the school of learning established in that city by Bishop Wilfrid, and founded its famous library. The glory of the school of York culminated in Egbert's disciple ALCUIN,[3] who carried back to the revived Empire of the West the light which had come to Britain two centuries before.

But this fair picture has another side. The piety and learning of the Northumbrian kings were cast in the monastic mould, and they became more and more unfit to rule their own fierce people and to keep the supremacy over their warlike rivals. The defeat and death of Ecgfrith in his unprovoked attack upon the Picts broke the power of the kingdom towards the north. The dissensions of Bernicia and Deira were revived. One king after another received the tonsure by choice or by compulsion. Mercia shook off the Northumbrian yoke, and became engaged in the long contest for supremacy with Wessex; while the more peaceful virtues of the kings of either state found their goal in monastic seclusion or a pilgrimage to Rome. The incursions of the heathen Danes threatened to sweep away the English Church, as the heathen Angles and Saxons had swept away the British. It is not till the time of Alfred the Great that England resumes its part in the ecclesiastical history of Europe. Meanwhile, however, the great advance of the English Church in the seventh century was felt beyond the limits of the British Isles; and the light of Christianity was carried back to their German kindred on the Continent. The progress of these efforts will be traced in the next chapter.

[1] "Semper aut discere aut docere aut scribere dulce habui."—*H.E.* v. 25.

[2] He was elected bishop in 732, and received the pall from Rome in 735.

[3] In English, Ealwine. He was born probably in the very year of Bede's death, 735. We shall have to speak of him again in connection with Charles the Great. See Chap. XX. § 10.



Crown of Charles the Great, in the Imperial Treasury, Vienna.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CONVERSION OF THE GERMANS, AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

§ 1. English Missions to Frisia—Wilfrid; Egbert; Willibrord and others § 2. Winfrid, or ST. BONIFACE, the Apostle of Germany—His early life and ordination by GREGORY III. § 3. His appointment by Pope ZACHARIAS to reform the Frank Church—CHARLES MARTEL: his Victory over the Moors—His sons Carloman and Pepin—Councils held by Boniface—His Opponents—Boniface made Archbishop of Mainz. § 5. The Carolingian dynasty founded by PEPIN—Death of Boniface. § 6. The Pope, the Empire, and the Lombards—Overthrow of the Exarchate—Pepin's War with the Lombards—*Pepin's Donation* of the States of the Church. § 7. CHARLES THE GREAT, King of the Franks—He overthrows the

Lombard Kingdom, and visits Rome. § 8. The Supremacy of Charles acknowledged by POPE LEO III.—His Coronation by Leo as EMPEROR of the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE—Significance of this act—England independent of the Empire. § 9. Wars of Charles with the Saxons—Their Conversion by the Sword—Other such Conversions. § 10. ALCUIN at the Court of Charles—His Labours for Education—Ecclesiastical Legislation of Charles—His Death and Burial at Aix-la-Chapelle.

§ 1. ENGLISH missionaries were the chief though not the only agents in carrying the Gospel to the kindred tribes of Germany. We have already noticed the previous labours of the Scoto-Irish missionaries, and the beginning made by Wilfrid in Frisia, on his casual visit (678). The desire to continue his work was strongly cherished by his countryman Egbert,[1] who had settled in an Irish monastery; but, being warned that the mission was not destined for him, he sent to Frisia first Wigbert (690), and two years afterwards Willibrord, a Northumbrian, who had been trained in Wilfrid's monastery at Ripon before he joined Egbert in Ireland.

Willibrord, accompanied by twelve monks, landed in Frisia soon after the heathen king Radbod had been conquered by Pepin of Heristal, the Frank ruler of Austrasia, who encouraged their labours and sent Willibrord to Rome to obtain the sanction of Pope Sergius I. After further successes, Willibrord went to Rome again, and Sergius ordained him Archbishop of Utrecht, by the name of Clement (696). He laboured with success till his death in 739.[2]

Two missionaries, who were sent out meanwhile from the same monastery to the Old Saxons,[3] were martyred by that fierce people; and other efforts by the companions of Willibrord proved unsuccessful, till at length one of them, Winfrid, earned the fame of the "Apostle of Germany."

§ 2. Winfrid, better known as ST. BONIFACE, was born of a noble family at Crediton, in Devonshire, about 680, and was placed in a monastery at the age of seven. There he became famous as a preacher and expositor of Scripture. Devoting himself to labour among the heathen, he crossed to Frisia, in 716; but, being repulsed by the heathen king Radbod, he returned to his monastery in Hampshire. With the approval of Daniel, bishop of Winchester, he set out for Rome to obtain the support of Pope GREGORY II. (717).[4] Passing through Bavaria and Thuringia, he joined Willibrord in Frisia, where he laboured for three years (719–722). Declining the offer

[1] He afterwards converted the community of Iona to the Roman rule of Easter.

[2] Bede, v. 10, 11; Alcuin, *Vit. Willibrord.*

[3] By this name the English writers distinguished the Saxons of the Continent from those of Britain.

[4] Pope from 715 to 731.

of Willibrord to appoint him his successor, he went and preached to the Hessians, and baptized converts by thousands.

He was now summoned to Rome by Gregory, who ordained him as a regionary bishop, at the same time binding him by an oath to obey the Pope as the vicar of St. Peter, and to preserve the unity of the Catholic Church (Nov. 723). Our space prevents the detailed account of the labours of Boniface in Hessia and Thuringia, where he baptized 100,000 converts. In 732, Pope GREGORY III.[1] sent Boniface the pall of an archbishop, and received him with the highest honour when he visited Rome in 738. On his return he laboured for three years in Bavaria, and organized the Church in that country; but he was soon called to the work of reforming the Church among the Franks.

§ 3. The disorders of the Merovingian kingdom had greatly weakened the connection of that Church with Rome. "Such differences as arose were necessarily decided on the spot, and there is hardly any trace of intercourse with the Papal See between the pontificates of the first and second Gregories."[2] The decay of discipline was hastened by the turbulent spirit of the Frank ecclesiastics, and by the increased wealth which princes bestowed upon the clergy, often as a compromise for the indulgence of their vices. We must leave to civil history the process by which the royal power was transferred from the Merovingian kings to the "Mayors of the Palace," till their ascendency was made complete by the victory of CHARLES MARTEL over the Saracens in the *Battle of Tours*, which turned back the tide of Mohammedan conquest in Europe (732). To meet the cost of this mighty effort, Charles seized the treasures of the churches, and rewarded his warrior chiefs with the temporalities of bishoprics and abbeys; and Boniface found himself thwarted alike by the possessors of these church revenues and by the disorderly clergy.

On the death of Charles Martel and Gregory III. in the same year (741), the new Pope, ZACHARIAS,[3] gave Boniface authority to reform the whole Frank Church; and he was supported in this necessary work by the sons of Charles,—Carloman in Austrasia, and Pepin the Short in Neustria. He held a series of councils for the reformation of the Church; but these councils were composed not of bishops only, but were full assemblies of the national estates. Their decrees were published in the name of the princes; and the ecclesiastical appointments made by the Pope were confirmed by the civil power. Among other regulations, they enforced celibacy on the clergy, and forbad them to serve in war (a practice which had

[1] Pope from 731 to 741. [2] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 64.
[3] He was a Greek by birth, and Pope from 741 to 752.

become common), or to indulge in hunting or hawking. Their decrees for the suppression of heathen practices show interesting signs of the lingering remnants of paganism. The attempt to recover any part of the alienated benefices seems to have been unsuccessful; and the Frank clergy resisted the plans of Boniface for subjecting the bishops to the metropolitans, and these to the see of Rome. Now too, as throughout his whole career, Boniface was vexed by encounters with irregular teachers, especially those who had been sent out by the Irish Church; but, amidst all the charges of vice and heresy which he brings against them, the great common offence was their disparagement of saints, relics, pilgrimages and other observances, and of the authority of the Roman See.[1]

The authority of Boniface in the Frank Church required to be sustained by a higher dignity than that of a missionary bishop. He wished to fix his metropolitan see at Cologne, because of its proximity to Frisia; but the Frank nobles induced him to accept the bishopric of Mainz,[2] which he himself had caused the late bishop to resign for the offence of killing his enemy in battle. The Pope subjected to the new metropolitan all the German nations to whom he had preached (746).

§ 5. In 752 the great change was consummated by which Pepin the Short, having reunited the governments of Neustria and Austrasia on the retirement of his brother Carloman to a monastery, was proclaimed *King of the Franks* by the nobles and bishops at Soissons, with the sanction of Pope Zacharias; and the Merovingian dynasty was superseded by that of the *Karlings*[3] or Carolingians. There is much doubt as to the truth of the common statement, that Pepin was crowned by Boniface, who seems rather to have opposed the revolution, and to have lost some of the influence he had enjoyed while Carloman lived. He was troubled both by opposition in the Church, and by pagan incursions. Having obtained permission from Rome and the new king to name a successor to his see (753), he returned to the scene of his early labours in Frisia, and baptized thousands of new converts.

On Whitsun Eve (June 5, 755) he had gone to a place near Dockum to hold a confirmation, when his tent was surrounded by an armed band of Pagans, who massacred the whole party, fifty-two in number, Boniface forbidding all resistance. The martyr's body was carried up the Rhine to Mainz, and buried at

[1] For the conflicts of Boniface with Adebert, Clement, and Virgil, see Robertson, vol. ii. pp. 112–114.

[2] Also called Mentz, and in French Mayence.

[3] Sons of Charles (Martel). The form Carlo-*vingians* is a mere corruption, by false analogy, from an assimilation to Mero-*vingians*.

the monastery of Fulda, which he had founded, in 742,[1] as a centre of missionary effort in the heart of Germany, on the borders of the four nations to whom he had preached.

§ 6. The part taken by the see of Rome in the establishment of the Carolingian dynasty was the sequel of relations which had been for some time growing closer and closer with the Franks, and of the assurance of their support against the Byzantine Emperor, from whom the Popes had become more and more alienated.[2] They felt also the urgent need of help against the Lombards, who had conquered nearly all the Exarchate and advanced to the gates of Rome. The piteous appeals of Gregory III. to Charles Martel had been favourably received when, as already stated, both died in the same year (741). Gregory's successor, Zacharias, is said to have been the first Pope who was installed, since the time of Odoacer, without any confirmation from the civil power; a fact which may have made him more free to form a closer connection with the Frank ruler whom he concurred in making king.[3] Zacharias died about the time of Pepin's election, and his successor, STEPHEN II.,[4] was soon called on to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Lombard king Astulphus (Aistulf), who had in the same year put an end to the Exarchate by taking Ravenna (752).

After vain appeals to the Emperor[5] for aid, and to the Lombards' forbearance, Stephen crossed the Alps, and was received with high honour by Pepin, who was again crowned, with his sons, at St. Denys, by the Pope's hands, and invested with the title of Patrician of Rome (754). The Frank king led an army into Italy, and forced Astulphus to a treaty which was broken as soon as Pepin had recrossed the Alps. The Pope renewed his entreaties by letters, one of them being written in the name of St.

[1] The spot was chosen and the monastery founded by a party of monks sent out by Boniface, under Sturmi, a noble Bavarian, who became the first abbot.

[2] For the causes of this, see the following chapter.

[3] There is no foundation for the assumption made by Gregory VII. that Zacharias exercised a right of his office in deposing Childeric, the last Merovingian. That act was performed by the estates of the Franks, after they had obtained the Pope's affirmative answer to the question of casuistry, whether the royal state and title ought not to belong to him who really exercised the sovereign power—"Certainly (as Hallam says) the Franks, who raised the king of their choice upon their shields, never dreamt that a foreign priest had conferred upon him the right of governing."

[4] Sometimes called STEPHEN III., as another Stephen was elected before him, but died without being consecrated. He was Pope from 752 to 757.

[5] Constantine V. Copronymus.

Peter himself, who, by his own authority and that of the blessed Virgin, assured the Frank king of eternal salvation as the reward of his aid! This letter furnished Pepin with an answer to the Byzantine envoys, who, when he had again forced Astulphus to cede large territories, claimed the restoration of the Exarchate to the Emperor:—"It is for St. Peter that I have conquered," said Pepin; and on St. Peter's see he bestowed the territories forming the famous *Donation of Pepin*, which first gave the Pope the position of a temporal prince (755). It seems clear that the Popes were to hold these lands under the Frank king; while they still owned a nominal allegiance to the Byzantine Empire.

§ 7. In 768 Pepin was succeeded by his two sons, and on the death of Carloman (771) the kingdom was reunited under Charles, who is known in history as the Emperor CHARLES THE GREAT.[1] We need not detail the train of alliances and quarrels between Charles, the Lombards, and the Pope, which ended in the capture of Pavia by Charles and the deposition of Desiderius, the last king of the Lombards (774). The conqueror now paid his first visit to Rome, with the profoundest marks of reverence for St. Peter and his vicar, and made large additions to the Donation of Pepin. The extent of these is doubtful, and the Papal territory, or "States of the Church," may be described as corresponding to those which formed the Exarchate of Ravenna, as limited by the permanent conquests of the Lombards. Charles visited Rome again in 781, and a third time in 787, the year after he had become master of the south of Italy by a treaty with the Lombard Duke of Benevento. He maintained a close personal friendship with ADRIAN I. (772–795), till the Pope's death; but it is doubtful whether the civil supremacy of Charles had yet been exercised at Rome.

§ 8. The question was formally settled by the new Pope, LEO III. (795–815), who, in announcing his election to Charles, sent him the banner of Rome, with the keys of St. Peter's tomb, and offered the allegiance of the Roman citizens to the Frank crown. This act acknowledged the supremacy of Charles in the West. The tie with the Empire seems to have been already practically dis-

[1] It was not till after Charles's death that the title was added which made his historic name CAROLUS MAGNUS, the French contraction of which, *Charlemagne*, gives the false impression that he was a Frenchman and king of France. He was a pure German, bearing the German name of *Karl der Grosse*, king of the German Franks, and having his chief residence at the German city of Aachen (*Aix-la-Chapelle*). The Latin name of his kingdom, *Francia*, includes a large part of Germany (*Francia Orientalis*), as well as Gaul, or rather that non-German part of it (*Francia Occidentalis*), which cannot properly be called France till its separation from the Eastern kingdom.

solved; and it only remained to replace it by the revival of the Western Empire, as a civil authority co-ordinate with, and fitted to sustain, the spiritual authority of Rome. The opportunity arrived, a few years later, when Charles was called to judge in a case of the highest importance affecting the Pope. Some relatives of the late Pope attacked Leo and tried to mutilate him of his eyes and tongue (799). The wounded Pope fled to Charles[1] at Paderborn, followed by envoys from Rome with serious charges against him, which Charles promised to investigate at Rome. Meanwhile he sent Leo back with an escort of high ecclesiastics and civil officers, to restore him to his see. Charles arrived at Rome about the end of November 800; a court of Church dignitaries and nobles sat to hear the charges against Leo; but his accusers did not appear. The Court declared that the Pope was above all human judgment, and Leo took a solemn oath to his innocence of the charges (Dec. 23).

Two days later[2] the feast of Christmas was kept with the usual solemnity in St. Peter's church. As Charles knelt at mass before the high altar, Leo suddenly placed a splendid crown upon his head; and the people confirmed the act with acclamations—"To CHARLES, the most pious AUGUSTUS, crowned by God; to the great, the pacific EMPEROR, life and victory." Leo then anointed Charles as KING OF ITALY, with his son Pepin, and set the example of doing homage to the new Emperor. This great transaction severed Rome and the states of Latin Christendom from what must henceforth be called the Eastern Empire, and united them in a new Empire of the West, in which Rome was restored to its old rank as capital, and whose head was regarded as the inheritor of the ancient Empire, as well as the supreme sovereign in Western Christendom. The indissoluble connection of this sovereignty with the Church was afterwards denoted by the title of the *Holy Roman Empire*,[3] which survived in form, amidst all changes of real significance and power, for just a thousand years, till the French Emperor Napoleon, who affected to be the successor of Charles the Great and was really the master of Germany, caused its abdication by Francis II. (1806).

The new Empire was acknowledged after a few years by the

[1] He was then engaged in his war with the Saxons.

[2] According to the reckoning then used in the West, the year began on Christmas Day; so that the coronation of Charles was on the first day of the ninth century, A.D. 801; but, according to the usage of history, it is dated in A.D. 800.

[3] The epithet "Holy" was first added by Frederick Barbarossa (1152), but the *idea* expressed by it was an essential part of the Empire from its beginning. On the whole subject, see Dr. Bryce's admirable work, *The Holy Roman Empire*.

Eastern Emperor Nicephorus (812); but one exception to its acknowledgment in the West deserves special notice. In this sense Britain still claimed to be "a world by itself." Egbert, who had recovered the throne of Wessex in this very year (800), seems to have been guided by the example of Charles in the policy of uniting the several kingdoms under his supremacy, and his successors assumed the titles used by both the Eastern and Western Emperors, *Basileus* and *Imperator*. This proclamation of independence towards the Roman Empire could not but foster the remaining elements of independence towards the Roman Church; and the union of the English Church by Theodore had preceded by a century that of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom by Egbert.

§ 9. The main events of Charles's reign of forty-six years, before and after his elevation to the Empire (768–814), belong to civil history. Among those within our province are the wars by which he forced Christianity on the Saxons, who occupied the region of Lower Germany between the Rhine and the Elbe and still further to the East, and had long been in a state of constant war with the Franks. The eighteen campaigns of Charles against this confederacy extended over thirty-three years (772–805). In the first he destroyed the great national idol called *Irminsul*, which stood on a wooded mountain (now *Stadtberg*) near Eresburg; and the Saxons retaliated by destroying the churches and monasteries as far as the Rhine. The war assumed a religious character; the Saxons, when defeated, were compelled to submit to baptism, and when victorious they returned to their heathen worship. Laws of extreme severity, extending even to the penalty of death for all who refused baptism, and requiring the compulsory baptism of their children, were varied by milder measures, gifts, and offers of alliance with the Franks on equal terms. Bishoprics and monasteries were founded in the conquered districts, and the towns that grew up round them became seats of civilization. Young Saxon hostages were brought up in the Christian faith. At length the country was conquered as far as the Elbe; and, as a final measure, ten thousand Saxons were removed into the Frank territory (804). Similar means were employed to force the profession of Christianity on the Frisians, the Wiltzes (a Slavonic people beyond the Elbe), the Bavarians, the Avars in Pannonia, and the Bohemians. But in all cases there were devoted missionaries ready to bring the conquered people to a purer faith; and it was one of Alcuin's great services that he urged the sending of such men to teach the nominal converts, while he protested against the indiscriminate administration of baptism and the exaction of tithes as a condition of peace.

§ 10. The great man just named, who has been called the intel-

lectual prime minister of Charles, was, as we have seen, an Englishman, and a pupil and teacher in Archbishop Egbert's school at York, where his lectures attracted many visitors from the Continent. Being sent to Rome to obtain the pall for Archbishop Eanbald (780), he met King Charles at Parma, and accepted his invitation to become master of the Palatine school for the education of the royal and noble youths of the Franks, which always accompanied the court. Charles, who worked hard to repair the defects of his education, became himself one of Alcuin's pupils, and soon made him his chief confidential adviser in affairs of State, and the director of his efforts for the education of his people, both clergy and laity, for the learning of the former was at a low ebb. When Alcuin wished for a more retired life, Charles gave him the abbacy of St. Martin at Tours (796), where he reformed the disorders of the monks, enriched the library with books from England, and raised the abbey school to high renown. From his monastery he kept up a correspondence with Charles on learning, religion, and state affairs; and he took part in the controversies of the time. Alcuin did not long survive the elevation of Charles to the Empire, dying in 804.

Space does not allow a full account of Charles's measures for the spread of education and the regulation of the Church, which he aimed to bring everywhere nearer to the Roman model. When the Frank clergy appealed to him in a liturgical dispute with the Roman, he asked them, "Which is purer—the stream or the source?" He brought into the Frank Church the Roman forms of chanting and the service of the mass established by Gregory the Great. His ecclesiastical legislation was made by his own authority, though the laws were discussed and promulgated in assemblies of the laity and clergy in spring and autumn. Nearly one-third of his Capitularies (415 out of 1126) are upon ecclesiastical matters. His part in the Iconoclast controversy, and the proceedings of the Council of Frankfort (794), belong to the following chapter. He was as diligent as Constantine in his attendance at the services of the Church; and he is said himself to have composed some hymns. Among the churches built by Charles, the most famous is the cathedral of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle, the Roman Aquæ Granis), which he adorned with marble pillars from Rome and Ravenna, the two Western capitals. At this city, his birthplace and favourite residence, he died (Jan. 814), and was buried in the great church which he had built. The Emperor was *beatified* by the antipope Paschal III., in 1165, and altars are dedicated to him at Aix-la-Chapelle, Frankfort, and Zürich; but he is not enrolled as a saint in the Roman calendar.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE CONTROVERSY ON ADOPTIONISM.

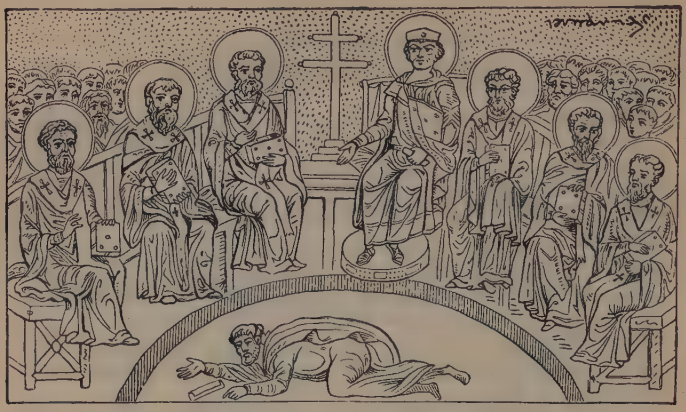
A brief notice will suffice for a new phase of the controversy on the Sonship of Christ, which broke out in the West under Charles the Great.

Felix, bishop of Urgel in Catalonia (which was within the dominions of Charles), a man to whose piety and learning we have the testimony of Alcuin—came forward as the chief teacher of the doctrine that our Lord, in respect of His humanity, was the Son of God by *adoption*, not by partaking of the Divine substance. This view seemed to have grown out of the use of the word adoption by some early writers,* and in the Spanish Liturgy; only in the sense of the *assumption* of human nature by the Son of God. But Felix and his followers used the term in a sense which their opponents charged with being equivalent to the Nestorian heresy. They did not deny the union of the Divine and human natures in the person of Christ, and they even accepted the title of *Theotokos* or *Deipara*, as applied to the mother of His humanity; but they held it to be a confusion of the two natures to say that Christ was the proper and real Son of God, not only in His Godhead, but in His whole Person. "He cannot have two fathers in the same nature; in His humanity He is naturally the Son of David, and by adoption and grace the Son of God. By nature He is the *only begotten* Son of God; by adoption and grace the *first begotten*. In the Son God, the Son of Man becomes very Son of God; but it is only in a *nuncupative* way; his adoption is like that of the saints, although it is after a far more excellent fashion."

Felix, who was the first to give the doctrine a definite form, obtained the support of Elipandus, bishop of Toledo and primate of Spain under the Mohammedan dominion (A.D. 783); and the latter engaged in violent controversy, mingled with coarse personal invective, against the Abbot Beatus and Etherius, bishop of Osma, the first public opponents of the new heresy, which Pope Adrian denounced in a letter to the orthodox bishops of Spain (785). Elipandus was beyond the jurisdiction of the Frank king; but Charles summoned Felix before a Council at Ratisbon (792); and, though he there abjured his errors, he was sent in chains to Rome, and only obtained his liberty by making a most solemn profession of the orthodox Faith. But as soon as he returned to Urgel, he renewed his heretical teaching, and fled into the Mohammedan part of Spain.

Alcuin was invited from England, to support the orthodox doctrine at the Council of Frankfort, which condemned Adoptionism as a heresy which "ought to be utterly rooted out of the Church" (794). A friendly controversy ensued between Alcuin and Felix, the former urging the latter to give up the term *adoption*, as the sole point which made his teaching heretical. A defence, which Felix addressed to the Frank king, was answered at the request of Charles by Alcuin's 'Treatise,' in seven books, which he styled "these five loaves and two little fishes" (*Opera*, tom. i. p. 788). After renewed condemnations of the doctrine by councils at Friuli (796) and Rome (799), and successful efforts made by Benedict of Aniane and the bishops of Lyon and Narbonne to reclaim its followers in the diocese of Urgel, Felix was induced by a promise of safety to appear before a Council at Aix-la-Chapelle (799). Alcuin left his retirement at Tours to meet him in argument, and after a six days' discussion Felix declared himself convinced; but he was detained at Lyon, under the charge of Archbishop Leidrod and his successor Agobard, till his death in 818. It was then found that he had left a paper reasserting the chief points of his heresy, of which Agobard wrote a refutation; and from that time the Adoptionist doctrine re-appears only in the writings of individuals, not as a heresy of any wide influence.

* For example, in Hilary of Poitiers, *De Trinitate*, ii. 27:—"Potestatis dignitas non amittitur dum carnis humilitas *adoptatur*." See Robertson, vol. ii. pp. 165, f., for a more detailed account of the Adoptionist doctrine.



Second Council of Nicæa. From a MS. in the Vatican.
The Emperor, Constantine VI., is sitting on a raised seat near the altar. The prostrate figure represents a penitent Iconoclast.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE EASTERN CHURCH.

ESPECIALLY THE MOHAMMEDAN CONQUEST AND THE ICONOCLAST DISPUTES. CENTURIES VII.–IX.

§ 1. Invasion of CHOSROËS II., king of Persia—Victories of the Emperor HERACLIUS—Religious Character of the War. § 2. Rise of MOHAMMED —Mohammedanism and Christianity—Proclamation of a War against Unbelievers. § 3. Arab Conquest of Syria and Jerusalem—Of Egypt, Persia, North Africa, and Spain—Victory of Charles Martel in Gaul. § 4. State of the Eastern Church—The Emperor LEO III. THE ISAURIAN —His Edicts against Images—Beginning of the *Iconoclast Disputes*. § 5. Resistance to Leo—JOHN OF DAMASCUS—His Arguments for Image-worship—Opposition of Popes GREGORY II. and GREGORY III.—Separation of Greece and Illyricum from Rome. § 6. The Emperor CONSTANTINE V. COPRONYMUS—His iconoclast zeal—Persecution of the Patriarch Anastasius—Council at Constantinople in 754: its Decrees against Images—Persecution of the Monks—Fate of the Patriarch Constantine. §7. LEO IV., CONSTANTINE VI., and IRENE—The Patriarchs Paul and Tarasius—The *Second Council of Nicæa*—Restoration of Image-worship. § 8. Opposition to Image-worship in the Frank Church—Limit to the use of Images—Council of Gentilly—Charles the Great, Alcuin, and the *Caroline Books*—The Council of Frankfort. §9. The Emperor LEO V. THE ARMENIAN renews the attempt to put down Image-worship—The Patriarch Nicephorus and Theodore the Studite—Iconoclast Council of 814—Opposition of POPE PASCHAL I.—Murder of Leo the Armenian. § 10. The Emperor MICHAEL II. BALBUS disappoints the Image-worshippers—Banishment

and Death of Theodore the Studite—Letter of Michael to the Western Emperor, LOUIS THE PIOUS. § 11. The Emperor THEOPHILUS and the Patriarch John the Grammarian—Iconoclast Synod of 832—Persecution of Image-worshippers—The Empress THEODORA and her son MICHAEL III.—The Patriarch Methodius—Restoration of Image-worship by the Council of 842—The *Feast of Orthodoxy*. § 12. Influence of Bardas—Vices of Michael III.—Banishment of the Patriarch Ignatius, and appointment of PHOTIUS—His literary eminence. § 13. Part taken by Pope NICOLAS I. in the "First and Second" Council at Constantinople—The Pope condemns Photius. § 14. Conversion of the *Bulgarians;* a new cause of dispute between Rome and Constantinople—Pope Nicolas anathematized by a Byzantine Synod—Photius on the "pernicious novelties" of Rome. § 15. BASIL I. THE MACEDONIAN deposes Photius and restores Ignatius—The *Eighth General Council* (in the *Roman* reckoning) condemns Photius, and confirms Image-worship. § 16. Death of Ignatius, and restoration of Photius—The *Eighth General Council* (in the *Greek* reckoning)—Photius again condemned by Pope JOHN VIII., and deposed by the Emperor LEO VI.—His Death in exile. § 17. Sequel of the Image-controversy in the Western Empire—The *Council of Paris* condemns both the destruction of Images and their superstitious use—Embassies of Louis the Pious to Rome and Constantinople to attempt an agreement. § 18. Opposition to Images by Agobard of Lyon, Claudius of Turin, and Hincmar of Rheims—Gradual approach of the Frank Church to the Roman view. § 19. Dispute raised by the fourth marriage of Leo VI. § 20. Spread of Christianity in the East during the Ninth Century.

§ 1. WHILE Western Christendom was extended and consolidated, whether for good or evil, under one spiritual head and the revived Empire, the Eastern Empire and Church were assailed by terrible foes and torn by fresh disputes, which made the breach with the West irreparable. The Empire had always a rivalry with the kings of Persia, who, in their alternations of strength or weakness, chiefly from intestine factions, were formidable foes or friends and even suppliants to the Byzantine monarch. Thus Chosroës II. (590–628), driven out by a usurper at the beginning of his reign, took refuge with the Emperor Maurice, who restored him to his throne. On the murder of Maurice by Phocas (602),[1] Chosroës undertook a war of vengeance, and was still overrunning province after province, when HERACLIUS I., son of the Exarch of Africa, dethroned and slew Phocas, and obtained the purple (610–641). The new Emperor sued in vain for a humiliating peace, and Chosroës advanced to Chalcedon, where the Persian camp stood for ten years in sight of Constantinople. At length Heraclius took

[1] See Chap. XIX., § 5.

the bold resolution of invading Persia (621); and in six brilliant campaigns he utterly overpowered Chosroës, whose deposition and death at the hands of his son was followed by a peace (628).

This war demands our notice for the religious character which it assumed. When the Persian king took Jerusalem, aided by a force of 26,000 Jews, the holy places were defiled and plundered of the treasures offered by pilgrims during three centuries, and the "True Cross," discovered by Helena, the mother of Constantine, was carried off to Persia. When Heraclius became the invader in his turn, he destroyed the Persian temples, quenched the sacred fire, and brought back the Cross.[1] The Jews were punished by the renewal of Hadrian's edict, forbidding them to approach the Holy City.

§ 2. The year in which Heraclius made his first campaign in Persia is memorable in civil and religious history as the Epoch of the *Hegira* or *Flight* of MOHAMMED from Mecca to Medina (622). This is not the place to tell the story of the new Prophet, or to describe the character of his religion. It is enough to say that the revelations of the Old and New Testaments furnished many of its elements;[2] that much of their religious and moral teaching was adopted; the prophets were honoured as sent by God, and Jesus Christ as the greatest of them all, till he was eclipsed by Mohammed himself. Thus to speculative minds, and to those dissatisfied with the discords and corruptions of the existing Christianity, the new religion offered the tempting bait of *progress*. It appealed, like the Christian faith, to the deep sense of entire dependence upon God, in the principle which gave it its very name, ISLAM, that is, *submission* or *resignation*.[3] Above all, it recalled to the idolatrous Arabians, and to the Christians who were becoming scarcely less idolaters in their reverence for forms and rites, saints and relics,

[1] The festival of the Exaltation of the Cross (Sept. 14) was observed especially in memory of its restoration by Heraclius; but it appears to have been instituted much earlier. (See *Dict. of Christ. Antiqq.*, Art. CROSS, EXALTATION OF.)

[2] The statement that Mohammed learned something of Christianity from Nestorian missionaries has already been noticed; and, at all events, it is certain that some of the Arab tribes had embraced Judaism, and that Christianity had been spread among them, both by orthodox missionaries and by heretical refugees from persecution in the Empire, such as Gnostics in the earlier times, and Nestorians and Monophysites more recently.

[3] This name expressed also the subjection which Mohammed required to his mission as the sole condition of peace. It is derived from *salm*, "peace" (the same word as the Hebrew *salem*), of which *Islám* is the verbal noun or infinitive, and *Moslim* (the appellation of believers) the participle of the causative form, which has been corrupted into *Mussulman*. The exact significance of *Islam* is *to make peace*, or *to obtain immunity*, by submission to a superior.

pictures and images, the first great truth, common to the religion of Arabs, Hebrews, and Christians, *There is one God;* and there was enough discontent with existing teaching to promise a wide response to the addition, *Mohammed is His Prophet.* It was not, however, as in the case of Christianity, by the response of the mind and heart, that the new religion was spread, but by the martial fanaticism of the wild Arab tribes. When Mohammed was rejected and sentenced to death by the Koreishites of Mecca, there was a band of disciples at Medina who welcomed the fugitive as their prince and prophet; and he now proclaimed that the season of forbearance and persuasion was past, that he had received the command to spread his religion by the sword, to destroy all monuments of idolatry, and to wage a holy war with unbelievers to the ends of the earth. The simple choice between the Koran or death was offered to all idolaters; but an unresisting submission to tribute might purchase for Jews and Christians a limited toleration.

§ 3. Having subdued his enemies the Koreish, and taken the sacred city of Mecca, a conquest which secured the devotion of all the Arab tribes, Mohammed sent envoys to the Emperor, the King of Persia, and other princes of the East, announcing his mission as the Apostle of God, and demanding their obedience to the faith of Islam. The attack on the Roman Empire was begun by the invasion of Palestine; and Syria was overrun by Kaled, "the sword of God," before the prophet's death at the age of sixty-three, in 632. Jerusalem, esteemed by Mohammed as a sacred city, next after Mecca and Medina, was taken in 637 by the Caliph[1] Omar, who built on the site of the Temple the mosque which bears his name. The conquest of Syria was completed in 639; two years more effected that of Egypt (641).[2]

In the same year died the Emperor Heraclius, reduced by prolonged illness to be the inactive spectator of the loss of the provinces which he had recovered from Persia, and of the fall of that rival Empire (636–651). The conquest of North Africa, delayed by the resistance of the barbarian tribes, as well as by dissensions among the successors of the Prophet, occupied more than half a century. Carthage was taken and destroyed and the last traces of the imperial rule driven out, in 698, and Mauretania was finally subdued by Musa in 709.

Two years later the Arab conquerors, now known to Christendom by the name of the conquered Moors, invited into Spain by the

[1] *Kalifeh*, i.e. *successor* to the Prophet.

[2] The story of the burning of the Alexandrian library by the order of Omar to Amrou, who wished to preserve it, is far too doubtful to be recorded as a fact.

treachery of Julian, the governor of Ceuta, crossed the straits which still bear the name of their victorious general.[1] King Roderick, "the last of the Goths," was defeated in a battle near Xeres, and perished in the Guadalquivir; and the conquest of Spain was effected in two years (711–713). Crossing the Pyrenees, they established themselves in the south of Gaul; and they had overrun Aquitaine to the banks of the Loire, when the great victory won by Charles Martel put an end to their conquering career in Europe (732), and they were driven back beyond the Pyrenees. From that chain round to "the bordering flood of old Euphrates" all the provinces of the old Roman Empire were now subject to the Moslem rule, which extended also over the old Persian Empire to the banks of the Oxus and the Indus. Meanwhile Asia Minor had been overrun, and Constantinople twice besieged, first during seven years, in the reign of Constantine IV. Pogonatus[2] (668–675); and again for thirteen months (717–718) by a vast fleet and army, in the reign of Leo the Isaurian. But the strength of the walls, the power of the famous *Greek fire*, and the ravages of disease among the besiegers, defeated both attempts; and, in the second siege, a hired force of Bulgarians inflicted an immense slaughter on the Moslems.

§ 4. These conquests reduced the Eastern Church to the narrowed limits left to the Empire, besides the remnant of Christians who were tolerated in the conquered provinces. In Syria and Egypt, in particular, the oppressed Nestorians and Monophysites, who had been disposed to welcome the invaders, enjoyed their protection for a time, while the orthodox Greeks were driven out of Egypt. The patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, with a great number of bishoprics, now became little more than titular; but their bearers still held the authority due to them in the Councils of the Church, at which however their attendance was seldom practicable.[3]

We have already noticed, as a stage in the long series of "Christological" disputes, the Monothelite controversy, which sprang up in the reign of Heraclius, exactly at the epoch of Mohammed's rise, and was decided by the Sixth General Council of Constantinople (681).[4] The smouldering embers of that dispute were soon overpowered in the new conflagration raised by the impolitic zeal of LEO III. THE ISAURIAN,[5] a soldier of barbarian race, whose ability

[1] *Gibraltar* is a contraction of *Jebel-el-Tarik*, the "Mount of Tarik," who led the Arabs into Spain. [2] Emperor from 668 to 685.

[3] For the strange fiction by which they were represented at the Second Council of Nicæa, see below, § 7. [4] Chap. XVI. §§ 13–15.

[5] Supported by the army, Leo founded a new dynasty by overthrowing the usurper, Theodosius III., and reigned twenty-four years (717-741).

and energy won the Empire of the East, which he was immediately called to defend (as we have seen) against the Arabs. Whether moved by his own zeal, or by his ecclesiastical counsellors, Leo put into practice the religious authority which had long been claimed by the Emperors. An edict for the forcible baptism of Jews and Montanists (723) was followed by another forbidding the worship of images or pictures[1] (724).[2] The only change made at first seems to have been to move the pictures from low positions on the walls, where they were touched and kissed; a change which (as Leo explained when he found the offence he had given) preserved them from profanation. The immediate motive of this reform may be traced, in part at least, to the rapid and easy progress of the Mohammedan conquest. The reverence for images and pictures, which had now grown to a great height, especially in the Eastern Church, provoked the charge of idolatry from the Mohammedans;[3] and the miraculous virtues for which they were reverenced, rather than for the suggestive and elevating influences of "religious art," had proved as helpless against the conquerors as the idols of the heathen Saxons which a missionary or a converted priest had dared to insult and break in pieces.[4] But Leo soon learned the mistake of attempting to uproot by force of law a superstition, the long use of which had overpowered its only true antidote, the feeling of spiritual worship. To the remonstrance, "What aileth thee?"—the old answer was ready, "Ye have taken away *my gods*."[5] In the Greek archipelago, where numbers of the fanatical monks[6] had found a refuge from the Arabs, the excitement broke out into rebellion; and a pretender to the Empire appeared with a fleet before Constantin-

[1] The proper sense of the word *Image* (εἰκών, *imago*) is any *likeness;* but whereas the English word is commonly used for a figure modelled, carved, or cast, it should be remembered that the "images" of sacred objects in the early Church were chiefly pictures, mosaics, or other representations on a flat surface; and in the Eastern Church they were solely of this kind, to the exclusion of all works of sculpture, and are so to the present day in the Greek Church. "The appearance of *relief* is, however, given to many of them by the covers of silver or other metal in which they are enshrined—the *nimbi* (or *glories*) and the dresses being wrought in the metal, which has openings for displaying the faces and hands of the pictures." (Robertson, vol. i. p. 158.) For a full account of the progress of image-worship, and the Iconoclast controversy, see the *Dict. of Christian Antiqs.*, Art. Images.

[2] There is some doubt as to the date.

[3] In the year 715 the Mohammedan prince Jesid, son of Omar, had ordered the images to be removed from the Christian churches in his dominions. (Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 6215 A.M.)

[4] See Bede's beautiful story of the priest Coifi in Northumbria, and many like cases, as well as the older example of the colossal image of Serapis (Chap. XI. § 14).

[5] Judges xviii. 23, 24.

[6] Besides being the most strenuous advocates of image-worship, the monks were the chief manufacturers of the images and pictures.

ople.[1] The ill-equipped force was dispersed by the Greek fire, and the leaders were punished; but the attempt provoked a severer edict, ordering the destruction of all images that could be taken down from the churches, and that the paintings on the walls should be covered with a coating of smooth plaster.

§ 5. The venerable patriarch Germanus, who had always hitherto shown a pliant temper, resisted all the efforts of Leo to make him take part in or sanction these measures, and was deprived of his see at the age of ninety-five (730). His successor Anastasius had a narrow escape from the popular fury at the taking down of an image of the Saviour, called the *Surety*,[2] from over the Brazen Gate of the imperial palace; and for this riot many, especially of the monks, were scourged, mutilated, or banished. Such was the beginning of the great *Iconoclast*[3] agitation, which disturbed the Church for above a century, in both divisions of the Empire, and proved one of the chief causes of the final severance between the East and West.

The ablest Eastern defender of image-worship was JOHN OF DAMASCUS, a civil officer in the service of the Caliph.[4] He wrote three Orations, in which all the arguments that can be urged on that side may be found. The prohibition to the Jews was a special safeguard against their falling into the idolatry around them; and to them God was revealed only as the invisible Spirit. But the incarnation had shown God visible in the flesh; and the images and pictures were a fit means of presenting the incarnate Deity to the eyes of those of later times, in the likeness which his first disciples saw. Images are for the unlearned what books are for those who can read; they are to the sight what speech is to the ears. True, images are material, like other sacred objects; but, says John, "I do not adore the matter, but the Author of matter, who for my sake became material, that by matter he might work out my salvation." There is a worship reserved for God alone, different from that which

[1] Mr. Finlay (vol. ii. p. 43) thinks that this insurrection was provoked by heavy taxation, and that the question of images was added to the grievance. Robertson, vol. ii. p. 90.

[2] Ἀντιφωνητής. "This name was derived from a tale of its having miraculously become security for a pious sailor who had occasion to borrow money (Hefele, vol. iii. p. 348)." Robertson, vol. ii. p. 90.

[3] The opponents of the images were properly called *Icononomachi* (εἰκονομάχοι), but they were invidiously styled *Iconoclasts* (εἰκονοκλάσται, from εἰκών, *image*, and κλάω, *break in pieces*).

[4] John retired to the monastery of St. Sabbas, near Jerusalem, and was afterwards ordained a presbyter. He was the most famous theologian of his time; and his 'Correct Exposition of the Orthodox Faith' was long the standard manual of systematic theology in the Eastern Church. By its translation into Latin in the twelfth century, this work became a chief source of the scholastic theology.

is given for His sake to His angels and saints, and to consecrated things. He puts the images of the saints on the same ground as the festivals held in their honour and the dedication of churches to them, all being alike *memorials*, by which we pay due honour to their memory, and recal their example to ours. John quotes the Scriptures and the Fathers with the licence common to controversialists in that age. Finally, he denies the right of the Emperor to legislate at all on such a subject, broadly announcing the principle that "the well-being of the State pertains to princes, but the ordering of the Church to pastors and teachers."[1]

The like arguments were urged by POPE GREGORY II. in a letter to Leo, full of reproach and even defiance. The edicts produced violent disturbances in Italy, which cost the life of an Exarch, brought the Lombards to the gates of Rome, and nearly severed the now feeble union with the Empire.[2] GREGORY III. (731), a Syrian by birth, took a still more decided course, and held a council which anathematized the iconoclasts, though without naming the Emperor. Leo confiscated the papal revenues in the parts within his power, especially Calabria and Sicily, and transferred Greece and Illyricum to the patriarchate of Constantinople (733). Thus the ecclesiastical boundary between the East and West was again made to coincide with the old civil division of the two empires, just before their final severance.

§ 6. We have seen how that severance was virtually made by Pope Zacharias, who succeeded Gregory III. in the same year in which Leo III. was succeeded by his son CONSTANTINE V. COPRONYMUS (741–775). The character of this prince has been blackened by the animosity of ecclesiastical writers, and is stained with cruelty; but his ability and energy are beyond dispute. His brother-in-law, Artavasdus, in fear for his own safety, claimed the purple, and, having been crowned by the patriarch Anastasius, began the restoration of the images. The pretender was put down after three years, and Anastasius was blinded and exposed to public ignominy; but he was restored to the patriarchate, in order, as it seems, to mark the Emperor's contempt for the clergy.

Throughout the controversy, the supporters of images had protested against the Emperor's proceeding without a General Council, which Leo had also declared his intention of convening. Constantine now summoned a council to meet at Constantinople, which was attended by no less than 338 bishops from the Emperor's dominions,

[1] Robertson, vol. i. pp. 92, 93.

[2] There is, however, no sufficient authority for the alleged excommunication of the Emperor by Gregory, which extreme Romanists cite as a precedent for later papal pretensions. (See Robertson, vol. ii. p. 96.)

but all the patriarchs were absent, and the West was unrepresented (754).[1] It utterly condemned all images and pictures, made for religious purposes, as idolatrous; and ordered their removal, and the deposition and excommunication of those who should worship or even keep them; but it declared the lawfulness of invoking the Virgin and the Saints. All supporters of image-worship were anathematized, including, by name, Germanus, John of Damascus, and other leaders in the late disputes. The Emperor required all the clergy and the best known monks to subscribe the decrees, and all his subjects to take an oath against images. In removing the images from the churches he tried to gratify the popular taste for decoration by substituting for the wall-paintings pictures of birds and fruits, and even scenes from the chase, the circus, and the theatre, an expedient which was naturally resented as a profanation. Many relics of saints also were defiled and thrown away. The monks who showed a resolute spirit of opposition were forced to break their vows, and were subjected to indignities and cruelties which it would be tedious to relate, and even to death, which they often provoked by their acts of defiant outrage. The new patriarch, Constantine, besides being required publicly to forswear images, was compelled (if we may believe the ecclesiastical writers) to violate his vows by taking part in the intemperate and indecent banquets and music of the palace. After all these compliances, he was banished to an island on a charge of treason; and the Emperor, who had contemptuously restored the blind Anastasius, now ventured on the insult of raising a Slavonian eunuch, Nicetas, to the patriarchal throne. Within two years Constantine was brought to the capital to be publicly excommunicated, with a succession of insults and tortures; and at last, when, hoping to appease his persecutor, he consented to declare his approval of the decisions of the Council and the Emperor's orthodoxy, he was immediately beheaded in prison, and buried in the place assigned to criminals and excommunicated persons (767). The iconoclast persecution was kept up till the emperor's death (775).

§ 7. LEO IV. (775-780), the mild and feeble son of Constantine, was mated with a wife who fills the chief place in the remaining history of this age. IRENE, an Athenian, was devoted to the cause of images, though she was obliged to act with caution during her husband's reign. The banished monks were allowed to return, and were welcomed by the people as confessors; and several supporters

[1] Anastasius had just died; and Pope Stephen refused to obey the citation. The Council called itself the *Seventh Œcumenical*, but this title was set aside in favour of the Second Nicene Council, which reversed its decrees.

of image-worship were raised to bishoprics, though obliged to dissemble their opinions. Within five years, however, the death of Leo left Irene sole guardian of their son, CONSTANTINE VI. (780–797), a boy of ten years old. She issued an edict for liberty of conscience, and numbers more of the monks returned to inflame the popular zeal. But a large party of the laity were iconoclasts, and the decisions of a general council and the imperial edicts could not be at once reversed, especially as the army was faithful to the memory of Constantine V.

In 784, the patriarch Paul retired to a monastery, declaring to the Empress that he was moved by repentance for having accepted the see on condition of supporting the iconoclast decrees, and that the only way to restore the Church to the unity of Christendom was their reversal by a General Council. He died soon after; and the acclamations of the people, perhaps prompted by the court, called for the election of Tarasius, the imperial secretary, a consular of noble birth and high character, who, with seeming reluctance, accepted the office on the condition that a general council should be summoned. Pope Adrian I. recognized the election of Tarasius, and consented to send legates to the Council, which was convened at Constantinople in August 786. But its opening was interrupted by a mutiny of the iconoclast soldiery, and the Empress prudently adjourned the meeting, only to invest it with greater dignity, as well as safety, by re-assembling it at the city where Constantine had held the First Council.

The *Seventh Œcumenical Council*,[1] the *Second of Nicœa*, met on September 24th, 787, and held its eighth and last session at Constantinople on October 23rd. It was attended by about 350 bishops and some civil dignitaries, under the presidency of Tarasius, who, however, gave the first seats of dignity to the Roman envoys. The three Eastern patriarchs had a fictitious representation by two monks.[2] The purpose of the Council was a foregone conclusion, and it proceeded at once to receive the penitent iconoclast bishops to communion, not without protests from the monks, who declared that opposition to image-worship was worse than the worst heresies, because it denied the incarnation of the Lord. The Council proceeded, according to precedent, to the reading

[1] According to the reckoning accepted by the Greek and Roman Churches, though not without dispute.

[2] The Empire being at peace with the Saracens, invitations had been sent to the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; but the envoys were intercepted by some monks, who pleaded so urgently the danger of giving offence to the Mohammedan rulers, that they prevailed on the imperial officers to accept two of their own number as representatives, in the assumed character of secretaries to the patriarchs.

of authorities from the Fathers for the worship of images, which at most testified only to the impression made upon the writers by portraits of saints or scenes from sacred history; but the want of argument was supplied by the enthusiastic comments of the hearers.[1] A famous story of a venerable monk of Olivet was cited, as it had been already by John of Damascus, to prove how far reverence for images exceeded the duties of chastity and regard for oaths, and hence that the oaths taken against image-worship were not binding. On the proposal of the papal legates, an image was brought in and received the adoration of the Council. The decrees of the iconoclast synod of 754 were read, with a refutation which was declared to have been dictated by the Holy Ghost.

The final decree of the Council was, that images and pictures of the Saviour and the Virgin, of angels and saints, were to be set up for kissing and reverence (*προσκύνησιν*), but not for that real worship (*λατρείαν*) which belongs to God alone.[2] They were to be honoured, like the cross, the Gospels, and other holy memorials, with incense and lights; "forasmuch as the honour paid to the image passes on to the original, and he who adores an image adores in it the person of him whom it represents." Anathemas were pronounced against the opponents of images and all other heretics; and when the young Emperor and the Empress-mother signed the decrees, they were hailed with acclamations as another Constantine and Helena. It is worthy of notice that the sanction of this Council to images of Christ and the Virgin, angels and saints, did not extend to ideal representations of the Godhead, either as the Trinity, or in the separate persons of the Father and the Holy Spirit. The whole defence of images of Christ was rested on His incarnation.

Solemnly as the question seemed to be now settled, there was a large party of the clergy, and a larger among the laity, opposed to the worship of images; and the strongest element of the opposition lay in the army, which cherished the memory of the warlike iconoclast emperors, Leo the Isaurian and Constantine V. We shall soon see how by the rise of another such emperor, who renewed

[1] See, for example, the use made of the weeping of Gregory of Nyssa at the sight of a picture of the sacrifice of Isaac. (Robertson, vol. ii. p. 156.)

[2] The mere verbal pretence of this distinction, so often repeated as if it had a meaning, is betrayed by the Council's own perversion of the passage from which it is taken, where the devil asks Christ to *fall down and worship* him (*προσκυνήσῃς*), and our Lord replies, "It is written, Thou shalt *worship* (*προσκυνήσεις*) the Lord thy God, and Him *only* shalt thou *serve* (*λατρεύσεις*)"—converting a Hebrew parallelism of *emphatic reduplication* into a *distinction*. (Matt. iv. 10; Luke iv. 8; comp. Deut. vi. 13, x. 20.)

their attempt at reform, the controversy on images was prolonged through the ninth century.[1]

§ 8. The decision of the Council effected for the time a reconciliation between the Churches of Rome and Constantinople, though other points of difference remained open.[2] But the churches beyond the Alps, which were labouring to uproot the idols of their German neighbours, were far less favourable to image-worship. Sacred pictures had long been allowed in their churches,[3] but under the restrictions which were defined by a Council of the Franks, held by Pepin at Gentilly, at which legates were present both from Rome and Constantinople, that "images of saints wrought[4] or painted for the *ornament* and *beauty* of churches might be *endured*, so that they were not had for worship, veneration, and adoration, which idolaters practise" (767).

When Pope Adrian sent the decrees of the Nicene Council to Charles the Great, a protest was issued in the king's name, in the famous 'Caroline Books,'[5] the authorship of which, or at least of the treatise which formed their basis, has been ascribed to Alcuin, as the voice of the English as well as of the Frank Church (790).[6] This masterly treatise refutes the arguments urged at the Council, exposes the perversions of Scripture and of the language of the Fathers, and the use of fabulous, miraculous, and immoral stories (condemning especially that of the monk of Olivet), and draws a clear distinction between the use of images for memorials and their abuse for worship. Even that right use is not admitted to be necessary in order to remember God and His saints; "for those persons must have faulty memories who need to be reminded by an

[1] It belongs to civil history to relate the dynastic revolutions, which had a varying influence on the practice of image-worship, till the next great iconoclast attempt of Leo the Armenian.

[2] Adrian I. had protested against the title of "Œcumenical Patriarch," assumed by Tarasius, and he had demanded the restoration of all that the iconoclast emperors had taken from St. Peter.

[3] We have noticed their introduction into Britain by Benedict Biscop, but this seems to have been direct from Rome.

[4] *Fictas*, i.e. not modelled, but wrought in mosaic.

[5] *Libri Carolini*, or *Capitulare Prolixum*, a treatise in four books, against the abuses sanctioned by the Second Nicene Council and the Pope.

[6] The English chroniclers, who place the affair in 792, relate that Charles, king of the Franks, sent into Britain a synodal book, which had been forwarded to him from Constantinople, in which were found many things contrary to the faith, and chiefly "that we ought to adore images, which the Church of God altogether execrates. Against which Albinus (Alcuin) wrote an epistle admirably confirmed by the authority of the Divine Scriptures, and presented it, with the said book, in the name of our bishops and princes, to the king" (Roger Hoveden; Simeon of Durham; Matthew Paris, *Hist. Maj.*). Alcuin was at this time in England, and returned to Charles's court in 793.

image—who are unable to raise their minds above the material creation except by the help of a material and created object."[1] The plausible argument, that images present to the eyes of the unlearned the lessons which the learned receive through letters, is clearly negatived and turned into a decisive objection: for, first, the lessons are not taught by the images themselves, which cannot represent the merits of the saints, for those merits are not external; and, next, the unlearned are the very class who, unskilled in subtle distinctions, will surely be drawn to pay divine worship to these visible objects. The arrogant language of the Byzantine court is condemned; and the synod is reproached for being guided by a woman (Irene), whom St. Paul does not suffer to speak in the church. It is pronounced madness for one part of the Church to anathematize other parts on a subject on which no law has been laid down by the Apostles; above all, when the opinions condemned are those of the Fathers and earlier Councils. The authority of Gregory the Great[2] is that on which the king finally takes his stand, as agreeing with the rule of the Catholic Church; and his practical conclusion is that "images are to be allowed; the worship of them is not to be enforced; it is forbidden to break or destroy them."[3]

These views were confirmed by the *Council of Frankfort*, at which, besides the bishops of the Frank kingdom, there were others from Germany, from England, and from Lombardy, and two legates from Rome (794). Charles himself presided, aided by the learning of Alcuin. This great council of the Teutonic and Gallic Church practically announced, by its decision, that it rejected any authority of Rome to lay down rules of faith and worship; it contemptuously condemned "the late synod of the Greeks;" and, with reference to their refined distinction, it refused "both *adoration* and *service* of all kinds" to images. Thus the whole Transalpine Church was placed at open variance with that of the East; and the powerful king of the West was the more prepared to assume the imperial crown; while Rome, in spite of the agreement with the East on the image question, was still more alienated by the withholding of her rights and revenues in Calabria and Illyricum, and drawn nearer to the kings of the Franks by the ties of interest and at last of necessity. The momentous result has already been recorded.

[1] *Lib. Carol.*, vol. ii. p. 22; Robertson, vol. ii. pp. 163–4.

[2] We have already noticed the two very interesting letters, in which Gregory blames Serenus, bishop of Massilia, for going so far as to break some images which were objects of worship, while he praises his zeal against the appearance of idolatry. He pronounces for the retention of images in churches as means of instructing the unlearned, but care should be taken to guard against their adoration (See Chap. XVIII. pp. 450–1).

[3] *Lib. Carol.*, iv. *fin.*; Robertson, vol. ii. p. 164.

§ 9. It remains to relate the sequel of the controversy, and other events with which it is mixed up in the history of the Eastern Church. Just a century after Leo the Isaurian, another new dynasty was founded by another able soldier, LEO V. THE ARMENIAN (813–820), who had been brought up in a church that rejected the worship of images. The orthodox writers have branded his religious fickleness with the nickname of *Chameleon*, perhaps for no better reason than his refusal to subscribe to the confession of faith proposed to him by the Patriarch Nicephorus, as was usual at an emperor's coronation. The element of superstition in his character had been fostered by a prophecy of his accession to the purple: from the disasters of the Empire, and the fate of all the princes who had supported image worship, he inferred a manifest divine judgment; and one of the few iconoclast monks promised him the like fate, or a long and glorious reign, according as he should allow or destroy the images.

But it was in no fanatic spirit that Leo prepared to take his course. He asked some of the most learned churchmen who were opposed to image-worship—in particular, Anthony, bishop of Sylæum, in Pamphylia, and John the Grammarian—to abridge the acts of Constantine V.'s iconoclastic synod for his information, and to collect authorities from the Fathers against the worship of images. He then proposed to Nicephorus the same moderate course which had been taken at first by Leo the Isaurian, namely to remove those pictures which were placed so low as to be within the reach of touching and kissing. When the Patriarch declared against all interference, however moderate, the Emperor asked him to produce any scriptural authority for image-worship. Nicephorus replied that the practice rested on apostolical tradition; and he refused to discuss it with Antony and John, because all communication with heretics was unlawful.

The Emperor, hearing that Nicephorus and his supporters held nightly meetings in the cathedral, where they took oaths to persevere in resistance, sent for the Patriarch in the dead of night, and, after some discussion, Nicephorus obtained leave to introduce his companions. The chief part in the ensuing conference was borne by the Abbot THEODORE, surnamed the STUDITE,[1] who not only argued vehemently for images, but denied that the Emperor had any authority in matters of religion. The violence of Theodore's speech and writings,[2] at and after the conference, made the Emperor's

[1] This epithet was derived from his monastery at Constantinople, which was founded by a noble Roman named Studius, and which Theodore had increased from about 12 monks to nearly 1000.

[2] These writings were both in prose and verse. The chief of them were three tracts, entitled 'Antirrhetics.'

moderate policy more difficult, and exasperated the soldiers, who made a riotous assault on the "Surety" over the brazen gate.[1] Leo took down the image on the plea of protecting it from profanation, and ordered a general removal of all images where it could be safely done (814).

Nicephorus was deposed from the patriarchate; and his successor, Theodotus Cassiteras, presided over a council which confirmed the acts of the iconoclast synod of 754, and annulled those of the Second Council of Nicæa. The summonses addressed to the other party were refused in a violent letter by Theodore; and his defiance of an edict against the public exhibition of images, on the next Palm Sunday, at length brought on him the persecution to which the Emperor had declared that he would not be provoked. Theodore was sent to one place of banishment after another; he was often scourged so severely as to endanger his life, imprisoned for three years in a subterranean dungeon, and continually threatened with death. The more he suffered the more did he persevere in writing renewed denunciations of the Emperor, and, among the rest, he sent letters to the Pope and the three Eastern Patriarchs. POPE PASCHAL I. (817–824) took part strongly with the votaries of images; and the clergy of that party went from the East to Italy for ordination, while the laity refused the ministrations of the iconoclast priests. This indomitable resistance provoked Leo to an utter extermination of the images and a furious persecution of their worshippers, which cost his own life by the conspiracy of his former comrade, MICHAEL II., surnamed BALBUS, *i.e.* the *Stammerer* (820–829).[2]

§ 10. Michael was a rude Phrygian soldier, utterly ignorant of letters, and accused of holding strange heretical opinions. He at once put an end to the persecution, and recalled Theodore and the other exiles. But they were completely disappointed of the hope of regaining ascendency, when the appointment of Antony of Sylæum to the patriarchate of Constantinople was followed by an edict forbidding all changes in religion and all discussion of the question, though both parties were allowed to follow their own practice. The obstinacy of Theodore at length provoked the Emperor to banish him again, and he died in exile at the age of sixty-nine (826).

In 824 Michael Balbus sent an embassy to Louis the Pious, the son of Charles the Great, to vindicate his faith, and to request the Western Emperor's aid in resisting the countenance which the image-worshippers received at Rome. The letter to Louis contains

[1] See above, § 5. The image had been restored by Irene.

[2] For the romantic details, see the *Student's Gibbon*, p. 411.

some remarkable details of the extremes of superstition to which some of the image-worshippers carried their practices. The result of this letter will be described presently.

§ 11. The Emperor THEOPHILUS, who succeeded his father Michael in 829, had been trained in literature and theology by John the Grammarian, who had imbued him with an abhorrence of images and their worship. John, being appointed by the Emperor to succeed Antony as patriarch (832), held a synod which condemned the decrees of the Second Nicene Council; and Theophilus ordered all images to be removed from the churches and destroyed, and forbad the painting of them. Many of their worshippers were banished or imprisoned; and the more obstinate opponents of the Emperor were cruelly beaten. But their cause had a secret friend in the Empress THEODORA, who, on her husband's death (842), governed in the name of her infant son, MICHAEL III., who was only five years old. Theophilus is said to have bound her by an oath to make no changes in religion; and she pleaded the engagement as a restraint from following her own convictions. But it did not prevent her deposing the patriarch John; and his successor Methodius convened a synod, which pronounced in favour of images. In her anxiety for her husband's soul, Theodora declared (and she is even said to have sworn) that Theophilus had repented on his death-bed, and had devoutly kissed some images. Being upon this assured of his salvation by the Patriarch, she felt herself released from her oath, and the worship of images was solemnly restored in the capital on the First Sunday in Lent (842), which is still celebrated in the Greek Church as the *Feast of Orthodoxy*, or the *Sunday of Orthodoxy* (*ἡ κυριακὴ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας*). This was virtually the final triumph of images in the East; though the question was raised again in the course of a conflict, with which, however, it had but a slight connection. It is convenient to give a brief account of these events, before completing the history of the question in the West.

§ 12. The influence of Theodora over her son was gradually undermined by the arts of her brother Bardas, who pursued the policy, not unfrequent at the Byzantine court, of corrupting his nephew's character in order to make him the tool of his own ambition. When Michael claimed the government on reaching the age of eighteen (855), Theodora quietly retired; and the young Emperor surpassed the vices of a Nero or an Elagabalus by adding to them the outrageous profanation of Christianity. He appointed a mock patriarch, Theophilus, called Gryllus (the "sucking-pig"), with twelve metropolitans, of whom the Emperor himself was one. They profaned the mysteries of religion, and with ribald songs and music

parodied the sacred processions in the public streets; and when they met the venerable patriarch Ignatius leading a procession, they insulted him and beat his clergy. But Ignatius was the object of more serious enmities.[1] He had a dispute with Gregory, bishop of Syracuse, a son of Leo the Armenian, which divided Constantinople into two parties; and Ignatius incurred the enmity of Bardas by refusing him the Eucharist because he was living in incest (857). To confirm his own influence over the Emperor, Bardas persuaded Michael to compel his mother, Theodora, and her daughters to become nuns; and, on the refusal of Ignatius to officiate at their consecration, he was banished to an island on a charge of treason. To appease the discontent of the people, Bardas chose a successor of the highest dignity and learning, though a layman.

PHOTIUS, the grand-nephew of the patriarch Tarasius, now secretary of state and captain of the imperial guards, has acquired lasting fame in literature by the work which, by giving a summary of 280 books that he had read,[2] preserves the condensed substance of many a lost treasure of secular and ecclesiastical learning. The character of Photius has been drawn by his adversaries only, and in the blackest colours. His letters betray the violence of his temper, and his conduct certainly displays no high principle. He was probably neither better nor worse than most of the statesmen and ecclesiastics of his age. Like his predecessor, he was a decided supporter of image-worship, in which cause his parents had been confessors. He was ordained by Gregory of Syracuse through all the degrees of the ministry on six successive days, and was enthroned as patriarch on Christmas-day, 857. He repeatedly declares that the dignity was thrust on him against his will, and he was certainly no party to the cruel treatment inflicted on Ignatius, in the vain attempt to extort his resignation. The rival parties held synods, by which each patriarch was excommunicated.

§ 13. Photius announced his consecration to the new Pope, NICOLAS I. (858-867), and requested him to send legates to a new council for the suppression of the iconoclasts; and the Emperor sent a letter to Nicolas with splendid presents. The Pope seized the opportunity to demand again the restoration of the provinces severed from the Roman see, and of its revenues in Calabria and

[1] This prelate, whose proper name was Nicetas, was the son of Michael I. (Rhangabe), and had been placed in a cloister when his father was deposed by Leo the Armenian. On the death of Methodius, he was appointed by Theodora to the patriarchate, on the recommendation of a famous hermit.

[2] Its title is *Myriobiblon or Bibliotheca* (Μυριόβιβλον ἢ Βιβλιοθήκη). There are some other important theological and grammatical works by Photius (see the *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog.* s. v. PHOTIUS).

Sicily; and, in a tone of high authority, he protested against the deposition of Ignatius without his having a voice in the decision. He wrote briefly to Photius that his acknowledgment would depend on the report of the papal legates (860). After being plied for some time with threats and bribes, the legates attended a council[1] of 318 bishops, at Constantinople, which deposed Ignatius on the pretence of uncanonical consecration (861). Photius sent an able letter to Nicolas, in a tone of deep deference, defending his own consecration, asking for the Pope's confirmation of the proceedings and the expulsion of the Ignatian refugees from Rome; and the party of Ignatius also made their report. Nicolas, indignant at having been betrayed by his legates,[2] replied to the Emperor and the Patriarch in a lofty tone, assuming the authority of the Roman Church as "the head of all, on which all depend." At a synod held in 863, he deprived Photius of all spiritual office, and annulled the proceedings against Ignatius. A violent correspondence ensued between the Emperor and the Pope; and, among other high assertions of the supreme dignity of his see, Nicolas proposed that the rival patriarchs should come to Rome for the trial of their cause.

§ 14. In that unhappy age, even the conversion of a barbarian nation aggravated the quarrel between Rome and Constantinople. The fierce Bulgarians, who had long been established between the Danube and the Balkan, had been converted during the regency of Theodora, through the influence of their king's sister, who had embraced Christianity while a captive at Constantinople. The patriarch (probably Photius)[3] went into Bulgaria to baptize the king Bogoris, for whom he wrote an elaborate treatise on his new faith and his duties as a king. Bogoris, however, soon afterwards applied for further advice to Pope Nicolas, who sent two bishops with a long letter, in answer to the king's questions. Bogoris had asked for the appointment of a patriarch for Bulgaria; and in sending a bishop, with the promise of an archbishop when the Church should be important enough, Nicolas denied the proper patriarchal

[1] Called by the Greeks "The First and Second Council," either because its sessions were interrupted by an outbreak of the Iconoclasts and again resumed, or because its proceedings on the two questions—the contest for the Patriarchate and the Iconoclast troubles—were recorded separately in two tomes.

[2] It is said that, both at this Council and at that which restored Photius in 879, the Pope's letters were garbled in the public reading; and the possibility of this strange artifice, in the presence of the Roman legates, is explained partly by their corrupt connivance and partly by their ignorance of Greek.

[3] The baptism of Bogoris is variously placed between 845 and 864; but the later dates (from 861 to 864) seem the more probable.

dignity of Constantinople, as its Church was not founded by an Apostle, and exhorted the Bulgarians to cleave to the holy Roman Church.

Indignant at this intrusion, Photius summoned a council, which pronounced an anathema on Nicolas (867). His invitation to the three Eastern patriarchs contains an interesting though exaggerated statement of the differences between the Churches. "Within the last two years (he said) men from the West, the region of darkness, had intruded into this portion of his fold, corrupting the Gospel with pernicious novelties. They taught a difference of usages as to fasting; they forbad the clergy to marry; they denied the right of presbyters to confirm. But, above all, they adulterated the Creed with spurious additions, affirming that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son."[1] The last doctrine he describes as blasphemy against the Holy Ghost; and, in language more familiar to later ages, he denounces the Romans as *apostate* and servants of *Antichrist*.

§ 15. In the same year, however, the influence of Photius was overthrown by a new dynastic revolution, in which Michael III. was murdered by BASIL I. THE MACEDONIAN (867-886).[2] Photius, though formerly a friend of the new Emperor, was deposed two days after his accession; Ignatius was reinstated; and Basil sent a letter to the new Pope, ADRIAN II. (867-872), containing such an acknowledgment of his authority as had never yet proceeded from Constantinople. Another Roman synod renewed the condemnation of Photius, and the acts of the late Byzantine Council were ordered to be burnt both at Rome and Constantinople.

These proceedings were confirmed by a council at Constantinople, which is reckoned by the *Roman* Church as the *Eighth General Council* (869). The Pope sent two bishops and a deacon as his legates; and there were representatives of the patriarchs of Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. Photius, when summoned before the council, firmly maintained silence, saying only, "My justifications are not in this world." He was treated with personal insult, and was anathematized, with his adherents, in the most violent language. Among other decisions of less importance, the renewed condemnation of the Iconoclasts by this council marks the final ratification of image-worship in the East. The Council declared that pictures were useful for the instruction of the people, and that "we ought to worship them with the same honour as the books of the Holy Gospels."

[1] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 368.

[2] Basil, who was a native of Adrianople, and probably of Slavonic race, derived his surname from the flattery which traced his descent to Alexander the Great.

On the question of Bulgaria, however, the Emperor and the Patriarch were as firm as Photius himself. The Bulgarian king had transferred his spiritual allegiance back to Constantinople; Ignatius consecrated an archbishop for the country; the Latin clergy were soon expelled; and, in spite of the remonstrances of POPE JOHN VIII. (872–882), Bulgaria was finally united to the Greek Church.

§ 16. Photius, though treated at first with much severity, regained the favour of Basil, who appointed him tutor to his son Leo; and the young prince so far profited by his teaching as to earn the surname of the Wise. Photius was also reconciled to Ignatius, on whose death Basil restored him to the patriarchate (878). As on his first elevation, Photius made the announcement to the Pope, with the request that he would send legates to a general council, to compose the late schisms. John treated the application as an acknowledgment that the title of Photius depended on the confirmation of Rome, which was offered only on the condition that Photius should confess his past errors, throw himself on the mercy of the synod, and resign the pretensions of his patriarchate in Bulgaria.

Whatever acquiescence to these terms might seem to have been given or implied by Photius, he firmly asserted his independence of Rome at the meeting of the synod at Constantinople, which the *Greeks* reckon the *Eighth General Council* (879). It numbered no less than 380 bishops from the Eastern Empire, with three legates from Rome, and representatives of the three Eastern patriarchs, who produced letters disavowing the delegates who had taken part in the proceedings of the former council against Photius. Instead of granting the place of honour to the Roman legates, Photius at once assumed the presidency; the Greek bishops supported him in ignoring the Pope's authority, and even the Papal legates joined in anathematizing the Council of 869.[1] The Pope himself, imperfectly informed of the decisions of the Council, gave at first a consent to the restoration of Photius, but he afterwards anathematized all who regarded him as the true patriarch. The condemnation of Photius was renewed by John's three successors. Photius was again deposed by his former pupil, LEO VI. THE WISE (886–911), on some uncertain cause of suspicion; and though no evidence was found against him, he died in exile five years later (891). After a time, communion was

[1] Hence the rejection of that assembly from the Greek list of Œcumenical Councils, while the Council of 879, though having all the marks of an Œcumenical character, is stigmatized by Romanists as a "Photian conventicle;" and some have even made the absurd charge that its acts were forged by Photius.

restored between the two Churches, and the patriarchate of Photius was recognized at Rome; but the final breach between the Greek and Latin Churches was only postponed.

§ 17. It remains to notice the sequel of the controversy on images in the Western Empire. Charles the Great was succeeded by his son, LOUIS THE PIOUS (814–840), a weak prince, who endeavoured to maintain the decision of the Council of Frankfort, but in such a manner as to preserve the highest deference for the Papacy. On receiving the letter of the Emperor Michael Balbus,[1] Louis summoned a council at Paris, which declared that as, on the one hand, the Pope had justly reproved those who had broken the images, so, on the other, "he is known to have acted indiscreetly, in that he commanded to give them superstitious worship" (825).[2] The Emperor sent a letter to Pope EUGENIUS II.,[3] requesting him to mediate between the extreme parties in the East, and the bearers of the letter were to accompany any envoys whom the Pope might send to Constantinople. All we know of the result is, that the Frank envoys were well received by Michael, who was not a violent iconoclast.

§ 18. The growing tendency to compromise was resisted by some eminent theologians of the West, as by AGOBARD, archbishop of Lyon, in his book 'On Pictures and Images.'[4] He maintains that the ancient use of pictures and images of Christ and the Apostles was only for remembrance, laments the later practice as approaching very near to idolatry, and approves the decision of the Spanish Council of Eliberis (*Elvira*, about 324), that pictures ought not to be in the churches. He argues that, as an image represents the body only, the worship, if reasonable at all, should rather be paid to saints while alive, in the perfect union of body and soul.

An earlier and more active opponent was Claudius, a Spaniard, who, being made Bishop of Turin by Louis in order to reform the clergy of that diocese, not only removed from the churches all pictures, but even crosses and relics, and opposed the invocation of saints and the dedication of churches by their names, and also pilgrimages.

These extreme views were disavowed by the Frank clergy in general, were condemned by the Emperor and his council, and gave rise to a violent controversy. The *Apology* and other writings of Claudius were answered by Dungal, a monk of Scottish birth (about 827), and by Jonas, bishop of Orleans, one of Louis's envoys to Rome and Constantinople.[5] The famous Hincmar, archbishop of

[1] See § 10.

[2] *Constitut. Imper.*, tom. i. p. 154.

[3] Pope from 824 to 827.

[4] *De Picturis et Imaginibus*, written about 840.

[5] His work, *Adversus Claudii Taurinensis Apologeticum*, dedicated to

Rheims (845), of whom we have to say more presently, wrote a treatise to explain "in what manner the images of our Lord and his saints are to be reverenced" (*venerandæ*). The work is lost; but the limits of the "reverence" enjoined by Hincmar may be inferred from his stigmatizing the Greek and Roman practice as "doll-worship."[1] These are among the latest notes of decided opposition in the Frank Church, which kept its middle course till the end of the ninth century, and which, without ever breaking off communion with Rome, derived from its long opposition on this question much of its general spirit of independence.

§ 19. The history of the Eastern Church for some time after Photius is so uneventful, that it may be disposed of here in a few lines. A new dispute arose from the fourth marriage of Leo the Wise with his concubine Zoë, the mother of CONSTANTINE VII., who was surnamed PORPHYROGENITUS, from his being the first prince who was born in the chamber of the palace, lined with porphyry, which was set apart for imperial births[2] (905). The Byzantine historians state that the marriage ceremony was performed before the birth of Constantine; but the patriarch Nicolas declares, in a letter still extant,[3] that no marriage took place before the birth, and he only consented to baptize the child on the condition, to which Leo bound himself by oath, that he would separate from Zëo. In either case the marriage, and the public recognition of Zoë as Empress, constituted a grave scandal. The Greek Church tolerated a second marriage, and treated a third as a ground of censure, but a fourth was hitherto unknown. The Patriarch refused the offices of religion to the imperial pair; but the marriage was countenanced by papal legates who came to Constantinople; and Leo banished Nicolas to an island.[4] Nicolas was restored on the death of Leo (911); and the disputed question was settled, in 920, by an edict allowing third marriages under certain restrictions, but prohibiting fourth marriages on pain of excommunication. This was another cause of discord with the Church of Rome, which allowed fourth marriages.

§ 20. The further diffusion of Christianity in the Eastern Empire

Charles the Bald, son of Louis, is in three books, in defence of *images*, the *cross*, and *pilgrimages*. It contains all that we know about the writings and opinions of Claudius.

[1] *Puparum Cultus* (Opusc. lv. adv. Hincmar. Laud. c. xx.).

[2] This is the Latin form of the title: the proper Greek is *Porphyrogennētus* (πορφυρογέννητος). *Porphyry* (πορφύρεος λίθος) is so called from its colour (φορφύρα, purple); and the epithet is commonly translated "born in the purple."

[3] *Epist. ad Anastas. Roman.*

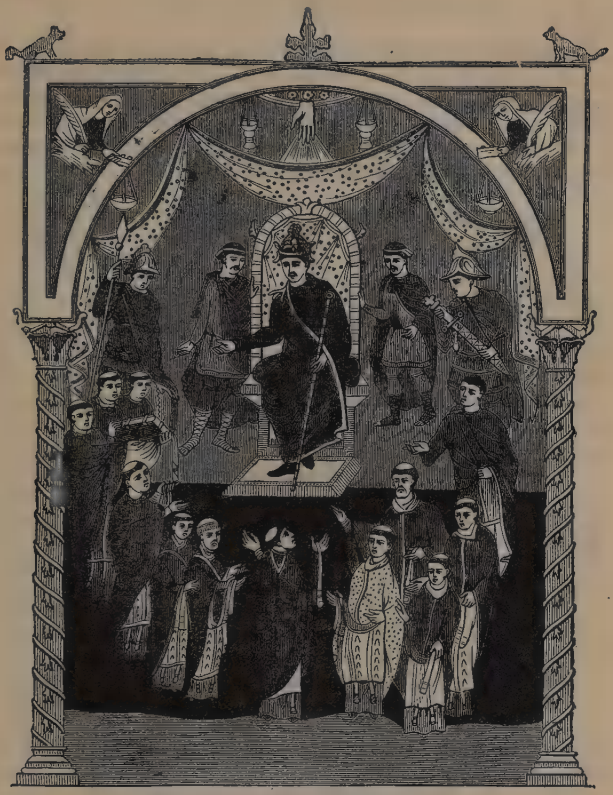
[4] For the ensuing changes in the government, see the *Student's Gibbon*, pp. 414, 415.

during the ninth century demands only a few words. The conversion of the Bulgarians led to that of the Slavonic settlers in Greece; and the victories of Basil in Servia were followed by the labours of Greek missionaries (about 870), while missionaries from Rome preached the Gospel among the Croats. The other missions of this age belong to the history of the Western Church.[1]

[1] See Chapter XXIV.



The *Iconostasis* or Image-Stand of a Greek Church, near Kostroma, in East Russia.



Presentation of a Bible to Charles the Bald.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE WESTERN CHURCH UNDER THE SUCCESSORS OF CHARLES THE GREAT.

THE NINTH CENTURY.

§ 1. Louis the Pious, Emperor—Popes Leo III., Stephen IV., and Paschal I.—Confirmation of Papal elections. § 2. Church Reforms of Louis—Opposition of Adelhard, Wala, and Bernard—Monasteries reformed by Benedict of Aniane. § 3. Lothair I. associated in the Empire—Quarrels in the Imperial Family—Penance of Louis at Attigny—Lothair and Pope Eugenius II. § 4. Louis marries Judith—His son Charles the Bald—Civil War—Pope Gregory IV. in the rebel camp—

Deposition, Restoration, and Death of Louis the Pious. § 5. Disputes of his Sons—Battle of Fontenailles—French and German nationalities—Partition of the Frank Monarchy at Verdun—The Kingdoms of Germany, France, and Lotharingia—LOUIS II., Emperor—Kings Lothair II., Louis the German, and Charles the Bald—CHARLES THE BALD, Emperor—Union of the Frank kingdoms under CHARLES THE FAT—His Deposition, and the final Division of the kingdoms of France, Germany, and Italy—Extinction of the Carolingian line in Germany and in France. § 6. Incursions of the Northmen—Their Settlements and Civilization—Cession of Normandy, and Baptism of Rolf—Incursions of the Saracens—LEO IV. builds the Leonine City at Rome. § 7. Increased power of the Clergy—Episcopal Jurisdiction—Hincmar of Rheims. § 8. Growth of the Papacy—NICOLAS I.—ADRIAN II.—JOHN VIII.—Concessions made to him by Charles the Bald—Deaths of John and Hincmar. § 9. The *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*—Proofs of the Forgery—Sources of the Compilation—Its Frank origin and its date. § 10. Professed and real purpose of the work—Exaltation of the Clergy and Bishops at the expense of the Metropolitans—Power ascribed to the Pope. § 11. General reception of the Decretals as Ecclesiastical Law—The *Decretum* of Gratian—Their Influence surviving the confession of their Spuriousness. § 12. The *Eucharistic Controversy* in the Frank Church—PASCHASIUS RADBERT teaches the Real Presence and Transubstantiation. § 13. RATRAMN'S doctrine of a spiritual and figurative Presence—Teaching of JOHANNES SCOTUS—Final prevalence of the doctrine of Radbert. § 14. The *Predestinarian Controversy* raised by GOTTSCHALK—His early Life and Character. § 15. His Doctrine of a Twofold Predestination—His two "Confessions." § 16. Opposition of RABAN MAUR and HINCMAR—Council of Quiercy—Ill-treatment and Imprisonment of Gottschalk—His supporters, Prudentius, Lupus, and Ratramn. § 17. Writings of JOHANNES SCOTUS against Gottschalk—His doctrine of Predestination—His alleged Heresies. § 18. Second Council of Quiercy—Its four Decrees—Counter-articles of Prudentius—Councils of Valence, Savonnières, and Toucy—Last Writings of Hincmar on Predestination. § 19. Gottschalk's attack on Hincmar about the *Trina Deitas*—Death of Gottschalk.

§ 1. SPLENDID as was the name and idea of the Holy Roman Empire, its reality as a single and strong government over the Christian lands of Western Europe, ended, as it had begun, with Charles the Great. The weakness and quarrels of his successors, and the consequent division of the Empire into separate kingdoms, tended to the aggrandizement of the spiritual power, which had still its one head at Rome.

LOUIS THE PIOUS (814–840), the only surviving legitimate son of Charles the Great, had many virtues and no little ability, but all marred by weakness and superstition. His efforts to reform abuses in the Church made him powerful enemies among the nobility and ecclesiastics; his family relations were a constant source of faction

and trouble; and the Popes used every opportunity to enhance their power at his expense. It was their great object to assert the right of conferring the imperial crown, and to get rid of the Emperor's right to confirm their own election. Leo III. (795–816) showed his resentment at not having been asked to crown Louis by omitting to congratulate him on his accession; and his successor, Stephen IV. (816–817), was hastily elected without any reference to the Emperor. But Stephen felt it necessary to apologize for the omission on the ground of the state of Rome, which was then disturbed by the most violent factions. He carried his own excuses to Louis, who came to meet him outside Rheims, cast himself at the Pope's feet, and was crowned by him anew. Stephen published an edict, that the consecration of Popes should take place in the presence of imperial commissioners. But the disorders of the city caused another hasty election of his successor, Paschal I. (817–824), who sent legates to apologize for the irregularity.

§ 2. Louis undertook a complete reformation both in Church and State. Beginning with the court, which was infected by the licentious example of Charles the Great, Louis banished his own sisters with their paramours, and some of his father's chief statesmen. The three powerful brothers—the Abbot Adelhard, Count Wala, and Bernard—were thus made lasting enemies to Louis. The reformation of the Church was carried out by councils held at Aix-la-Chapelle in 816 and 817, in which the Frank prelates and nobles acted under the supreme authority of the Emperor, without reference to the Pope. In the monasteries, a complete visitation and reform, on the basis of the rule of St. Benedict of Nursia, was carried out by Benedict of Aniane, the great ecclesiastical adviser of Louis. This second founder of the Benedictine order was the son of a Visigoth count; and, under his proper name of Witiza, had distinguished himself in the wars of Charles the Great. Adopting the monastic life, he founded the cloister of Aniane on the river Anianus in Languedoc; and Louis, in order to have Benedict always near him, founded for him the monastery of Inda near Aix-la-Chapelle. He died in 821.[1]

§ 3. At the diet held at Aix, in 817, Louis associated his eldest son, Lothair I., in the empire, with the reversion of the crowns of the West Frank kingdom and Italy; his younger sons, Pepin and Louis, being made under-kings of Aquitaine and the East Frank kingdom. Lothair, like Louis himself, was crowned by his father; a vindication of the principle that the imperial dignity did not

[1] Benedict of Aniane composed two works, containing all previous monastic rules, together with those made by himself, a *Codex Regularum* and a *Concordia Regularum*.

depend on the sanction of the Church. This attempt to secure an orderly succession involved a long series of feuds, to relate which belongs to the civil history of the age. The cruel fate of his nephew Bernard (the natural son of his brother Pepin), who had rebelled in Italy, and the severities exercised on Bernard's supporters, so affected Louis, that he performed a public penance at the diet of Attigny (828). Lothair, who received the kingdom of Italy on the death of Bernard, on visiting Rome in 823, accepted a new coronation from Paschal, who thereby took one more step towards establishing the Pope's authority to confer sovereign power. But on Paschal's death in the following year a contest for the papacy gave Lothair the opportunity of asserting his prerogative by deciding in favour of EUGENIUS II. (824–827);[1] and, while confirming the right of the Romans to the free election of their bishop, he bound them to an engagement that no Pope should be consecrated till he had sworn allegiance in presence of an imperial commissioner. Lothair exacted from every Roman an oath of fealty to the empire, saving their faith to the Pope; he restored to their rightful owners lands which had been seized by the Popes; and he arranged, "according to ancient custom," stated visitations of imperial commissioners for the administration of justice at Rome. All these measures maintained the principle that, "while the Pope was the immediate lord of Rome, his power was held under the Emperor, to whom the supreme control of the administration belonged."[2] They also tended to secure for Lothair a power in Italy and over the Church, which he soon used against his father.

§ 4. The source of these new discords was the second marriage of Louis to Judith, daughter of Welf, count of Bavaria (819), a lady of great beauty and unusual learning and accomplishments. The birth of a son, known in history as Charles the Bald (823), for whom Louis showed great partiality, inflamed anew the rebellious spirit of his elder sons, who, with the nobles and ecclesiastics of their party, pursued Judith with relentless animosity.[3] The authority of the Church, which both parties used as far as possible, became most prominent when Pope GREGORY IV. (827–844) crossed the Alps, and appeared in the camp of the rebels who were in arms against Louis (832). The bishops of the Emperor's party threatened to depose and excommunicate the Pope if he excommunicated them. This remarkable position gave rise to an interesting controversy as to the Pope's right to judge all causes and to be himself above all human judgment, in which Agobard, of Lyon,[4] wrote on the side of

[1] The Antipope was Zosimus. [2] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 257.
[3] For the details, see the *Student's France*, chap. v.
[4] The same who wrote against image-worship. (See Chap. XXI. § 18.)

ecclesiastical supremacy. Though really a partisan, Gregory passed from camp to camp in the character of supreme mediator; till bribes, threats, and influence of various kinds seduced the followers of Louis, and left the deserted Emperor to yield himself a prisoner to his sons. Gregory is said to have gone home in deep shame for his part in this transaction, the scene of which is known in history as the *Field of Lies*. The rebel bishops, assembled in a diet held by Lothair at Compiègne, drew up a number of charges of misconduct against Louis, and took upon themselves to pronounce on him a sentence of deposition and public penance, which was executed in the cathedral of Soissons in presence of Lothair, the Emperor performing his part with the deepest show of penitence. But this excess of degradation roused sympathy for Louis, whose cause was now taken up by his sons Pepin and Louis, surnamed in history the German. Lothair fled before the rising tide of indignation; Louis the Pious was solemnly reinstated at the abbey church of St. Denys; and a council of ecclesiastics at Thionville condemned the bishops who had taken part against him (835). But his troubles from his sons lasted till his death in June 840.

§ 5. With him ended even the nominal union of his father's empire, which he had so feebly tried to hold together, while really destroying it by successive partitions among his sons. The last of these partitions had been made after the death of Pepin in 838, when, Judith having been reconciled to Lothair, the whole empire (except Bavaria) was divided between Lothair and Charles, to the exclusion of Louis the German, who went to war to maintain his rights (839). But when, on their father's death, Lothair claimed to be sole Emperor, Louis and Charles united to resist him, and they were victorious in the decisive battle of Fontenailles (Fontenay), June 25th, 841. The loss of the vanquished is said to have been 40,000, and that of the victors not much less; and, what was of vastly greater consequence than the numbers, among the latter were the flower of the Frank nation, the descendants of the warriors of Clovis. This event contributed to the final prevalence of those elements which formed the nationality of modern France.

But the loss of the Franks at Fontenailles was only a makeweight in the scale. The native populations—Gallic north of the Loire, and Aquitanian south of that river—were far too numerous, and the Roman civilization and language had been much too completely established among them, to be overpowered by the race and language of the German conquerors; and these also had been imbued with the Latin forms of Christianity and the ecclesiastical use of Latin. The Romance dialect, which is the basis of modern French, first appears in history on the occasion of the meeting of Louis and Charles at

Strassburg, to ratify their league, in the oath taken by Louis the German in this tongue, in order to be understood by the Neustrian and Aquitanian troops of Charles the Bald. The establishment of the separate French and German nationalities may be dated from the settlement of the conflict between the three brothers by the *Treaty of Verdun* (843).

LOUIS THE GERMAN received (with an exception to be stated presently) the purely German part of the Empire, answering to the old use of the name *Germany*, east of the Rhine, with the districts on the left bank which were great seats of the German Church; namely, the metropolitan diocese of Mainz, and those of Worms and Spires. The kingdom of CHARLES THE BALD, which may now be properly called *France*,[1] contained the whole of Northern Gaul west of the Meuse, the Saône, and the Rhone, with its capital at Laon.[2] Between these two kingdoms, a long narrow strip of territory, from the German Ocean to the Mediterranean, was allotted to LOTHAIR I., from whom it was called *Lotharingia*, a name which still survives in *Lothringen* or *Lorraine*. This arrangement secured to Lothair, who was recognized as Emperor, the imperial capital at Aix; and he retained that of Rome with the kingdom of Italy.

On the death of Lothair I. (855) his eldest son LOUIS II. (855–875) succeeded him as Emperor and King of Italy; while Lotharingia was divided, its northern part (Lotharingia in the narrower sense) forming the kingdom of his second son, Lothair II.; and its southern part, Burgundy and Provence, the kingdom of his youngest son, Charles. On the death of the younger, Lothair, in 869, his uncles, Louis the German and Charles the Bald, divided his dominions by the convention of Mersen (870). A new contest between the two brothers ensued on the death of the Emperor Louis II. (875); but the energy of CHARLES THE BALD secured the imperial crown, which was placed on his head by Pope John VIII. at Rome, on Christmas Day, 875. The resistance of Louis the German was ended by his death in the next year; and Charles only survived him

[1] The name *Francia* was, however, still used in the twofold sense of *Francia Orientalis* and *Francia Occidentalis*, and the different kingdoms were considered as *Frank* kingdoms till the end of the Carolingian dynasty. The use of *France* in the modern sense was only fully settled from the accession of Hugh Capet in 987. The kingdom of Charles the Bald was called *Carolingia*, just as that of Lothair was called *Lotharingia*; but the former name died out.

[2] Paris was held by its *Counts*, who became afterwards *Dukes of the French*, and finally kings of France. Large portions of Gaul were still really independent of Charles, who was involved in frequent wars to obtain their submission, namely, Aquitaine, the kingdom of Pepin II.; *Septimania*, or Languedoc, under its duke, Bernhard; and *Brittany*, under its native princes.

a year longer (877). It is needless to follow the rapid changes by which all the Frank kingdoms (except Burgundy) were united under CHARLES THE FAT, the younger son of Louis the German, and divided again on his deposition in 887, which was followed by his death at the beginning of the next year. This is the epoch of the final division of the empire of Charles the Great into the three great states of France, Germany, and Italy.[1]

It was also the virtual end of the Carolingian dynasty, which was only perpetuated in Germany by ARNULF,[2] an illegitimate son of Carloman (the eldest son of Louis the German), and ended there with the death of his son, LOUIS THE CHILD (911).[3] In France, the Carolingian line lasted for a century, in rivalry with or tutelage to the more powerful family of the Counts of Paris and Dukes of France, till the last Carling, LOUIS V. LE FAINÉANT, died without issue, and the Count of Paris, HUGH CAPET, was elected by the nobles and clergy, and crowned at Rheims on the 1st of July, 987. The steps in this century of decline belong to the civil history of France.[4]

§ 6. Amidst these changes other powers were gaining ground, to influence the condition of the Church. From the time of Charles the Great, the piratical incursions of the *Northmen*, not only on the coasts, but up the great rivers into the heart of the Continent, kept the Frank kingdoms in perpetual alarm. Their heathen zeal against Christianity was inflamed by the revengeful spirit of exiles who had suffered from attempts at forcible conversions. Their rapacity was attracted by the wealth of the churches and monasteries; and such was the terror they inspired, that a petition was added to the Gallican litanies for deliverance "from the fury of the Northmen." The character in which these invaders were regarded in England is attested by the name of "the heathen," by which they are usually described in our native Chronicles.

But even this fierce element was gradually assimilated by the force of Christian civilization, and became a source of new life and vigour. The system of pacifying the great vikings with grants of land caused the new settlers to intermarry with the people round them, and to adopt their civilization and religion. Two great examples of new Christian states formed in this way are presented

[1] For further details as to the kingdoms, principalities, and duchies, included under these three divisions, the reader is referred to the histories of Europe and of the respective countries.

[2] Arnulf was emperor as well as king of Germany.

[3] Louis was only seven years old at his father's death in 899; and the government of Germany was administered by Hatto, bishop of Mainz.

[4] See the *Student's France*, chap. vi.

by the baptism of Guthorm and his followers, when Alfred the Great made his treaty of partition with them at Wedmore (878), and by the baptism of Rolf the Ganger, when King Charles the Simple and Robert, duke of France, ceded to him the territory of Normandy (911), which became conspicuous among the provinces of France for religious and literary culture.

On the East, the Frank Empire suffered from the pressure of the Slavonians; and on the south, the Saracens gained ground, at the expense of both empires. In the course of the ninth century they became masters of Crete, Cyprus, Corsica, and Sicily, and ravaged the coasts of Italy and Gaul. Their incursions up the Tiber warned the Popes to take new measures of defence. Gregory IV. rebuilt and fortified the port of Ostia. LEO IV. not only fortified Portus and repaired the walls of Rome; but, with the approval and aid of the Emperor Lothair, he built a wall to enclose the suburb beyond the Tiber which contained the basilica of St. Peter, and which was henceforth called the *Leonine City* (852). How would he have been surprised by a prophecy, that a thousand years would see the temporal power of his successor confined within those limits, where the Vicar of St. Peter calls himself the prisoner of a king of Italy! Perhaps his surprise would have been greater still to learn that a council of the Roman Church, calling itself Œcumenical, had declared that the Popes are and always have been infallible on matters of doctrine.

§ 7. The diminution of the royal power among the Franks, and the incessant quarrels of the Carolingian princes, added vastly to the power of the clergy and to the aggrandizement of the Popes. At the Sixth Council of Paris (829) the bishops asserted their right to judge kings: they exercised it, as we have seen, against Louis the Pious at Compiègne: he admitted the claim in accepting his restoration by the authority of a council; and the like admission was made by Charles the Bald at the council of Savonnières (859). The bishops claimed to be the sole judges in all matters affecting the clergy, and to be themselves exempt from secular control. But the Frank clergy maintained these rights as inherent in their spiritual office, not as derived from the authority of Rome; and their ablest leader, HINCMAR, archbishop of Rheims (845–884), while firmly upholding the cause of the Church against the nobles, and even against the kings to whom he preserved a stedfast loyalty, was equally conspicuous as the champion of the national church and the royal authority against papal encroachments.

§ 8. How those encroachments were aided through the weakness and dissensions of the Carolingians, we have already seen by some examples. The partition of the Frank monarchy left the Pope

responsible only to that one of the princes who held the imperial authority and the kingdom of Italy, but was not always the most powerful; while he played the part of an arbiter among them all. The most conspicuous assertor of the papal authority during the four centuries and a half between Gregory the Great and Gregory VII., was NICOLAS I. (858–867). We have his character drawn just after his death by Regino of Prüm, "as surpassing all his predecessors since the great Gregory; as giving commands to kings and tyrants, and ruling over them as if lord of the whole world; as full of meekness and gentleness in his dealings with bishops and clergy who were worthy of their calling, but terrible and austere towards the careless and refractory; as another Elias in spirit and in power."[1] He was the first Pope who assumed the majesty of an earthly sovereign by the ceremony of coronation; and when he visited the camp of Louis II., to whose presence at Rome he is said to have owed his election, the Emperor held the Pope's bridle and walked by the side of his horse. The conspicuous assertion of authority by Nicolas in the relations of Lothair II. to his two wives, Theutberga and Waldrada, is a story too long and complicated to be told here.[2] In the course of this dispute Nicolas took "the unexampled steps of deposing foreign metropolitans and of annulling the decisions of a Frankish national council by the vote of a Roman synod. He neglected all the old canonical formalities which stood in the way of his exercising an immediate jurisdiction throughout the Western Church."[3] His power to do all this with general approbation, because of the badness of Lothair's case and the subservience of the clergy of Lorraine, furnishes a striking example of the aid which the vices of princes gave to the advance of papal power.

ADRIAN II. (867–872), elected at the age of seventy-five to the chair which he had twice refused, carried on the policy of his predecessor with equal zeal but less skill; and he was worsted by Hincmar and the Frank bishops in his attempt to command them to oppose the seizure of Lotharingia by Charles the Bald (869).[4]

JOHN VIII. (872–882) appears to have belonged to the Frank party among the clergy. It was by his invitation that Charles the Bald went to Rome on the death of Louis II., and was crowned emperor by the Pope on Christmas-day, 875. In recompense for this decision in his favour, against the better hereditary claim of

[1] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 302.

[2] For a full account of the matter, as well as of the conflicts of Hincmar with Nicolas and Adrian II., as to the rights of Frank bishops, see Robertson, Book iv. chap. ii.

[3] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 328.

[4] For the details of this affair, and that of Hincmar of Laon, see Robertson, vol. ii. pp. 340–347.

his brother Louis, Charles is said to have given up the imperial control of papal elections, to have released the Pope from homage, and to have withdrawn the resident commissioners, leaving the government of Rome in the Pope's hands. The mode of conferring the crown was held to be a divine *election* to the empire through the Vicar of St. Peter and St. Paul; and it was made a precedent for the election of Charles as king of Italy by the estates of Lombardy at Pavia (876), and for the like election by the clergy and nobles of Neustria at the Council of Pontyon a few months later. This change from an hereditary to an elective succession favoured the pretensions of the Pope to dispose of the imperial and royal crowns; but the attempt of John, through his legate at the same council, to impose the supremacy of Rome on the national Church, though supported by Charles, was foiled by the firm opposition of Hincmar and the Frank bishops. It was John's constant policy, which Hincmar as firmly opposed, to depress the power of the metropolitans over their suffragans, and to cause appeals to be carried to Rome. John was murdered by some of his relations in December 882, and the great champion of the Frank Church, Hincmar, died in the same month.[1] We have already had to relate how John, while occupied with these attempts to bring the Frank Church under subjection, and hardly able to maintain himself against the Saracens in Italy, was engaged in a conflict with the Eastern Empire about the affair of Photius.

§ 9. In the controversies concerning episcopal and papal authority, in the ninth and following centuries, constant appeals were made to one of the most remarkable forgeries in the whole compass of ecclesiastical literature, the falsely called *Isidorian Decretals*. They present the strange phenomenon of fabricated *dicta* of Roman bishops being adopted as the law of the Western Church, and cited as such by all parties for centuries; nay, appealed to indirectly, by the assertion of principles for which they form the sole authority, long after their spuriousness has been on all hands confessed; and that even to our own day.

We have had occasion to refer to the authority which was gradually ascribed to the Decretal Epistles of Popes, as co-ordinate with the decisions of Councils, till the collection of those Decretals by Dionysius Exiguus[2] prepared the way for their reception as part of the law of the Church. The earliest document in that collection was the letter of Pope Siricius to Himerius, written in 385. In the seventh

[1] To Hincmar are ascribed the *Annals of Bertin*, extending from 861 to within a month of his death, and forming the most valuable record of that period.

[2] See Chap. XVII. § 15.

century another collection of Decretals, bearing a general resemblance to that of Dionysius, but containing some additional documents, was current in Spain under the famous name of Isidore, bishop of Seville,[1] and was introduced into the Frank Church.

The venerable name of Isidore was assumed, in the early part of the ninth century, by the fabricator of a third collection, which professed to give nearly a hundred decretal letters written by the earlier bishops of Rome from the very time of the Apostles, as well as letters written to them and acts of councils hitherto unknown.[2] "The spuriousness of these pieces is established by gross anachronisms, and by other instances of ignorance and clumsiness;—as, that persons who lived centuries apart are represented as corresponding with each other;[3] that the early bishops of Rome quote the Scriptures according to St. Jerome's version; and that some of them, who lived while Rome was yet heathen, complain of the invasion of church-property by laymen in terms which evidently betray a writer of the Carolingian period."[4] The work includes forgeries of earlier ages, such as the "Donation of Constantine," as well as materials, authentic and legendary, quoted from genuine sources—the Scriptures, the Latin Fathers, the service-books, the genuine canons and decretals, and the Pontifical Books[5]—all pieced together so as to suit the writer's purpose, and as being all alike binding upon the Church.

The work bears internal evidence of its source and date. Certain peculiarities of language are held to fix it to the Frank Church of the Carolingian age, in which it was first cited as an authority.[6]

[1] "This collection is supposed to have been formed between the date of the Fourth Council of Toledo (which is the latest council included in the original form of the code) and the death of Isidore, by whom it was used, although his personal share in the formation of it is doubtful, *i. e.* between 633 and 636." (Robertson, vol. ii. p. 284.)

[2] Besides this mass of pretended early documents, there are some forgeries in the names of writers later than Siricius.

[3] Thus Victor (A.D. 190–202) writes to Theophilus of Alexandria (A.D. 400).

[4] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 285.

[5] This work is a set of legendary lives of Roman bishops, continued by Anastasius, "the Librarian," and usually cited under his name.

[6] Some of the best authorities trace the origin of the Decretals to Neustria, where they were first used; but the general opinion assigns them to Mainz, and their authorship is ascribed to Benedict, a "Levite" (or deacon) of that see, who between 840 and 847 added to the capitularies of Charles the Great and Louis the Pious three spurious books, which have much in common with the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. But the work is more likely to have grown during a series of years and under various hands, as occasion tempted the fabrication, and it has been supposed that the elements of the forgery were used by Wala at the "Field of Lies" in 833. (Gförer, *Karolinger*, cited by Robertson, vol. ii. pp. 259, 285.)

It was first so cited by Charles the Bald at the Council of Quiercy, in 857; and as the compiler borrows from the proceedings of the Sixth Council of Paris, in 829, these two dates are the limits within which the composition (at least in its existing form) must be placed. The professed design of the author was to supply a digest of the existing ecclesiastical laws, for the advancement of religion and morality; an assertion which can only be credited on the supposition that he regarded the cause of religion and morality as dependent on the authority and temporal interests of the clergy, and especially of the bishops. This view is as much in accord with the spirit of the age as the means which he took to give effect to it. Ecclesiastical writers had long since yielded to the temptation of using not only confessed fiction to appeal to the devout imagination, as in the legends of saints, but positive falsehood and imposture to serve the purposes of controversy. The pseudo-Isidorian Decretals are distinguished from other forgeries chiefly by the great scale of the imposture and the vast importance of its results.

§ 10. As those results have been principally in favour of the Papacy, it has been assumed that this was the primary purpose of the fabrication. But that purpose may be more correctly inferred from the work itself, and from the condition and controversies of the Frank Church. The clergy were suffering from the invasions of secular power and the alienation of benefices to the use of lay persons; and they, and especially the bishops, were contending against the jurisdiction assigned by the Frank system to the metropolitans, against whose judgment on a bishop an appeal lay only to the sovereign. The Decretals exalt the power of the clergy; place bishops almost above all secular judgment, and only allow charges to be brought against them in extreme cases and under the most rigorous conditions. The metropolitan has no power without the concurrence of his suffragans, whom he cannot even assemble without the Pope's permission; and the ultimate decision in such cases belongs to the Pope alone. "The power of the Pope is extended beyond anything that had yet been known. All causes may be carried to him by appeal; he alone is to decide all weighty and difficult causes; without his leave, not even provincial councils may be called, nor have their judgments any validity."[1] The most probable view of the compiler's purpose is, "that the decretals were fabricated for the benefit of the clergy, and more especially of the bishops; that they were designed to protect the property of the Church against invasion, and to fix the privileges of the hierarchy on a basis independent of secular authority; that the metropolitans were especially assailed

[1] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 286.

because they had been the chief instruments by which the Carolingian princes had been able to govern the bishops, to depose such of them as were obnoxious, and to sway the decisions of synods. The Popes were eventually the principal gainers by the forgery; but this appears to have been a result beyond the contemplation of those who planned or who executed it."[1]

§ 11. Not the least remarkable feature in the history of this imposture is the facility with which the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals were accepted by all parties, first in that very Frank Church which made such a stand against the jurisdiction of Rome, and soon afterwards throughout the West. "Published in an uncritical age, they bespoke a favourable reception by holding out to various classes redress of their grievances and increase of their privileges; even those who were galled by them in one respect were glad, like Hincmar of Rheims, to make use of them where it was convenient to do so. They were therefore admitted without any expressed doubt of their genuineness, although some questions were raised as to their application or obligatory power. In the next century, they were cited in a collection of Canons by Regino, abbot of Prüm; and they continued to be used by the compilers of similar works, until, in the thirteenth century, Gratian made them the foundation of his '*Decretum*,' the great law-book of the Church during the Middle Ages, and accommodated to their principles all the more genuine matter which he admitted. Although sometimes called in question during the long interval before the Reformation, they yet maintained their public credit; and, while the foundation has long been given up, even by the extreme writers of the Roman Church, the superstructure yet remains."[2]

§ 12. During the ninth century the Frank Church was divided by two great doctrinal controversies, which have lasted ever since; on the *Real Presence* in the Eucharist, and on *Predestination*. In these, as in other theological disputes, it is interesting to see how early the leading principles and arguments on both sides were brought forward, to be repeated again and again in a later age.

In the writings of some of the earliest Fathers there is a strength of language respecting the reception of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, which—as the Romanists say of our Lord's own words, "This is my body," "This is my blood"—might seem to have a material significance, had we not other proofs that they were meant in a figurative and spiritual sense. For such a sense the Western Church had the great authority of Augustine, who dis-

[1] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 288. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 290.

tinctly taught that our Lord's words as to eating his body are a figure. But, as the Church declined both in theological learning and still more in spiritual life, there was a growing tendency to put a literal sense on the mystic and rhetorical language of early writers, and also to ascribe the efficacy of the sacraments to the form and act rather than to the spiritual grace; to rely on the *opus operatum*, and to ascribe to it a power little less than magical.

A distinctly materialist view of the eucharistic presence seems to have been first clearly taught by PASCHASIUS RADBERT, who was master of the monastic school at Corbie, and afterwards abbot of the monastery (844–851), where, having retired to the degree of a simple monk, he died in 865. In a work first written for the instruction of monks (831), and afterwards presented to Charles the Bald,[1] Paschasius taught a view of the Eucharist equivalent to the Romish doctrine of *Transubstantiation*.[2] "Paschasius lays it down, that although, after the consecration, the appearance of bread and wine remain, yet we must not believe anything else to be really present than the body and the blood of the Saviour—the same flesh in which he was born of the Blessed Virgin—the same in which he suffered on the cross and rose from the dead."[3] This miraculous production of our Lord's body in the Eucharist is likened to His miraculous conception. The fact, that the elements remain unchanged to all the senses, is explained as an exercise of faith;[4] while, with manifest inconsistency, stories are told of the conviction of unbelievers by the miraculous conversion of the elements into visible flesh and blood; though what is seen can no longer be an object of pure faith, and the mystery is then dissolved.

§ 13. Though Radbert put forth these views, not as his own ideas, but as the received doctrine of the Church, they were denounced as novel and erroneous by the most eminent Frank churchmen.[5] The chief writer on the other side was another monk of

[1] *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, in the *Biblioth. Patrum*, Lugd. xiv., and the *Patrologia*, cxx.

[2] Paschasius, however, insists on the necessity of the reception of the wine as well as the bread by all communicants.

[3] Robertson, ii. p. 304. "It seems to be chiefly in thus maintaining the *identity* of the body that Paschasius goes beyond John of Damascus."

[4] The controversialist who affirms this as an *assumption* has, of course, passed beyond the limits of argument: in the famous phrase of Herodotus —a touchstone for whole classes of explanations based on no evidence— οὐκ ἔχει ἔλεγχον.

[5] But they were supported by some high authorities, as Hincmar (*Opp.* ii. 99–100), and Haymo, bishop of Halberstadt (*De Corp. et Sang. Dom.*, Patrolog. cxviii. 815–818). It is doubtful, however, whether Hincmar's rhetorical language was meant to go the full length of Radbert's doctrine.

Corbie, RATRAMN, who, at the desire of Charles the Bald, examined and answered the work of Paschasius.[1]

In discussing the question, whether the body and blood of Christ be present in *figure* or in *truth*, Ratramn defines *figure* to mean that the reality is veiled under something else; and *truth*, that the reality is openly displayed. It is in a figurative way that the body and blood of Christ are presented in the elements, not to the bodily senses, but to *the faithful soul*. The change is not material, but spiritual; just as the baptismal water is endued with a spiritual power. The corruptible elements in the sacrament can only be a figure of the incorruptible body and blood of Christ;[2] and as that which is visible and corruptible feeds the body, so that in them which is matter of belief is immortal, and feeds the soul to everlasting life. He supports his argument from the Liturgy, which speaks of the sacrament as a *pledge*, an *image*, and a *likeness*.[3]

In all this there is a distinct recognition of the idea, that the consecrated elements have a real, though purely spiritual, efficacy; that (as Ratramn says) while, in one respect, they continue bread and wine, they are, in another respect, by spirit and potency, the body and blood of Christ, which are really, though spiritually, received by the believing soul. The more extreme view, which makes the Eucharist a mere commemorative ordinance, appears to have been held by the great Irish divine, Johannes Scotus, of whom we have presently to say more;[4] and this view was denounced as heretical by both parties. The doctrine of Paschasius gradually prevailed in the ensuing century.

§ 14. In the controversies which had sprung from the conflict of Augustine with Pelagianism, the question of *Predestination* had

[1] Ratramn, *de Corp. et Sang. Domini*, Patrolog. cxxi. c. 1, and Oxon. 1838. This book is of special interest for the history of English theology, as it converted Bishop Ridley from the belief in transubstantiation, and formed a model for the doctrine of our Reformed Church. (Ridley, p. 159, ed. Parker Society; Robertson, vol. ii. p. 306.)

[2] The idea, common to the doctrines of transubstantiation and consubstantiation, that a physical germ of incorruptibility is imparted in the sacrament, seems to be directly contradicted by the argument (if we may not rather say, the axiom) of St. Paul, that "*flesh and blood* cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven, neither doth *corruption* inherit *incorruption*" (1 Cor. xv. 50). The change necessary for this must be *complete*, and it takes place only *at the resurrection* (vv. 51–54).

[3] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 306.

[4] The work which Johannes Scotus is said to have written, at the request of Charles the Bald, is unfortunately lost, and the quotations professedly made from it by early writers are found in Ratramn's book, which, as it was first published anonymously, may have been confounded with what Scotus wrote or was supposed to have written.

attracted little attention in comparison with the problems relating to Grace and Free Will. The Synods of Orange and Valence (529), which had given the last decision of the Western Church on the Semipelagian controversy, had fully adopted the doctrines of Augustine on Sin and Grace, Faith and Works; but they had mitigated the predestination of the reprobate (*reprobati*) into mere foreknowledge, and they had rejected all pre-ordination of evil as blasphemous. Upon the whole, the great authority of Augustine had not availed to secure the full adoption of his views; and the doctrine prevalent in the Western Church may be described as a mild Semipelagianism. The conflict seems deeply seated in human nature, between the consistent adoption of the Augustinian theology and a shrinking from its logical consequences; till we have learned to confess that, in the present narrow limits of our knowledge and mental power, we must be content to accept co-ordinate truths, each on its own independent evidence, and to wait for the solution of a *paradox*, which is only made a *contradiction* by our impatient efforts at reconciliation.[1]

The rigidly logical mind, combined with an ardent temperament and a spirit intolerant of opposition, which insists on the extremest forms of supposed truth, were found in GOTTSCHALK,[2] the son of a Saxon count, who had placed him while a child in the famous monastery of Fulda. His desire to obtain a release from his monastic vows, though granted by a synod at Mainz (829), was overruled by Louis the Pious on the appeal of Raban Maur, the Abbot of Corbie;[3] but he removed to the monastery of Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons. There his abbot (according to the report of his persistent enemy, Hincmar) described his character as "restless, changeable, bent on perversities, addicted to argument, and apt to misrepresent what was said by others in conversation with him; as scorning to be a disciple of the truth, and preferring to be a master of error; as eager to gain an influence, by correspondence and otherwise, over persons who were inclined to novelty, and desired notoriety at any price."[4] This is, doubtless,

[1] See Bishop Horsley's famous xixth sermon on the text, Matt. xvi. 21: "From that time forth began Jesus to shew unto his disciples, how that he *must* go to Jerusalem and suffer," &c.

[2] *Schalk*, in old German, signified a *servant*, although its meaning has undergone the same change as that of our own word *knave;* so that *Gottschalk* means *servant of God.* The Epistle to Titus begins, in the Gothic version, *Paulus, skalks Guths.* (Robertson, vol. ii. p. 308.)

[3] This great teacher was the pupil of Alcuin, who surnamed him Maurus after St. Maur, a famous disciple of Benedict. He died in 856, at the age of seventy, if his birth is rightly placed in 786. (See Kunstmann's *Hrabanus Magnentius Maurus*, Mainz, 1844.)

[4] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 309.

an unfair judgment; but we find one of Gottschalk's most eminent friends, Servatus Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, charging him with an immoderate fondness for speculation, from which he exhorts him to turn to more practical matters.[1]

§ 15. In his enforced monastic retirement, Gottschalk became an ardent student of Augustine and his followers, among whom his chief favourite was Fulgentius.[2] Predestination was the doctrine of which Gottschalk undertook the special defence; and he appears to have been the first who distinctly taught a "double predestination" (*gemina prædestinatio*) to salvation and damnation.[3] His opponents accused him of teaching what they regarded as the necessary inference, a predestination of the wicked to sin as well as to its punishment.[4] But Gottschalk denied that he made God the author or ordainer of evil; his "double predestination was, in both cases, to good; for God's just judgments are good, as well as the blessings of his grace; and to those judgments the wicked, whether angels or men, were predestinate because their perseverance in sin was foreknown." In the two 'Confessions,'[5] which contain his own statement of his doctrine, he maintains that the twofold predestination is that of good angels and men, *freely*, to bliss, and that of the evil, *justly*, to punishment, on foreknowledge of their guilt. He held also the doctrine of what is now called *particular redemption*, namely, that Christ died only for the elect.

§ 16. With a view (as it seems) to the public teaching of his opinions, Gottschalk obtained ordination as a presbyter by a *chorepiscopus* of Rheims, while that see was vacant after the deposition of Ebba.[6] It was during a visit to Italy in 847 that Gottschalk

[1] Servat. Lup. *Epist.* xxx. (*Patrolog.* cxix.).

[2] Fulgentius, of Ruspe, one of the African bishops exiled to Sardinia by the Vandal persecution, wrote, at the request of a synod (523), three books *De Veritate Prædestinationis et Gratiæ Dei*, in defence of the Augustinian doctrine.

[3] Augustine had described the finally lost as *reprobati*, not, however, as being distinctly predestinated to destruction, but as being let alone and left to the just judgment on their sins.

[4] Though no argument is fairer than that drawn from the logical consequences of the proposition in debate (witness Euclid's *reductio ad absurdum*), yet no dialectic artifice is more disingenuous than to impute the holding of such consequences to the opponent who disavows them.

[5] *Confessio Brevior* and *Confessio Prolixior:* the latter, in imitation of Augustine, is in the form of an address to God. These, and the other chief works on the controversy, are published by Mauguin, *Veterum Auctorum qui IX. sæculi de Prædestinatione et Gratia scripserunt, Opera et Fragmenta*, Paris, 1650. See also Archbishop Ussher's *Historia Gotteschalci*, Dublin, 1631; and Cellot, *Historia Gotteschalci*, Paris, 1655.

[6] "This act appears to have been a token of disaffection to the episcopal body, with which the chorepiscopi were then on very unfriendly terms;

first propounded his doctrine; and his former abbot, Raban Maur, now archbishop of Mainz, wrote two letters strongly condemning his teaching. In the following year Gottschalk appeared before a Council held at Mainz, in presence of Louis the German, and defended his opinions against Raban Maur, whom he charged with Semipelagianism. He was condemned by the Council, banished from the dominions of Louis, and sent to his metropolitan, Hincmar, to be dealt with as incorrigible. Hincmar brought him before a council at Quiercy, by which he was again condemned; he was flogged so cruelly, in presence of King Charles the Bald, that he had hardly strength left to throw his book into the fire at the command of the Council, and was finally sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in the monastery of Hautvilliers. Here he held stedfastly to his opinions, and refused to sign a declaration, which Hincmar offered as the condition of his release, admitting that there might be divine foreknowledge without predestination. He continued to write in defence of his opinions, and it was now that he put forth his two 'Confessions.' His views were supported by some eminent divines; among whom were Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, Servatus Lupus, abbot of Ferrières, and Ratramn, who wrote on the subject at the request of Charles the Bald.

§ 17. On the other side, Hincmar obtained a powerful advocate in JOHANNES SCOTUS, that is, the Irishman,[1] whom Charles honoured above most of the men of learning at his court, as a miracle of wit and knowledge. Scotus restored the reputation of the Palatine school. He was distinguished above the Frankish clergy by his knowledge of Greek, and he translated for Charles into Latin the works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, which had been sent by the Emperor Michael Balbus, in 827, as a present to Louis the Pious. The mysticism of that work was congenial to the speculative mind of Scotus—a devoted student of Plato and the Neo-Platonic philosophy, which he mingled with his Christian theology to such a degree as to lay him open to various charges of heresy.

The work which he wrote at the request of Hincmar, 'On Divine Predestination,' treats the subject chiefly from the philosophical point of view, and starts from the position that true philosophy and true theology are one and the same. "It is, he says, an impropriety to speak of *pre*destination or *fore*knowledge in God, since to

it was also censured as irregular, inasmuch as Gottschalk belonged to the diocese of Soissons, and as the chorepiscopus had no authority from any superior to confer the priestly ordination at all." Robertson, vol. ii. p. 309.

[1] The epithet *Erigena* (or, in the oldest form, *Ierugena*) was afterwards added to his name.

Him all time is present; but, admitting the use of such words, he holds that predestination is eternal, and is as much a part of God himself as any other of his attributes. It can therefore only be *one;* we can no more suppose two predestinations in God than two wisdoms or two knowledges. He disallows Gottschalk's distinction of *one twofold* predestination; the Divine predestination must be truly one, and must be to good only: and such (he maintains) is the use of the term, not only in Scripture, but in Augustine's own writings, if rightly understood. Yet the number both of those who shall be delivered by Christ and of those who are to be left to their wickedness is known, and may be said to be predestined; God has circumscribed the wicked by his law, which brings out their wickedness, while it acts in an opposite manner on the good. Scotus strongly asserts the freedom of the will to choose, not only evil (to which Lupus had limited it), but good; free-will (he says) is a gift with which our nature is endowed by God—a good gift, although it may be employed for evil; whereas Gottschalk, by referring all virtue and vice to predestination, denies both the freedom of the will and the assistance of grace, and thus falls at once into the errors of the Pelagians and of their extreme opponents."[1] Much more of an interesting and ingenious character might be quoted from the work of Scotus; but, though it convinced King Charles, its effect was, on the whole, adverse to the cause which it defended, from its philosophical subtlety and freedom of thought, which brought upon Scotus the charges of Pelagianism, Origenism, and other heresies.

§ 18. In 853 Hincmar held another council at Quiercy, which passed four decrees,[2] affirming that "man fell by the abuse of his free will; that God, by his foreknowledge, chose some whom by his grace He predestinated to life, and life to them: but as for those whom He, by his righteous judgment, left in their lost estate, He did not predestinate them to perish, but predestinated punishment to their sin. And hereby (it is said) we speak of only one predestination of God, which relates either to the gift of grace or to the retribution of justice. It is defined that our free will was lost by the Fall, but was recovered through Christ; that we have a free will to good, prevented and aided by grace; that God would have all men to be saved, and that Christ suffered for all; that the ruin of those who perish is to be ascribed to their own desert."[3]

Though Prudentius of Troyes was present at this council and signed its decrees, he afterwards put forth four counter-propositions; and Remigius, archbishop of Lyon, who was a subject of Lothair,

[1] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 315.
[2] Called the *Capitula Carisiaca.*
[3] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 317.

held a council at Valence, which condemned the opinions of John Scotus—contemptuously described as "porridge of the Scots"—and censured the four articles of Quiercy (855). The Frank princes convened a large council at Savonnières, a suburb of Toul; but there was so much division and bitterness, that Remigius proposed, for the sake of peace, the adjournment of the question to another council (859). The result was that no final decision was come to; but a council held at Toucy, near Toul, in the following year, in presence of Charles the Bald, Lothair II., and Charles of Provence, approved of a letter drawn up by Hincmar, who afterwards spent four or five years in the composition of a great work on the whole controversy, addressed to Charles the Bald.[1]

§ 19. Gottschalk, deserted by his own friends, who regarded his views as extreme, remained in prison twenty years. Pope Nicolas I. was inclined to take up his cause; but Hincmar refused to appear with him before the synod held by the papal legates at Metz about the marriage of Lothair (863). From his prison he continued his charges of heresy against Hincmar, who had changed the expression *trina Deitas*, in a hymn of the Latin Church, into *sancta Deitas*, for which Gottschalk accused him of Sabellianism, and Hincmar retorted by a charge of Arianism. In this controversy also Ratramn and Raban Maur took part, the former opposing, and the latter supporting Hincmar; and the result was that the "trina Deitas" was restored in the liturgy of the Gallican Church. According to Hincmar, Gottschalk became subject to strange delusions; but, treated as he was, it is not wonderful that he applied the imagery of the Apocalypse to forebode the ruin of his oppressor. When his end drew near, Hincmar would only consent to his receiving the last sacraments if he would sign a confession of the truth of the archbishop's doctrines on Predestination and the Trinity. This Gottschalk vehemently refused; and he died without the sacraments, and was buried in unconsecrated ground.[2]

[1] *Epistola ad Regem.*

[2] "The Jesuits are strong in condemnation of him; the Jansenists and Augustinian Romanists (as the authors of the *Hist. Litt.* iv. 262), with Protestant writers in general, are favourable to his orthodoxy, and suppose that his opinions were misunderstood. (Gieseler, II. i. 138)." Robertson, vol. ii. p. 321.



Chapel of St. John at Poitiers, probably of the Tenth Century.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CHURCH IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

FROM THE DEATH OF POPE JOHN VIII. TO THE DEATH OF POPE SYLVESTER II. A.D. 882—1003.

§ 1. Character of the Tenth Century: a time of general suffering and religious decline—Invasion of the *Magyars* or *Hungarians*—State of Italy. § 2. Fierce contests for the Papal chair—FORMOSUS—The Emperor ARNULF—STEPHEN VI.—JOHN IX. § 3. Adalbert of Tuscany and the "Pornocracy" at Rome—Popes SERGIUS III. and JOHN X.—The Emperor BERENGAR. § 4. Pope JOHN XI.—The Patrician ALBERIC—His son Octavian becomes Pope JOHN XII.—His shameless Character—Crowns OTHO I. Emperor—Restoration of the *Holy Roman Empire*. § 5. The Empire and the Church—Increased power of the Church in Germany—Motives of Otho. § 6. Weakened hold of the Empire on Italy—Revolt of John XII.—Council held by Otho at Rome—Deposition of John—Leo VIII. Pope. § 7. Return and Death of John XII.—BENEDICT V. Antipope—Pope JOHN XIII. driven out—Attempt at a Roman Republic—Severity of Otho—Embassy of Liudprand to the Emperor NICEPHORUS II. PHOCAS—State of Constantinople. § 8. The

Republican party under CRESCENTIUS—OTHO II. at Rome—His defeat by the Saracens and death—Pope JOHN XV. invites the aid of OTHO III. § 9. Influence of Otho's mother Theophano and his tutor, Gerbert—His absolutist ideas, and dream of a renovated Rome—He enters Italy, and appoints Bruno, GREGORY V., the first German Pope, who crowns him Emperor—Revolt of Rome—Otho puts down Crescentius and the Antipope. § 10. Death of Gregory V.—Gerbert made Pope—His former life; his learning and science. § 11. Gerbert's visits to Italy, and disgust at the state of Rome—Case of Arnulf of Rheims—Council of St. Basle—Contest with John XV. about Papal jurisdiction—Deposition of Arnulf—Gerbert made Archbishop of Rheims—Continued contest with John XV.—Gerbert goes to the Court of Otho III.—Restoration of Arnulf—Pope Gregory V. and ROBERT I., King of France—Victories of the Papacy. § 12. Gerbert made Archbishop of Ravenna and POPE SYLVESTER II.—Imperial Designs of Otho III.—His early death. § 13. Millennary epoch of Christianity—Expectation of the end of the world. § 14. Imperial reformation of the Papacy—Pontificate of Sylvester II.—His suggestion of a Crusade—His death—Legends about his magical arts. § 15. Summary of Eastern history during the Tenth Century.

§ 1. THE successors of John VIII. brought the Papacy to the lowest depth of degradation; and indeed, throughout all Christendom, the tenth century is one of the darkest periods of history. The general character of the age is well described by Canon Robertson:[1]—"Never, perhaps, was there a time of greater misery for most of the European nations; never was there one so sad and discreditable for religion. The immediate necessities which pressed on men diverted their minds from study and speculation. The clergy in general sank into the grossest ignorance and disorder; the papacy was disgraced by infamies of which there had been no example in former days."

To the sufferings inflicted by the Northmen and Saracens there was now added the inroad of a new swarm of fierce barbarians, the *Magyars* or *Hungarians*, from the north of Asia,[2] who had already established themselves on the Danube, and threatened Constantinople. Invited by the Emperor Arnulf to aid him against the Moravians, they poured into Germany, Italy, and Provence, destroying cities, churches, and monasteries,[3] and causing another

[1] Vol. ii. p. 401.

[2] The Magyars were confounded with the Huns, like whom they were nomad horsemen; but they belonged to the *Ugrian* race, and *Hungary* (which they conquered in 889, and where they still form the dominant population) does not signify the land of the *Huns*, but of the *Ugrians* or *Unjrians* (in German, *Ungarn*).

[3] Among the cities was the Lombard capital of Pavia; among the monasteries, that of St. Gall.

prayer to be added to the Litany, for deliverance "from the arrows of the Hungarians." They received the first decisive checks from the German king, Henry the Fowler (924 and 933), and their power was broken at the battle of Lechfeld (955) by his son, OTHO I.,[1] who was afterwards the great restorer of the empire (962–973). Under him, and his followers of the Saxon line, the kingdoms of Italy and Germany were again united; but, while the sovereign resided in Germany, the Italian cities had to care for their own defence against the Saracen and Hungarian invaders; and this independent action gave rise to the famous civic republics of Italy.

§ 2. Throughout this century the papal chair was the object of fierce contests or shameful patronage; and the Popes who filled it in rapid succession were often removed by secret practice or open violence. Some of these "infallible" vicars of Christ were condemned by their successors or by councils, or are more deeply branded by the surer verdict of history. These factions of Rome were closely connected with the rivalry of candidates for the Empire. For example, Pope FORMOSUS (891–896) called in Arnulf to his aid against the Roman factions, and crowned him Emperor. Soon after the death of Formosus, STEPHEN VI.[2] (896–7) caused his body to be disinterred, and placed in the full pontifical robe in the papal chair; and, after the show of a trial, the deceased Pope was condemned for violations of canonical rule, his body was stripped of its vestments, dragged through the streets of the city, and thrown into the Tiber. But the river refused to receive the corpse, and other miracles (for in that age miracles were always ready to support one side or both) attested the innocence of Formosus, when his body was carried back to St. Peter's after the murder of Stephen (897), whose proceedings were condemned by a council held in the following year by JOHN IX. (Pope from 898–900.)

§ 3. On the departure of Arnulf from Italy, the factions again broke loose, the anti-German party recovered the ascendency at Rome, and Adalbert, Marquis of Tuscany, became master of the city. During the first half of the tenth century the government of the city and the elections to the papacy were in the hands of a party significantly called the "pornocracy." Adalbert's mistress, Theodora, a wealthy Roman widow, with her two daughters, Theodora and Marozia (or Mary), as beautiful and profligate as herself, were enabled to fill the papal chair with their paramours, their children,

[1] The proper German name is OTTO, but historians naturally use the Latin form OTHO.

[2] Between Formosus and Stephen, BONIFACE VI. held the Papacy for only fifteen days, in May and June 896.

and their grandchildren.[1] The first of this vile succession was SERGIUS III. (904–911), the paramour of Marozia. The shameless elevation of John, the young archbishop of Ravenna and paramour of Theodora, as JOHN X. (914–928), was followed by a display of energy which breaks through the foul darkness of this age. Having crowned BERENGAR emperor (915), in order, as it seems, to break the power of the Italian nobles, John led his troops against the Saracens on the Garigliano, and drove them from the camp whence they had long ravaged the coasts and harassed Rome. But when he attempted to throw off the yoke of the pornocracy, the partisans of Marozia's husband—Guy, duke of Tuscany—seized John in the Castle of St. Angelo, and he was put to death in prison.

§ 4. JOHN XI. (931–936), the reputed son of Marozia and Sergius III.,[2] was restricted to the functions which were still by unconscious irony called *spiritual*, while the government of Rome was assumed by Marozia's third husband, Hugh the Great, king of Arles. But after a short time her son Alberic expelled his stepfather, shut up his mother and the Pope in prison, and held a tyrannical sway over Rome for above twenty years,[3] filling the papal chair with his own creatures.[4] Alberic was succeeded (954) by his son Octavian, a youth of sixteen, but already in holy orders, who, on the death of AGAPETUS II., assumed the papacy by the title of JOHN XII. (955–963).[5]

In this youth of eighteen the degradation of the first bishopric of Christendom, not to say of human nature, reached a depth which it remained for some of his successors to prove not past equalling. One great event marks his pontificate—the second revival of the Empire in its permanent union with the German kingdom, and in the full character of the HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.[6]

Since his accession in 936, King Otho I. had made Germany the one great powerful kingdom of Europe; while Italy was torn by factions and oppressed by the Emperor Berengar. At length, in 962, the Pope and many of the leading churchmen and laity of

[1] The great Roman Catholic annalist, Baronius, describes this series of Popes as "homines monstruosi, vita turpissimi, moribus perditissimi, usquequaque fœdissimi."

[2] Some make him the son of Marozia by her first husband, Alberic, Marquis of Camerino, father of Alberic, the Consul of Rome.

[3] His title is variously given as Senator, Consul, Patrician, or Prince of the Romans.

[4] See the List of Popes.

[5] This is the first example of that assumption of a new name by the Pope on his consecration, which afterwards became the constant usage. The civil government was still carried on in the name of Octavian.

[6] The best exposition of this whole subject is given in Mr. Bryce's work already referred to, 'On the Holy Roman Empire.'

Italy invited Otho to their deliverance. He crossed the Alps with a powerful army of his Saxons. At Pavia he received the iron crown of Italy; and having, on his way to Rome, sworn to uphold the privileges of the Pope, to defend the patrimony of St. Peter, and to respect the liberties of the city, he was crowned by John at the Feast of Candlemas, by the title of IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS, amidst the acclamations of the whole Roman people, which were echoed (says an annalist) by those of almost the whole of Europe.[1] (February 2nd, 962.)

"The details of his election and coronation are unfortunately still more scanty than in the case of his great predecessor. Most of our authorities represent the act as of the Pope's favour; yet it is plain that the consent of the people was still thought an essential part of the ceremony, and that Otto rested after all on his host of conquering Saxons. Be this as it may, there was neither question raised nor opposition made in Rome; the usual courtesies and promises were made between Emperor and Pope, the latter owning himself a subject, and the citizens swore for the future to elect no pontiff without Otto's consent."[2] Otho appears to have made a formal confirmation of the donations of Pepin and Charles to the see of Rome. The temporal and ecclesiastical powers put each its own construction on the whole matter; and while the imperial authority was maintained for the present, a new opening was made for papal claims by the circumstances of Otho's coronation, "for it was a Pope who summoned him to Rome, and a Pope who received from him an oath of fidelity and aid."[3]

§ 5. By the coronation of Otho, Germany and Italy were united under a rule which was even more distinctly *imperial* than that of Charles the Great, and a closer union was proclaimed between Church and State, under the spiritual supremacy of the Pope and the secular government of the Emperor. "As lord of the world, Otto was Emperor north as well as south of the Alps. When he issued an edict, he claimed the obedience of his Teutonic subjects in both capacities; when as Emperor he led the armies of the Gospel against the heathen, it was the standard of their feudal superior that his armed vassals followed; when he founded churches and appointed bishops, he acted partly as suzerain of feudal lands, partly as pro-

[1] *Annal. Quedlinb.*, ann. 962. Mr. Bryce points out the evident desire implied in the title assumed by Otho, to merge the King in the Emperor through all his dominions, in contrast with the prominence which Charles gave to his title of King of the Franks. "Charles, son of the Ripuarian allies of Probus, had been a Frankish chieftain on the Rhine; Otto the Saxon, successor of the Cheruscan Arminius, would rule his native Elbe with a power borrowed from the Tiber." (P. 141.)

[2] Bryce, pp. 95, 96.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

tector of the faith, charged to guide the Church in matters temporal. Thus the assumption of the imperial crown brought to Otho as its first result an apparent increase of domestic peace; it made his position by its historical associations more dignified, by its religious more hallowed; it raised him higher above his vassals and above other sovereigns; it enlarged his prerogative in ecclesiastical affairs, and by necessary consequence gave to ecclesiastics a more important place at court and in the administration of government than they had enjoyed before. Great as was the power of the bishops and abbots in all the feudal kingdoms, it stood nowhere so high as in Germany. There the Emperor's double position, as head both of Church and State, required the two organizations to be exactly parallel. In the eleventh century a full half of the land and wealth of the country, and no small part of its military strength, was in the hands of Churchmen: their influence predominated in the diet; the Arch-chancellorship of the Empire, highest of all offices, belonged of right to the Archbishop of Mentz, as primate of Germany. It was by Otto, who in resuming the attitude must repeat the policy of Charles, that the greatness of the clergy was thus advanced. He is commonly said to have wished to weaken the aristocracy by raising up rivals to them in the hierarchy. It may have been so, and the measure was at any rate a disastrous one, for the clergy soon approved themselves not less rebellious than those whom they were to restrain. But, in accusing Otto's judgment, historians have often forgotten in what position he stood to the Church, and how it behoved him, according to the doctrine received, to establish in her an order like in all things to that which he found already subsisting in the State."[1]

§ 6. The revived Empire was, in its conception, distinctly ROMAN; but this grand idea became the source of its greatest troubles. A Cæsar with his seat in Germany had but a feeble hold of Italy; and at Rome itself an ever-present Pope had a manifest advantage over an absent Emperor; besides the more powerful appeal which a spiritual authority made to the minds of men throughout all Christendom. Otho had a foretaste of these difficulties immediately after his coronation. No sooner had he left Rome than John, disgusted probably at finding that he had obtained a master instead of an obedient helper, joined the party of the rival Emperor Berengar and his son Adalbert, and invited the heathen Magyars to invade Germany. With the news of these plots, complaints were carried to Otho of the Pope's shameless profligacy and contempt for all the duties and even decencies of his sacred office—nay, for Christianity itself. Supported by the anti-German party, John-Octavian resumed

[1] Bryce, pp. 139, 140.

his claims as governor of independent Rome, and shut the gates against the Emperor. But, not bold enough to stand a siege, he fled to Adalbert in the Campagna; and Otho, as temporal head of the Church, convened a synod at St. Peter's to inquire into the charges against the Pope.

We have a graphic account of the proceedings by Liudprand,[1] bishop of Cremorne, who took part in them:—"Peter, cardinal priest, rose and witnessed that he had seen the Pope celebrate mass and not himself communicate. John, bishop of Narnia, and John, cardinal-deacon, declared that they had seen him ordain a deacon in a stable, neglecting the proper formalities. They said further, that he had defiled by shameless acts of vice the pontifical palace; that he had openly diverted himself with hunting; had put out the eyes of his spiritual father Benedict; had set fire to houses; had girt himself with a sword, and put on a helmet and hauberk. All present, laymen as well as priests, cried out that he had drunk to the devil's health; that in throwing the dice he had invoked the help of Jupiter, Venus, and other demons; that he had celebrated matins at uncanonical hours, and had not fortified himself by making the sign of the cross."

In answer to the solemn adjuration of the Emperor, all the clergy and the people present bound themselves by an anathema to the truth of these charges and many more; and a respectful letter was sent to John, asking him to appear and clear himself of the accusations by his own oath, supported by compurgators. His answer was in curious Latin, which may be literally translated as follows:—"John the bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to all the bishops. We have heard tell that you wish to set up another Pope: if you do this, by Almighty God I will excommunicate you, so that you shall not have power to say the mass or to ordain no one." A second letter was addressed to John, who could not be found, as he was away hunting—a practice which was regarded as among his most heinous offences. As he failed to appear, the synod assented by acclamation to the Emperor's demand for his deposition from the papacy, and LEO VIII. (963–965), chief secretary to the see, and as yet only a layman, was hastily appointed in John's place. The citizens of Rome engaged for the future to elect no Pope without the Emperor's consent.

[1] Liudprand is the principal authority for the history of this time, and, though a strong partisan and much given to satire, he is, on the whole, a credible witness. "His chief work has the title of *Antapodosis*, that is, *Requital*, having been written, as he says (iii. 1), with a view of at once avenging himself on Berengar and Willa, and repaying credit to those who had benefited his family and himself." (Robertson, vol. ii. p. 413.) The extract in the text is taken from Bryce, pp. 147, 148.

§ 7. The fickle Roman people attempted a rising even while Otho was still in the city; and, after his departure in pursuit of Adalbert, they re-admitted John. Leo was deposed by a synod; and when John was killed by an injured husband,[1] they elected BENEDICT V. (May–June, 964), who must be regarded only as an Anti-pope. Otho returned and starved the city into a surrender. Benedict, deposed by another synod, was banished to Hamburg; and the Emperor obtained from Leo a confirmation of his veto on all papal elections (965). Leo died in the same year; and his successor, JOHN XIII. (965–972), was driven from Rome three months later by a party who aimed at setting up a republic independent alike of Emperor and Pope. For the third time Otho came to Rome, determined to put down rebellion by signal severity. Thirteen of the republican leaders were put to death, including the twelve tribunes; the two consuls were banished to Germany; the forms of a republic were entirely suppressed, and the city was placed under the government of the Pope, as the viceroy of the Emperor.

These severities were made by the Byzantine Emperor, NICEPHORUS II. PHOCAS (963–969), the ground of bitter reproaches, when Liudprand went as ambassador to Constantinople to ask the hand of the Princess Theophano for the son of Otho;[2] but the bishop boldly answered that his master had not invaded Rome as a tyrant, but had rescued the city from tyrants and miscreants. When Nicephorus, vaunting the superiority of Greek theology over German rudeness, asked sneeringly if there had ever been any council held in Saxony, Liudprand retorted, "Where diseases are most rife, there are the most remedies; and as all sorts of heresies have had their birth among the Greeks, so it was necessary they should have councils of the Church to set them right." He gives a vivid picture of the vice and weakness of the Byzantine court.

§ 8. On the death of Otho the Great, the republican party again made head at Rome under the consul CRESCENTIUS, a reputed son or grandson of John X. and one of the Theodoras.[3] OTHO II. (973–983) restored the imperial authority at Rome (981); but, in attempting to conquer Southern Italy, he received a decisive defeat from the Saracens, and died soon after his return to Rome. It is

[1] Liudprand ascribes his death to a blow on the temples from the devil, thereby, remarks Mr. Bryce, "crediting with but little of his wonted cleverness the supposed author of John's death, who might well have desired a long life for so useful a servant."

[2] Afterwards the Emperor OTHO II.

[3] The accounts of the republican insurrections at Rome are confused, some making only one Crescentius, a *grandson* of John X. and Theodora; others making two, the *father*, who headed the insurrection after the death of Otho the Great, and the *son*, who rebelled against Otho III.

needless to dwell on the rivalries, depositions, and murders of successive pontiffs, till JOHN XV. (985–996) invited the aid of Otho III. (983–1002).

§ 9. This famous prince, left an infant of five years old at his father's death, was brought up under the care of his mother Theophano and Willigis, archbishop of Mainz, one of the few high ecclesiastics of that age not corrupted by family, wealth, and a life of pleasure and ambition.[1] On reaching his fifteenth year (994), Otho invited to his court the learned and scientific Gerbert, of Rheims,[2] by whose tuition he profited so far as to win, in that age of lay ignorance, the epithet of the *Prodigy*.

Otho's Greek mother had instilled into him no small share of the absolutist ideas of the Eastern Empire, while his tutor had imbued his mind with the hope of a renovated Rome. "It was his design, now that the solemn millennial era of the foundation of Christianity had arrived, to renew the majesty of the city, and to make her again the capital of a world-embracing empire, victorious as Trajan's, despotic as Justinian's, holy as Constantine's. His young and visionary mind was too much dazzled by the gorgeous fancies it created, to see the world as it was; Germany rude, Italy unquiet, Rome corrupt and faithless."[3]

On taking the government into his own hands, at the age of sixteen, Otho marched into Italy to free the Pope from the domination of Crescentius, and to receive the imperial crown. He was met at Ravenna by messengers bringing the news of John's death and an invitation from the imperial party to nominate his successor,—a remarkable extension of the imperial prerogative to a sovereign who was not emperor, as he was not crowned.[4] Otho named his cousin and chaplain, Bruno, *the first German Pope*, who took the title of GREGORY V. (996–999), and crowned Otho Emperor on Ascension Day, 996. In the hope of reconciling parties at Rome, Gregory obtained from his kinsman the pardon of Crescentius.

But the Roman factions were irreconcilable, and events moved in the old cycle. No sooner was the Emperor's back turned than Crescentius expelled Gregory and set up John, bishop of Piacenza, as Anti-pope. John—who was by birth a Calabrian and so a subject of the Byzantine emperor, and who had been chaplain to the Empress Theophano, and godfather to Otho III. and Pope Gregory—showed a desire to counteract the schemes of Otho by placing

[1] Being the son of a wheelwright, Willigis adopted a wheel for the arms of his see, with the motto, "Willigis, forget not thine origin."

[2] See below, § 11.

[3] Bryce, p. 159.

[4] The coronation at Rome was essential to the full imperial dignity.

Rome under the Eastern Empire. Otho, recalled by the news from an expedition against the Slavonians, put Crescentius to death, and inflicted cruel punishment and public degradation on the Anti-pope.[1]

§ 10. On the sudden and mysterious death of Gregory V., at the age of only thirty, Otho conferred the papacy on his tutor Gerbert, who took the title of SYLVESTER II. (999–1003), as if to suggest a parallel to the relations between Constantine and Sylvester I.

Gerbert was born of humble parents in Auvergne, about the middle of the century. Having been brought up in the monastery of Aurillac, and having attended other French schools, he was sent by his abbot into Spain, and there studied the mathematical and physical sciences; whether under Arab teachers themselves, or through Christians who had learned from them, is uncertain. At the school of Rheims, of which Gerbert became the chief teacher, he introduced the study of mathematics, the decimal notation, and the Arabic numerals. His mechanical knowledge and ingenuity were proved by the construction of more than one clock, of some astronomical instruments, and (it is said) of an organ blown by steam. His physical science gained him the ill repute of witchcraft, which clung to his memory after death.

§ 11. Before his final settlement at Rheims, Gerbert had paid two visits to Rome, and (like Luther five centuries later) he received an impression of the state of society and religion there which bore fruit in his later course. "All Italy," he wrote to a friend,[2] "appears to me a Rome; and the morals of the Romans are the horror of the world." As secretary to Adalbert, archbishop of Rheims, he took an active part in political affairs, at the great crisis when the sceptre of the Carlings was passing to the line of Capet. Adalbert wished him to be his successor (989); but Arnulf, an illegitimate son of one of the last Carolingian kings, obtained the see from Hugh Capet by a promise of faithful service, confirmed by a most stringent oath, which was scarcely taken when Arnulf betrayed Rheims to Charles, duke of Lorraine. Arnulf was called to answer for his treason before a council held at the monastery of St. Basle (Basolus), near Rheims (991).

The proceedings are memorable for the opposition of the council to the claim of jurisdiction in the case of a metropolitan, which was put forward by Pope John XV., though he had been applied to in vain for directions before the synod was convened. The anti-Romanist view was urged with great force and boldness by

[1] For the various accounts of the surrender of Crescentius, when besieged by Otho in the Castle of St. Angelo, and of the fate of John, see Robertson, vol. ii. p. 421.

[2] *Epist.* 40.

another Arnulf, bishop of Orleans. "He denied the power of the Roman pontiff by his silence to lay to sleep the ancient laws of the Church, or by his sole authority to reverse them: if it were so, there would really be no laws to rely on. He enlarged on the enormities of recent popes, and asked how it was possible to defer to the sentence of such monsters — destitute as they were of all judicial qualities, of knowledge, of love, of character, — very Antichrists sitting in the temple of God. It would (he said) be far better, if the dissensions of princes would permit, to seek a decision from the learned and pious bishops of Belgic Gaul and Germany, than from the venal and polluted court of Rome."[1]

In accordance with the jurisdiction thus claimed, Arnulf of Rheims was brought before the council; and, after abject entreaties to be spared death and mutilation, he read an abdication of his archbishopric, and resigned the ensigns of his spiritual authority to the bishops and those of his temporalities to the king. Arnulf was imprisoned at Orleans, and Gerbert, who had taken no part in these proceedings, was appointed his successor. The Council wrote to John XV. with much deference, excusing their having acted without his authority on the ground that their application to him had been so long unanswered. John summoned them to Rome for a new trial of the case, and ordered them to reinstate Arnulf; and they themselves, with the new archbishop, were suspended meanwhile from their ecclesiastical functions. But a new synod at Chela[2] maintained the decisions of St. Basle; and Gerbert wrote letters in all directions, in a tone of decided opposition to the papal claim of jurisdiction. The danger seemed pressing of a complete schism between the Gallican and Roman Churches; but the Pope was able, chiefly by means of the monks, to bring Gerbert into suspicion with the French king and people, so that (as he himself writes) there was a cry even for his blood. At this juncture he received, and gladly accepted, the invitation of Otho III., but without giving up his bishopric.

After some further controversy, a council held at Rheims declared in favour of Arnulf's right to the see (995); but he was kept in prison till Robert I., the son and successor of Hugh Capet, released him as a means of obtaining the sanction of Pope Gregory V. to his uncanonical marriage with Bertha of Burgundy. On this point, however, the Pope was firm, and Robert was compelled to give up

[1] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 424. The application to the Popes of the name *Antichrist* and of St. Paul's description of the Man of Sin (2 Thess. ii. 4) are noteworthy at this time.

[2] Apparently Chelles, between Paris and Meaux.

his wife (998). Thus the papacy won a twofold victory in France, by maintaining its right to enforce canonical discipline on the sovereigns of a new and powerful dynasty, and the necessity of its consent to the deposition of a metropolitan. This point had been yielded in principle, even by Hincmar; and the recent contest had sprung from the Pope's neglect of the application from the French bishops. "But, not content with this, the Popes and their advocates claimed that right of exclusive judgment over all bishops which was asserted for the papacy by the false decretals; and the result was therefore more valuable for the Roman see than it would have been if the Popes had only put forward such claims as were necessary for the maintenance of their interest in the case which was immediately before them."[1]

§ 12. About the same time that Arnulf was reinstated at Rheims, Otho III. conferred on Gerbert the archbishopric of Ravenna (998), whence he was called in the following year to the chair of St. Peter as Pope Sylvester II. In this elevation of his tutor the Emperor clearly meant to secure a fellow-labourer, in the highest spiritual place, for carrying out his dream of restoring the Empire of Rome on the surer foundation of religion. That idea is expressed in the words of one of his edicts: "We have ordained this in order that, the Church of God being freely and firmly established, our empire may be advanced and the crown of our knighthood triumph; that the power of the Roman people may be extended and the commonwealth be restored."[2] His seals bear the legend *Renovatio Imperii Romanorum;* and he intended to restore the forms of the old Republic, but under the reality of a Byzantine despotism. He built himself a palace on the Aventine, and constituted a government of Rome under a patrician, a prefect, and a body of judges, who were commanded to recognise no law but Justinian's, and, as bidden by the formula of their appointment, "with this code to judge Rome and the Leonine city and the whole world."

But the vain attempt to revive the imperial grandeur of Rome only weakened Otho at the true seat of his empire in Germany; and his early death was perhaps not so much the frustration of his schemes, as his own deliverance from ruin.[3] "Otto is in one respect

[1] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 430.

[2] Bryce, p. 161. "To exclude the claims of the Greeks, he used the title *Romanorum Imperator*, instead of the simple *Imperator* of his predecessors."

[3] Otho III. died at Paterno, near Civita Castellana, in his twenty-second year (Jan. 24, 1002), probably, as the German chroniclers say, of small-pox; but later Italian writers tell the more romantic tale, that Stephania, the widow of Crescentius, avenged her husband's death by ensnaring the young Emperor by her beauty, and ensuring his slow death by means of a poisoned pair of gloves.

more memorable than any who went before or came after him. None save he desired to make the seven-hilled city again the seat of dominion, reducing Germany and Lombardy and Greece to their rightful place of subject provinces. No one else so forgot the present to live in the light of the ancient order: no other soul was so possessed by that fervid mysticism and that reverence for the glories of the past, whereon rested the idea of the mediæval empire."[1]

§ 13. The exaltation of mind which prompted Otho's schemes, and the subsequent depression into which he seems to have fallen before his death, may be connected with the like feelings that prevailed throughout Christendom on the completion of the millennary cycle from the coming of Christ, which many expected to be the epoch of His second advent. "The preamble, 'Whereas the end of the world draweth near,' which had been common in donations to churches and monasteries, now assumed a new and more urgent significance; and the belief, that the long expectation was at length to be accomplished, did much to revive the power and wealth of the clergy, after the disorders and losses of the century. The minds of men were called away from the ordinary cares and employments of life; even our knowledge of history has suffered in consequence, since there was little inclination to bestow labour on the chronicling of events, when no posterity was expected to read the records. Some plunged into desperate recklessness of living; an eclipse of the sun or of the moon was the signal for multitudes to seek a hiding-place in dens and caves of the earth; and crowds of pilgrims flocked to Palestine, where the Saviour was expected to appear for judgment."[2]

§ 14. One part only of Otho's work bore lasting fruit, but of a kind directly opposite to his visions of a revived empire. What he did revive at Rome was the character and consequently the authority and power of the papacy, by the appointment, first of Bruno, and still more by that of Gerbert. "With the substitution of these men for the profligate priests of Italy, began that Teutonic reform of the papacy, which raised it from the abyss of the tenth century to the point where Hildebrand found it. The emperors were working the ruin of their power by their most disinterested acts."[3]

Sylvester II. survived his imperial pupil and patron little more than a year, dying in May 1003. The former champion of the French Church against the papacy was worsted, as Pope, in a contest with Willigis, the metropolitan of Germany, on a question of episcopal jurisdiction, the details of which need not be related.

Sylvester first foreshadowed the great enterprise of the Crusades.

[1] Bryce, p. 163. [2] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 431 [3] Bryce, p. 160.

Moved by the complaints made by pilgrims to the Holy City of their sufferings from the Saracens, he addressed a letter to the universal Church, in the name of Jerusalem, asking for sympathy and for aid by gifts or by arms. That his heart was set upon the enterprise may be inferred from one of the many legends by which Gerbert's enemies branded his memory with the imputation of forbidden arts.[1] He had fabricated a brazen head, which gave oracular answers, of course by the power of evil spirits, who have always been strangely credited with foreknowledge. When he asked this oracle, "Shall I be apostolic pontiff?" it answered, "Yes!" When he asked again, "Shall I die before I sing mass in Jerusalem?" it answered, "No!" But the delusive condition was fulfilled when the Pope said mass in the basilica of *Santa Croce in Gerusalemme at Rome*.[2]

§ 15. For the history of the Eastern Church in the tenth century, the following summary will suffice:—"The Greek Church continued to rest on the doctrines and practices established by the councils of former times. The worship of images was undisturbed. The empire underwent frequent revolutions, marked by the perfidy, the cruelty, the ambition, regardless of the ties of nature, with which its history has already made us familiar; but the only events which need be here mentioned are the victories gained over the Saracens by NICEPHORUS PHOCAS (A.D. 963–969), and by his murderer and successor, JOHN TZIMISCES (A.D. 969–976). By these princes Crete and Cyprus were recovered, and the arms of the Greeks were carried even as far as Bagdad. And, although their more distant triumphs had no lasting effect, the empire retained some recompense for its long and bloody warfare in the possession of Antioch, with Tarsus, Mopsuestia, and other cities in Cilicia."[3]

[1] Besides the prevailing suspicion with which all natural science was regarded in that darkest of the so-called "dark ages," Gerbert was obnoxious to the majority of ecclesiastics, first for his resistance to Roman assumptions, and afterwards as the chief papal representative of the Empire.

[2] The story is told, among other wonderful legends about Gerbert and his magical practices, by William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, lib. ii. p. 283), and with more romantic details by Walter Mapes (*De Nugis Curial.* pp. 170–176, ed. Camden Society). The like ambiguous prophecy of dying in Jerusalem is related of Robert Guiscard, besides the story, so well known from Shakspere, of the death of Henry IV. in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

[3] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 403.



Cathedral at Tchernigov, near Kiev, founded A.D. 1024.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CONVERSION OF HEATHEN NATIONS DURING THE NINTH, TENTH, AND FOLLOWING CENTURIES.

§ 1. Methods used for the Spread of Christianity—Organization of the new National Churches. § 2. The SCANDINAVIAN Nations—Plans of Charles the Great and Louis—Baptism of Harold the Dane. § 3. Mission of ANSKAR to *Denmark* and *Sweden*—Archbishopric of Hamburg and Bremen. § 4. Progress under Eric I. and Eric II. of Denmark and Olaf I. of Sweden. § 5. Death and Character of Anskar—Rimbert, his Successor. § 6. Gorm the Old—Archbishop Unni—Harold Blaatand, Sweyn, and Canute—Full establishment of Christianity in Denmark. § 7. Labours of Unni in Sweden—King Olaf Stotkununng—English Missionaries—Inge—St. Eric—Finland and Lapland. § 8. Christianity in *Norway*—Haco the Good—He is compelled to conform to Heathenism. § 9. Olaf Tryggveson forces Christianity on his subjects—His Death and legendary fame. § 10. Olaf Haroldson pursues the same course—Destruction of the Image of Thor—His Death and Canonization—Canute—St. Magnus the Good. § 11. The SLAVONIAN Nations—*Moravia*—Mission of Cyril and Methodius—Use of the Slavonic Language—Methodius made archbishop—Troubles with the Germans—Conquest of Moravia. § 12. Conversion of the *Bohemians*—Borziwoi, Ludmilla, and Wenceslav—Boleslav the Cruel and Boleslav the Pious—St. Adalbert, Bishop of Prague—The Slavonic and Roman Liturgies § 13. Conversion of the *Poles*—Bishopric of Posen

and Archbishopric of Magdeburg—Poland subjected to the See of Rome —Casimir—St. Stanislaus. § 14. Conversion of *Russia*—Vladimir and Yaroslav. § 15. Conversion of the Magyars and Slavonians of *Hungary* —ST. STEPHEN—His marriage with Gisela and alliance with Otho III.— Hungary made a Kingdom—The Church of Hungary—Extinction of Paganism by St. Ladislaus. § 16. Christianity among the *Wends*— Archbishopric of Magdeburg—The Christian King GOTTSCHALK—Heathen Reaction — German Conquests — Missionaries and Bishoprics. § 17. *Pomerania* subjected to Poland—Unsuccessful Mission of Bernard — Pomerania christianized by OTHO archbishop of Bamberg—Conquest and nominal Conversion of Rügen. § 18. The *Lettish Tribes: Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland.*—The Brethren of the Sword. § 19. *Prussia* subdued by the Teutonic Knights. § 20. Late Conversion of the *Lithuanians.*

§ 1. THE completion of the first Christian millennium marks also the epoch at which Christianity had reached nearly all the nations of Europe; though its profession was only fully established in the course of three centuries more. We purposely say its "profession," for we must still bear in mind the difference between the simple primitive preaching of the Gospel to hearers who received it by the mind and heart, and its propagation by the power of the sword, by political alliances, or by marriages of Christian princesses with barbarian kings, who made their subjects follow their adoption of a new religion. But these rougher methods of breaking the soil of heathenism were followed by the sowing of the seeds of a purer faith through the labours of missionaries, who generally made the convents the head-quarters of their efforts.

One result of this course of proceeding, as we have had occasion to show fully in the case of England, was that Christianity was established, in each new field that it won, in the organized form into which it had grown in the Western or Eastern Church. In the West (with which we are now specially concerned) it was the policy, both of the Church and the secular powers—in fact, it was the natural development of the idea of the Holy Empire—that each nation newly christianized should be united to one of the great metropolitan sees. Thus Mainz, founded as we have seen for the converted Germans, became the metropolis[1] of the Bohemians also, Passau and Salzburg of the Hungarian tribes, Magdeburg of the Poles and the north-eastern Slavonians, Hamburg and Bremen of the Scandinavians and other tribes upon the Baltic.

[1] It should be remembered that this word has one definite sense in ecclesiastical history; and it is to be wished that it had not been adopted in civil history, in the sense of *capital*, gaining nothing but a *finer* word, at the cost of obscuring its proper Greek meaning as well as its ecclesiastical use.

§ 2. These last claim our first attention, both in order of time and as the people nearest related to the Germans. Even at the close of the seventh century (696), Willibrord, the apostle of the Frisians, had extended his labours beyond not only the Elbe but the Eider, the boundary between the Saxons and the Jutish peninsula; but we have no record of any permanent results.

A century later, Charles the Great founded a church at Hamburg as the headquarters of a distinct church-establishment for the whole region of *Nordalbingia* (*i. e.* north of the Elbe), the conquest and conversion of which seemed necessary to confirm the submission of the Saxons and Frisians. An opening for the enterprise, which Charles did not live to prosecute, was made by the appeals of the rival candidates for the Danish throne to Louis the Pious. When the exiled Harold applied for aid to Louis, his ambassadors were accompanied back by Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, who was appointed to the mission by the diet of Attigny, with a commission from Pope Paschal; and he and his companions preached with much success for about a year (823). Three years later, Harold, having resolved on a decided alliance with the Christian empire, travelled to the court of Louis at Ingelheim, and received baptism, with his queen and son and many attendants, in the cathedral of Mainz. It was resolved that Harold should be accompanied on his return by a new band of missionaries; "but the barbarism of the Northmen, their strong hostility to Christianity, and the savage character of their paganism, deterred all from venturing on the expedition, until Wala of Corbie named Anskar, one of his monks, as a person suited for the work (826)."[1]

§ 3. This famous "Apostle of the North" is conspicuous, even in the annals of Christian missions, for enthusiastic devotion to his work, combined with self-denial and perseverance in its prosecution. Born of Frank parents, about the first year of the century, he was brought up from his childhood in the monastery of Corbie, in Picardy, under Adelhard and Paschasius Radbert, and he taught both there and in the German monastery of New Corbie. From his earliest years he felt himself called to a life of Christian devotedness by special visions. In one, his echo of Paul's question, "Lord, what wouldest thou have me to do?" was answered by the Saviour himself "Go and preach to the Gentiles the word of God." In another vision of the divine glory, a voice came to him from the midst of the ineffable light, "Go, and thou shalt return to me with the crown of martyrdom." That such visions were the reflection of a

[1] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 392. The Life of St. Anskar, by his pupil and successor Rimbert and another, is in Mabillon, vi., Pertz, ii., and the *Patrologia*, cxviii. The name is variously written, *Anskar* or *Ansgar*.

spirit exalted by enthusiastic self-devotion, rather than a supernatural revelation, may be inferred from the fact that a life exposed for twenty-six years to "perils by the heathen, perils in the wilderness, perils in the sea, perils among false brethren,"[1] was *not* crowned by a martyr's death.

The opponents of Harold were too powerful to allow him a footing beyond the border of the Danish kingdom, where Anskar established a school at Hadeby on the Schlei, to train boys, some of whom were bought for the purpose, in the Christian faith. But Harold's decisive adoption of Christianity roused the national feeling against him; and both the king and the missionaries were driven away (827).

Just at this time ambassadors, who came to the court of Louis from SWEDEN, asked that missionaries might be sent to their countrymen, who were favourably disposed towards Christianity.[2] Anskar was again sent on this mission, with rich presents for the Swedish King Björn; but his vessel was plundered by pirates, and it was only after great sufferings that he reached the capital of Birka on the Mälar Lake.[3] The king and national assembly gave the missionaries leave to preach freely, and among many other converts was Herigar, the governor of Birka, who built a church on his own estate. After a year and a half, Anskar carried back a favourable report to the Emperor, who resolved to fulfil his father's plans by establishing at Hamburg a metropolitan see for the Northern nations. Anskar was consecrated as archbishop, and went to Rome to receive the pall from Gregory IV., with a bull authorizing him to labour in the North. Louis bestowed on him the rich abbey of Turholt, in Belgium, both for his support and for a home more secure than Hamburg (833).

Anskar built at Hamburg a cathedral and monastery, with a school, in which, among other pupils, he trained boys bought in Denmark, while others were sent to Turholt for education. But the new establishment was soon utterly destroyed by an irruption of heathen Danes, while Harold apostatized from the faith; the missionaries were at the same time driven out of Sweden; and the provision for their support was taken away by Charles the Bald, who gave the abbey of Turholt to one of his lay courtiers (840–843). Anskar happily found a new patron in Louis the German, who gave him a new monastery at Ramsloh.

[1] 2 Cor. xi. 26.

[2] The Swedes appear to have received some knowledge of Christianity through their intercourse with the Eastern Empire, as well as from the many Christian captives taken in their piratical expeditions.

[3] *Birka*, which seems to mean a *landing-place*, is identified with Sigtuna, on the N.E. arm of the Mälar Lake.

On the death of the Bishop of Bremen—who had displayed a cruel jealousy of Anskar, refusing him even a refuge when driven out by the Northmen—Charles's union of that see with Hamburg was confirmed by the Council of Mainz (848).[1]

§ 4. Anskar was sent by Louis on several political missions to the heathen King Eric I., of Denmark, from whom he at length obtained toleration for Christianity and permission to build a church in Sleswick, which became the centre of numerous conversions. But Eric was killed in a new rising of the heathen faction; and it was not till his young grandson, Eric II., took the government into his own hands, that toleration was re-established and Christianity made rapid progress in Denmark (855).

Meanwhile, after several attempts to revive the mission in Sweden, Anskar himself had gone with a letter from Eric I. to King Olaf, whose favour he won by splendid gifts presented at a rich banquet. The king consented to call a national assembly, which decided to tolerate Christianity—partly as the result of casting lots, partly through the influence of an aged councillor, who appealed to the power of the God of the Christians, as displayed especially in dangers at sea, and who urged the practical argument that, seeing that many of his countrymen had resorted to Dorstadt for baptism, why should they refuse the blessing, now that it was brought to their own doors? Many converts were quickly made; churches were built; and the Gospel was preached by the Danish teachers trained at Hamburg and Ramsloh.

§ 5. Anskar died in 865, leaving proofs of his devotedness more solid, if less splendid, than the martyrdom which he had desired, and to which he had been constantly exposed without ever ostentatiously courting it. The absence of all vainglory is a striking feature of his life, as described by his affectionate disciple Rimbert. In his youth he mitigated the rigour of his mortifications when he found that they were making him self-righteous; and when his old age was too weak for ascetic discipline, he found a better substitute in alms and prayers. To his spiritual labours he added many works of mercy, such as the building of hospitals and the redemption of captives; and he persuaded the great men of Nordalbingia to abstain from the profitable trade in slaves. On the subject of miracles, which were of course ascribed to him in the spirit of the age, Anskar left a valuable testimony: "If I were worthy in the sight of my Lord, I would ask Him to grant me one miracle—that He would make me a good man." In the like spirit of humility, he declined

[1] Sixteen years elapsed before the union of the dioceses was sanctioned by Pope Nicolas I., who again conferred the pall, with the authority of legate in the North, on Anskar, the year before his death (864).

to assume authority, or give offence, by naming his successor; but, in reply to a question about his favourite disciple Rimbert, he said, "I am assured that he is more worthy to be an archbishop than I am to be a subdeacon."[1]

§ 6. As Archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen, Rimbert carried on the work of Anskar in the same spirit, amidst constant troubles from the fierce Northmen, which reached their height at the time of his death (888). Gorm the Old, the first king of all Denmark, destroyed all the churches in his dominions; but, on his defeat by Henry the Fowler, he was compelled to tolerate Christianity and to put down human sacrifices (934). Henry made the mark of Sleswick German territory, as a barrier against the incursions of the Northmen. Unni, the archbishop of Bremen, resumed the mission in Jutland, and was supported by Gorm's son, Harold Blaatand (*i.e. Blue-tooth*), whose mother was a Christian; but Harold was not baptized till his defeat by Otho the Great (965). The zeal with which Harold now tried to enforce Christianity provoked a rebellion of the heathen party under his own son, Sweyn ("with the forked-beard"), by whom he was dethroned and killed in battle (986).

We must leave to the civil histories of Denmark and England the varied fortunes of Sweyn, who died a Christian (1014). His son, CANUTE THE MIGHTY, established Christianity firmly in Denmark. He built churches and monasteries, and, on the occasion of his pilgrimage to Rome (1026), he brought the Danish Church into close connection with the Roman. English missionaries co-operated with those from Hamburg and Bremen; but Archbishop Unni treated the English bishops as intruders, and obtained from Canute the confirmation of his jurisdiction over the Danish Church.

§ 7. The renewed evangelization of Sweden followed closely upon that of Denmark, whence Archbishop Unni crossed over in 935, and died in Sweden in the following year. The German missions went on successfully till towards the end of the century, when, in the reign of Olaf Stotkunung,[2] a new impulse was given by the preaching of some English missionaries, headed by Sigfried (or Sigurd), archdeacon of York, who was made Bishop of Wexio. Christianity obtained a firm footing in Gothland; but in Swealand heathenism was so strong, that Olaf gave up his design of destroying the temple at Upsala, the great national sanctuary, and he founded his chief bishopric at Skara for Thurgot, an Englishman. As

[1] We possess Anskar's 'Life of Willebad,' the first bishop of Bremen; but the journal of his own missions, which is known to have been sent to Rome, has not been found.

[2] That is, *Lap-King*, because he is said to have been king while yet in his nurse's lap. He died about 1024

Christianity spread, the Swedes abandoned their habits of piracy; and the clergy succeeded in substituting the Latin alphabet for the old Runic characters. As among the other Northmen, the zeal of Olaf provoked a strong opposition from the heathen party. It was not till half a century later that King Inge succeeded, after a hard struggle and a temporary expulsion, in putting down heathen worship (about 1084); and it was only late in the following century that Christianity was firmly established by ST. ERIC IX., who also converted the Finns (1157), and was killed in battle with the Danes (1160).

The Finns resisted with deadly hatred the Christianity imposed on them by St. Eric; and they put the missionary bishop, Henry of Upsala, "the Apostle of Finland," to a martyr's death in the following year (1158). It was not till 1293 that the regent, Thorkel Knutson, finally subdued the country and made it Christian. Meanwhile the Swedish conquest of *Lapland* (1279) opened that extreme northern region to Christianity; but its progress was slow, and the first church was dedicated at Tornea by Hemming, bishop of Upsala, in 1335.

§ 8. NORWAY—where the seeds of Christianity had been sown by the many captives taken by the piratical vikings from the shores of England, Germany, and Gaul—shared in the fruits of Anskar's labours. A great contest between the old and new religions took place in the reign of Haco the Good (934–961), the first Christian king, who, having been brought up in England at the court of Athelstane, dethroned his tyrant brother, Eric of the Bloody Axe. Haco proceeded with wise caution, introducing clergymen from England, and setting the example of observing Christian rites; so that while the heathen Norwegians kept their boisterous Yule feast, the king celebrated Christmas in a separate building with the converted members of his court.

It was not till he had won the confidence of his subjects by long years of good government that he ventured to propose the adoption of Christianity in the national assembly. Then the storm burst out; the nobles and people not only refused to abandon the gods of their fathers, but forced the king himself to take part in heathen sacrifices and feasts. Haco died of the wounds received in a battle against his nephews, the sons of Eric, declaring himself unworthy, for his sinful compliance with heathenism, to be carried for burial in the soil of Christian England. "His death was lamented by a scald in a famous song, which celebrates his reception into Walhalla, and intimates that, in consideration of the tolerance which he had shown to the old religion, his own Christianity was forgiven by the gods."[1]

[1] Robertson, vol. ii. p. 482.

§ 9. After an interval, Harold Blaatand of Denmark became master of Norway, where, though he himself was a Christian, his heathen viceroy, Haco, was a fierce persecutor. The oppressed Christians found a deliverer in a famous viking, Olaf Tryggveson,[1] conspicuous for his beauty, strength, and valour, whose adventures had carried him as far as Russia and Constantinople (994). During one of his expeditions to England he had been baptized by a hermit in Scilly and confirmed by St. Alphege, bishop of Winchester, in the presence of King Ethelred. His religion was strangely mingled with the practice of divination, and with cruelty and immoral licence. He tried to force Christianity on his subjects in the most despotic spirit, offering splendid rewards to the chiefs who would accept it, and threatening those who refused with confiscation and banishment, torture and death. He travelled through every district of the kingdom to enforce his purpose, and "wheresoever he came"—says Snorro Sturleson—"to the land or to the islands, he held an assembly, and told the people to accept the right faith and to be baptized. No man dared to say anything against it, and the whole country which he passed through was made Christian."[2] Even the distant islands of Orkney, Shetland, Faroe, and the Hebrides, which had been subdued and in great part peopled by the Norwegian vikings, were brought under Olaf's system of conversion.

His fanatic zeal at length brought its own punishment through his outrageous treatment of the widowed Swedish queen Sigrid, because she refused to accept Christianity as the condition of marriage with him. She married Sweyn of Denmark, who joined her son, Olaf Stotkonung, of Sweden, in an attack on Norway; and Olaf Tryggveson, defeated in a sea-fight, jumped overboard, with his nine surviving companions, after a desperate fight on his captured vessel (1000). The fame of his bravery and vigour survived his faults, even in the memory of his heathen subjects, while the Christians invested him with the character of a saint; and there was a legend that he had escaped from the fatal battle and was seen fifty years after by a Norwegian, still living as the abbot of a monastery in the desert of Egypt.

§ 10. The career of Olaf Tryggveson was strangely repeated in that of his godchild and great-nephew Olaf Haroldson (1015–1030) (afterwards canonized as ST. OLAF),[3] who used the same means for enforcing Christianity. His chief adviser was Bishop Grimkil,

[1] That is, the son of Tryggve, a petty prince of Norway.

[2] Snorro, vol. i. p. 445. For some of the strange stories of Olaf's proceedings see Robertson, vol. ii. p. 483.

[3] Commonly written in English, St. Olave, and in Latin Olaus.

an Englishman—the "horned man," as the heathens called him, from the shape of his mitre—who framed an ecclesiastical code for Norway. In his progresses through the kingdom, Olaf often encountered armed resistance from the heathen. On one such occasion, at Dalen, after routing 700 armed pagans, he put forward Grimkil to argue with a chief named Gudbrand, who maintained the superiority of Thor because he could be seen, while the God of the Christians was invisible. After a night spent in prayer, the king put the question to the test. While he pointed to the rising sun, as a visible witness to its Creator, a gigantic soldier, who had been instructed in his part, raised the club and dashed the huge idol of Thor to pieces. Instead of the thunder of the god, bursting from dense clouds, raised to blot out the light of the sun, there came forth a swarm of loathsome creatures which had fattened on the sacrifices. The men of Dalen confessed the idol's impotence, and received baptism.[1]

At length Olaf's violent measures, and the severity with which he put down piracy and robbery, caused a large part of his subjects to support the claims of Canute. Olaf fled into Russia, and was soon after killed in an attempt to recover the kingdom (1030).

The Norwegians, repenting of their desertion, and moved by the fame of miracles wrought by Olaf in Russia, and by his remains after death, translated his relics to the church of St. Clement at Nidarôs (1031), where in the next century a splendid cathedral was built in his honour as the patron saint of Norway. This religious enthusiasm roused a spirit of patriotism; and, after the death of Canute[2] (1035), the Danes were driven out by Olaf's son, St. Magnus the Good, under whom Christianity was fully established in Norway. The authority of the Bishop of Bremen was maintained, after some resistance; and the Norwegian Church, like the Swedish, was drawn into close connection with that of Rome.

§ 11. The SLAVONIANS of *Moravia*, who had relapsed into idolatry after Charles the Great had forced baptism upon them, were again christianized from the East, but they were brought into connection, though never closely, with the Western Church. As the result of communications with Bulgaria, in search of help against Louis the German, their King Radislav applied to the Emperor Michael for Christian teachers; and two brothers were sent from Constantinople —Constantine, better known by his later name of CYRIL, and

[1] Snorro, vol. ii. p. 155–160; Robertson, vol. ii. p. 486. Compare the destruction of the image of Serapis, Chap. XI. § 14.

[2] Among the ecclesiastical foundations which Canute established in Norway, as in his other dominions, was the first Benedictine monastery in the kingdom, near Nidarôs.

METHODIUS—who are famed as the apostles of Moravia (863). Their success was greatly forwarded by their knowledge of the Slavonic tongue, which—contrary to the usual practice of the Greek and Latin missionaries—they adopted as the language of public worship, translating into it the Liturgy and portions of the Scriptures, and either inventing a new alphabet, as Ulfilas had done for the Goths, or improving that which already existed.[1]

When the news of their proceedings reached Rome, they were summoned thither by Pope Nicolas I. As the political relations of Moravia were now with the West, where the danger from Germany made the friendship of the Pope of great value, they obeyed the citation, and satisfied Adrian II. (who had meanwhile succeeded Nicolas) of their orthodoxy.[2] Cyril died at Rome, and Methodius was consecrated archbishop of the Moravians by Adrian (A.D. 868). His jurisdiction was extended over a large portion of modern Austria and Hungary by the conquests of Svatopluk, the son of Radislav (or Wratislav). Methodius was involved in repeated troubles through the jealousy of the German ecclesiastics, who saw in the use of the Moravian language a powerful barrier to their influence, and through the opposition of his German suffragan, Wiching, who seems to have alienated Svatopluk from the archbishop; but Methodius was supported by John VIII., whom he visited more than once at Rome.[3] After the death of Methodius, Wiching persecuted the clergy who adhered to the Slavonian liturgy, and drove them into Bulgaria (886). Wiching soon afterwards went over to the side of King Arnulf (892); and a few years later the independent Church of Moravia came to an end with the conquest of the country by the Bohemians and Magyars (908).

§ 12. The friendly relations between the Moravians and the kindred Czechs led to the spread of Christianity to BOHEMIA. Here also, indeed, an earlier Christian profession had been made, apparently as a mere stroke of policy, when fourteen Bohemian chiefs

[1] The *Cyrillian* alphabet—as it is called in distinction from the other Slavonian alphabet, namely, the *Glagolitic* (from *glagol*, a *word* or *letter*)—was based on the Greek, with some Armenian and other Oriental elements. It has been superseded in Moravia, since the sixteenth century, by the Roman alphabet, but is still used in Servia and Bulgaria, and is the chief basis of the Russian alphabet. For the controversy respecting the origin of the two alphabets, see Robertson, vol. ii. pp. 386–7. The chief modern authority on the whole subject is Ginzel, *Geschichte der Slawenapostel Cyrill und Methodius*, Leimeritz, 1857.

[2] Cyril would be the more disposed to a connection with Rome, as he had been in opposition to Photius at Constantinople.

[3] Some place his death at Rome, at dates varying between 881 and 910, but he more probably died in Bohemia about 885. (Robertson, vol. ii. p. 390.)

appeared before Louis the German at Ratisbon, and were baptized by their own desire (845); but Bohemia was still a heathen land till towards the end of the ninth century, when the duke Borziwoi was baptized, with thirty companions, on a visit to Svatopluk in Moravia.[1] His wife Ludmilla became a zealous Christian, and was canonized after her death, which was contrived through the jealousy of her daughter-in-law, Dragomira, a zealous pagan, whose husband, Radislav, had left his two young sons to his mother's care (926). The elder of these sons, Wenceslav, a devoted Christian, was murdered by his brother, Boleslav the Cruel (936), who persecuted his Christian subjects. But being conquered by Otho I. (950), he was compelled to restore freedom of worship, and to rebuild the churches and monasteries which he had destroyed. His son, Boleslav the Pious, established Christianity as the religion of the State, and founded the bishopric of Prague, under the metropolitan see of Mainz (973).

The second bishop, Adalbert,[2] a Bohemian, who had been brought up in Germany, incurred much opposition by his efforts to reform the corrupt morals of the clergy and to reclaim the people from polygamy and slave-dealing, as well as by his attempts to introduce the Latin liturgy and the Roman canon law. He finally left Bohemia in 996, and went on a mission to the heathen Prussians, by whom he was martyred on the shore of the Frische Haff (997). He was buried by Boleslav, the Christian duke of Poland, at Gnesen, where his shrine attracted many pilgrims, and was visited by Otho III. (1000). In 1039 a Bohemian expedition transported the remains of the martyred saint, with the rich offerings of his shrine, to Prague; but the Poles maintained that a mistake had been made, and that Gnesen still possessed the true body of St. Adalbert. The use of the Slavonic liturgy, introduced into Bohemia from Moravia, was regarded by the Roman party as a mark of heresy. It was preserved, with intervals of suppression, at the abbey of Sazawa, founded in 1038, till the monks were expelled and their books destroyed by the reigning sovereign in 1097. It was from time to time revived in parts of the country, and it is still used in several Illyrian churches, but its language is unintelligible to the people.

§ 13. POLAND received Christianity from Bohemia through the marriage of the Polish duke, Mieceslav, with Dambrowka, daughter of Boleslav the Cruel, who persuaded her husband to receive the

[1] For the details of the story, which have a somewhat legendary air, see Robertson, vol. ii. p. 390. The date is variously placed between 871 and 894.

[2] His native name was *Woytiech;* he took the German name in honour of his tutor, Adalbert, archbishop of Magdeburg.

faith and to enforce it on his subjects by severe penalties, like those of their own barbaric laws (967). A bishopric was founded at Posen, under the archbishopric of Magdeburg, till the metropolitan see of Gnesen was established by Otho III. (1000). The powerful son of Mieceslav, Boleslav Chrobry (992–1025),[1] who assumed the title of king, brought Poland into close connection with the Roman Church. From an early period a tribute of "Peter's pence"—a penny yearly from every Pole, except the nobles and clergy—was paid to the papal treasury. On the death of Boleslav's son, Mieceslav II. (1034), the kingdom was threatened with anarchy and the restoration of heathenism,[2] till the Poles recalled his banished son, Casimir, who had taken refuge in Germany.[3] The murder of STANISLAUS, bishop of Cracow, by Casimir's grandson, Boleslav II. (whom the bishop had excommunicated), gave the Polish Church her patron saint and martyr (1079).

§ 14. While the converted Poles were brought into close communion with Rome, their kindred neighbours in Russia became devoted adherents of the Greek form of Christianity; and thus was sown one most fruitful seed of the fatal rivalry between the two nations.

Among the Slavonian tribes, who peopled the western and central parts of the vast region of Europe now called Russia, and whose country, together with Poland and Lithuania, formed the *Slavia*[4] of early medieval geography, the first nucleus of the mighty monarchy of later days was formed when the Viking RURIK led in his Varangian warriors from Scandinavia, and established a principality at Novgorod on the river Volkhov, a little below the point where it flows out of Lake Ilmen towards Lake Ladoga (862).[5]

[1] The same who encouraged the mission of Adalbert, and redeemed and buried his body.

[2] It was now that the Bohemians made the successful invasion mentioned above.

[3] The story that Casimir had become a monk, and that Pope Benedict IX. exacted new marks of subjection to Rome as the price of his release from his vows, is probably fabulous.

[4] It is in the fifth century that this name takes the place of *Sarmatia Europaea*, in consequence of the immigration of the Slavs, who appear to have entered the country from the south-west. At the time with which we are now concerned the north of Russia was still peopled by the aboriginal Finns, and the east and south by the Scythians, who cut off the Slavonians from the Euxine Sea.

[5] This account of the earliest native chronicler—Nestor, a monk of Kiev in the latter part of the eleventh century—is accepted by the best modern historians as probably true in its main features. The term *Varangian*, made famous by the Varangian guards of the Greek emperors, is explained as "allies" or "confederates;" and it seems that the bands led by Ruric and other northern chieftains were composed of adventurers of various nations. As to the name *Rūs*, we have hardly evidence enough

Passing the narrow watershed into the valley of the Dnieper, the adventurers established a line of mingled commerce and piracy from the Baltic to the Euxine, and founded a second principality at what was afterwards the sacred city of Kiev, which soon eclipsed Novgorod. We must refer to Gibbon's graphic story for the repeated assaults made by the princes of Kiev on the imperial capital[1] with their fleets of canoes hollowed out of trees (*monoxyla*), creating such alarm as to inspire the prophecy—which has stood on record nearly a thousand years—that *the Russians in the last days should be masters of Constantinople.*

The intervals of these assaults were filled up by treaties and commerce; and we have accounts, more or less legendary, of attempts to plant Christianity among the Russians, from their earliest intercourse with Constantinople.[2] The patriarch Ignatius is said to have consecrated a bishop for Russia; and Photius[3] wrote to the Oriental patriarchs that the fierce and barbarous Russians had been converted by the Greek Church; but they were, at all events pagans in the middle of the tenth century. In 955, OLGA, the princess-regent of Russia, was baptized at Constantinople by the name of Helena, when on a visit to Consantinfe VII. Porphyrogenitus; but her efforts to spread the faith at home were defeated by her son Svatoslav.

The permanent establishment of Christianity in Russia dates from the treaty made by ST. VLADIMIR, the son of Svatoslav, with the emperors Basil II. and Constantine IX., after his capture of Khorsun (988). The mind of the Grand Prince is said to have been prepared by the reports of persons whom he had sent to observe the various forms of Greek and Latin and German Christianity; especially through the impression made on his envoys at Constantinople by the splendours of St. Sophia and the almost celestial glory of the eucharistic service. But Vladimir's determining motives were less spiritual. His demand for the hand of Anna, the sister of Basil II. and of Theophano (the wife of Otho II.), was only granted on the condition of his receiving Christian baptism, at which he took the name of Basil. On his return to Kiev he caused the image of the national god, Perun, to be dragged at a horse's tail and thrown into the Dnieper; and the people were summoned to a general baptism in the river, on pain of being proclaimed rebels.

to decide whether it was brought in (as Nestor says) by the invaders, or was a native Slavonian appellation.

[1] A.D. 863, 904, 941, 1043.

[2] For the story of the mission and miracles of a Greek bishop after the peace made by Basil the Macedonian, see Robertson, vol. ii. p. 464.

[3] *Epist.* 2, p. 58.

Bishoprics were founded, and churches were built on the Byzantine model; parents were compelled to send their children to the new Christian schools; and the Scriptures were circulated in the Slavonic version of Cyril. The work began by Vladimir was carried on by his son Yaroslav, when he united the monarchy after an interval of civil war (1019–1054). The Greek ecclesiastical law was adopted for the Russian Church; but the clergy, who had hitherto been subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, were placed under a native primate.

§ 15. The Magyars and Slavonians of HUNGARY, like their Moravian neighbours, received Christianity first from the Greek Church, but were afterwards brought into the Latin communion. The Magyar prince, Gyulas, was baptized when on a visit to Constantinople in 948, and a bishop, Hierotheus, was sent back with him into Hungary. The victories of Henry I. and Otho I. over the Hungarians opened the way for a new German mission under the direction of Pilligrin, bishop of Passau. The duke Geisa (972–983) was converted by his wife Sarolta, daughter of Gyulas; but the real founder of the powerful Christian kingdom of Hungary was their son, *Waik*, whom Bishop Adalbert[1] baptized, when four or five years old, by the name of STEPHEN (983 or 984). Having received a careful education, he succeeded his father at the age of about eighteen, and in his reign of forty-one years he maintained the character of piety justice, and firmness (997–1038). He formed a close alliance with the German power by his marriage with Gisela, sister of Henry of Bavaria (afterwards the Emperor Henry II.); put down the opposition of the heathen party; and obtained the erection of his duchy into a kingdom by the Emperor Otho III., with the blessing of Pope Sylvester II.[2] (1000).

According to a vow made during his contest with the heathen party, Stephen placed his kingdom under the protection of the Virgin. He organized and endowed a Christian establishment throughout his dominions; built churches and monasteries; and

[1] Probably the Bishop of Prague. According to the German chroniclers, Stephen was not baptized till on the eve of his marriage.

[2] The Romanists attempt to make the bestowal of the kingdom the act of the Pope, who (they say) wrote a letter to Stephen, which is still extant, and (in obedience to a vision) sent him the famous crown which has ever since been used at Hungarian coronations. The genuineness of the letter (in whole or in part) is a matter of much dispute; and the crown seems to be a curious combination of Greek and Roman workmanship. Its lower part, which bears the name of a Greek emperor, Constantine (probably Porphyrogenitus), is surmounted by arches which seem to be of Roman work. (See Mailath, *Geschichte der Magyaren;* and Robertson, vol. ii. p. 475).

founded an archiepiscopal see at Gran, with ten suffragan bishops. For the training of the native clergy and advancement of education among the people, Stephen founded an Hungarian College at Rome. He built hospitals and monasteries for Hungarians at Rome, Ravenna, Constantinople, and Jerusalem; while strangers from foreign parts were received with such hospitality, that Hungary became the favourite route for pilgrims from the West to the Holy Land, instead of the voyage by sea. Stephen's eminent services to the Church are said to have been rewarded by a commission to act as vicar of the Holy See in his own dominions; and after his death he was canonized as the patron saint of Hungary. During the discords among his successors, heathenism revived more than once; and it was not finally extinguished in the Hungarian dominions till the end of the eleventh century, by the king St. Ladislaus (1077–1095).

§ 16. The lands north and north-east of Germany, on the southern and eastern shores of the Baltic, and those round the northern arms of the same sea, were the last seats of heathenism in Europe. Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great made several successful campaigns against the *Wends* on the south of the Baltic;[1] and, besides several other bishoprics, Otho founded the archbishopric of Magdeburg as the ecclesiastical centre for that region (968). But dislike of the German conquerors raised a natural prejudice against their religion; their missionaries were ignorant of the Slavonic tongue; and "it is said that the clergy showed greater eagerness to raise money from the people than to instruct them."[2] In the frequent insurrections against the German yoke, the clergy were driven out and the churches and monasteries destroyed.

In 1032 GOTTSCHALK,[3] a prince of the Obotriti, who had been brought up in a German monastery, exasperated by the murder of his father, escaped to his people and became a fierce enemy of the Germans and the Christians. But having been taken prisoner, he repented; and when he founded the kingdom of the Wends (1045), he devoted all his energy to the establishment of Christianity and a national church. Gottschalk himself (like St. Oswald of

[1] The principal Wendish tribes were the *Obotriti*, in Holstein and Mecklenburg; the *Luticii* or *Wiltzi*, between the Elbe and the Oder; the *Pomeranians*, from the Oder to the Vistula; and the *Sorabi*, further to the south, in Saxony.

[2] Adam of Bremen, vol. iii. p. 22; Robertson, vol. ii. p. 473. Adam makes the same complaint of the covetousness of the clergy as a hindrance to the spread of the Gospel in Sweden.

[3] This German name, signifying "servant of God" (compare Chap. XXII. § 14), may have been given him in the monastery, or assumed later as a sign of his devotion to the Christian cause.

Northumbria) preached and expounded the Scriptures to the people in their own language; and he was aided by missionaries sent by Adalbert of Bremen. His success roused the national spirit against him as a friend of the Germans; and he was murdered in a heathen insurrection (1066).

After a series of cruel persecutions and civil wars, the Wendish kingdom fell before the Crusade against North German heathenism led by Henry the Lion, who divided the land among his Saxon warriors, except the original territory of the Obotriti, where Privizlav (the ancestor of the reigning house of Mecklenburg) held the remnant of the kingdom as the vassal of Saxony, and became a convert to Christianity (1164).[1] About the same time the Luticii were subdued, and their land colonized with Germans, by Albert the Bear, the founder of the marquisate of Brandenburg (1157). Christianity continued to be enforced upon the remnant of the Wends by the mission of the sword; but it had its self-denying apostles in such men as the devoted Vicelin, bishop of Oldenburg (*ob.* 1154), his successor Gerold, who founded the bishopric of Lübeck, Evermod, bishop of Ratzeburg, and Berno, bishop of Schwerin.

§ 17. While the Wends to the west of the Oder were thus subdued and christianized by the German power, those of Pomerania fell under the civil and ecclesiastical dominion of Poland, after long wars between the Poles and their fierce neighbours. As early as 1000, Duke Boleslav, with the concurrence of Otho III., attempted the conversion of the Pomeranians, and the bishopric of Colberg was founded at the same time as the Polish archbishopric of Gnesen. But the see did not survive its first bishop, Reinbern; and the people were still pagans above a century later when the Eastern Pomeranians were conquered by Boleslav III., who made them promise to receive Christianity (1120). All his clergy, however, recoiled from the hopeless mission to such fierce heathens; and it was undertaken by a Spanish monk named Bernard, who had been ordained a bishop by Pope Paschal II. The Pomeranians are reported to have despised Bernard's ascetic poverty, asking, "How can we believe that a man so miserable as not even to have shoes can be the messenger of God, to whom all things belong?" Retiring to a monastery at Bamberg, his report of the state of Pomerania roused the zeal of OTHO, the bishop of that see, who was eminent for his piety, energy, and success as a preacher in the native language.

With the consent of the Emperor Henry V., and of Pope Calixtus II., Boleslav sent Otho to the Pomeranians with splendid equip-

[1] Henry the Lion exacted homage from the bishops of the conquered territory; but on his fall in 1180, they returned under the sovereignty of the Empire.

ments and presents, and a royal guard (1124). But, however politic this use of the experience taught by Bernard's failure, Otho was far more richly furnished with a combination of qualities unexampled in medieval missions, except perhaps by Boniface; firmness without self-will, zeal without severity, gentleness and placability without weakness, enthusiasm without fanaticism. He was welcomed by Duke Wratislav, who was already a secret convert, having been baptized while a prisoner or hostage in Poland, and by his wife, who was a zealous Christian. Thousands of converts were made, whom Otho taught to renounce polygamy and infanticide. But the heathen opposition was still vehement, and at the town of Julin Otho narrowly escaped martyrdom. The people of Stettin, the capital, showed no favourable disposition, but they agreed to consult the Polish duke, who answered by declaring himself the enemy of all pagans, at the same time promising to remit half their tribute if they would decide for Christianity. Otho followed up these inducements by an attack upon the idols; and the impression produced by their unavenged destruction was deepened by his refusal to accept any share of the wealth of the chief temple, which was turned into a church dedicated to the martyr St. Adalbert. After baptizing many thousands of the people, Otho returned to Bamberg (1125).[1] Three years later he made a second visit to the country; and from that time Christianity, though greatly mixed with the relics of heathenism, was finally established in Pomerania.

The last stronghold of heathenism among the Wends on the south Baltic coast was the sacred island of Rügen, whose people broke off all intercourse with the converted Pomeranians. These latter joined, in 1168, with Waldemar III. of Denmark, to conquer Rügen, which was placed by Pope Alexander III. under Absalom, bishop of Roskield, a zealous missionary. The Magdeburg Chronicle describes the Christianity thus "impressed" on the Rugians as "a shadow, which in a short time was done away with by Waldemar's avarice, and by the scantiness and inactivity of the teachers."[2]

§ 18. On the south-eastern shores of the Baltic, heathenism held its ground till the thirteenth and even the fourteenth century, among the *Letts* of Lithuania and Prussia, and the remnant of Finns, with whom the Letts were mingled in Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland.[3] Into the latter countries Christianity first obtained an entrance in the eleventh century through the commerce of the Danes and Swedes;

[1] For the miracles with which the history of Otho's missions was embellished, see Robertson, vol. iii. pp. 166, 167.

[2] Robertson, vol. iii. p. 167.

[3] These three countries took their names from Lettish tribes who settled among the Finns.

and a century later some merchants of Bremen formed a settlement on the Dwina (1158). In 1186 Meinhard, a canon of the Augustinian monastery of Segeberg in Holstein, undertook a mission to the Livonians, who were then subject to Russia. By the favour of Vladimir, a church was built at Yxküll on the Dvina, and Meinhard was consecrated bishop by Hartwig, archbishop of Bremen. After making many converts, amidst constant perils of death to himself and his companions, Meinhard died in 1196. His successor, Berthold, a Cistercian abbot of Loccum on the Weser, was driven out by the heathen Livonians, and returned at the head of a crusading force, which he had raised with the sanction of Pope Celestine III., only to perish by the sword which he had taken (1198).

The next bishop, Albert, a canon of Bremen, organized a more systematic Crusade, by founding a military order on the model of the Templars, called "Brethren of the Sword," who were placed by Innocent III. on an equality with Crusaders to the Holy Land (1202); and he obtained feudal rights over Livonia from Philip of Swabia. Albert transferred his episcopal see to Riga, which he had founded in 1200; and his crusaders won new lands and converts through their constant wars with the Esthonians, Cours, Lithuanians and Russians; but disputes arose among themselves, which were turned by Innocent III. to the advantage of the Holy See. The Danes, who aided in the conquest of Esthonia, claimed episcopal jurisdiction, and the Pope decided the contest by sanctioning two Esthonian bishopries, the Danish at Reval, and the German at Leal, whence it was removed to Dorpat. After the death of Bishop Albert in 1229, the progress of the work became closely connected with the kindred enterprise in Prussia and Lithuania. In 1246 Riga was raised to the dignity of an archbishopric, and Innocent IV. made it the metropolitan see for Prussia, Livonia, and Esthonia (1253).

§ 19. The name of PRUSSIA, now famous as the head of Germany, was originally given,—merely from its vicinity to Russia,[1]—to the small region between the rivers Memel and Vistula, inhabited, not by Germans, but by a fierce barbarian tribe of Letts, in attempting whose conversion Adalbert of Prague had found a martyr's death (997).[2] His fate was shared, a few years later, by the monk Bruno, with his eighteen companions, on the borders of Lithuania (1009); and two centuries passed before a new mission was undertaken by

[1] The Slavonic prefix *po* (or, in the fuller form, *pommo*) signifies "near:" thus *Po-merania* means "near the sea" (*morig*), and is precisely equivalent to the Celtic *Ar-morica*.

[2] See above, § 12.

Godfrey, the Cistercian abbot of Lukna in Poland, with a monk named Philip, who converted two of the Prussian princes (1207), but were soon martyred. The work was resumed in two years by Christian, a Cistercian monk of Oliva near Danzig, who was consecrated as missionary bishop (1214), and is styled the Apostle of Prussia. But there was strong opposition from the Polish Cistercians, and the oppression of the King of Poland and the Duke of Pomerania provoked a general massacre of the Christians in Prussia. Christian now followed the example set by Albert in Livonia, and, with the sanction of Honorius III., he founded the order of Knights of Dobrin, called *Milites Christi* (1225); but they were almost totally destroyed by the heathen Prussians within a year. In this extremity Christian sought the aid of the famous *Teutonic Knights*, a military order which, having been originally formed in Palestine by forty German crusaders from the neighbourhood of Bremen, to tend the sick and wounded at the siege of Acre (1190), had grown to great power, privilege, and wealth, under its fourth Grand Master, Herman of Salza, of whom a chronicler says that "he had the Pope and the Emperor, with other princes and great men, in his own hand, so that he obtained whatever he might ask for its honour and advantage."[1] At his death, the order numbered more than two thousand knights of noble German families.

In 1230, Herman of Balka led into Prussia a hundred of the Teutonic Knights, who began a bloody war of nearly sixty years against the heathen Prussians, and also against the dukes of Poland and Pomerania. This northern branch of the order was invested by Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. with the privileges of crusaders, and by the emperor with the sovereignty of the lands they might conquer or acquire by gift. They established forts, which afterwards grew into great cities, such as Elbing, Thorn, and Königsberg.[2] The conquered Prussians were offered the choice of baptism or banishment; and they were not so much converted as exterminated by the sword of the knights and the adventurers who flocked from Germany, Poland, and Bohemia, to share the merit and profits of this northern crusade. The sovereignty of the knights was fully established in 1283, and the depopulated lands of Prussia were replenished by German colonists during the following century. In Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland, where the Brethren of the Sword, called in the aid of the Teutonic Knights (1236), the process of

[1] Petr. Dusburg (Peter of Duisburg), *Chroniclon Prussiæ*, in Hirsch, *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, i. 2; Robertson, vol. ii. p. 256.

[2] This ancient capital of Prussia received its royal name (*Mons Regius*) in honour of King Ottocar of Bohemia, the ally of the Teutonic Knights in 1254.

extermination was less complete, the native population being reduced to a state of serfdom, which lasted till the general emancipation of the serfs in Russia (1861).[1]

As we have seen in other cases, this propagation of Christianity by the sword was accompanied by purer missionary labours, in which the Dominicans bore a chief part. The ecclesiastical organization of the conquered provinces was effected by William, bishop of Modena and afterwards Cardinal of Sabino, who, as legate of Pope Gregory IX., united them under one authority (1245), and they were placed under the metropolitan see of Riga (1253).

§ 20. The longest resistance to the Teutonic crusaders was in LITHUANIA, where Ringold founded a principality (1230), which his son Mendog tried to aggrandize by conquest. Defeated by the united German orders, he was obliged to accept baptism as the condition of peace (1252); but he soon felt strong enough to throw off the hated badge of subjection. On the death of his son Wolstinik, who had sincerely accepted Christianity (1266), heathenism was re-established; and no Christian was tolerated in the country till the reign of the Grand Prince Gedimin (1315–1340). Dominican monks and Russian priests now vied with one another in making converts to the Latin and Greek Churches, and the next prince, Oldgerd, was baptized in the Greek faith, but apostatised. It was not till near the end of the fourteenth century that heathenism was abolished and the Roman form of Christianity established in Lithuania, which was at the same time united to Poland, on the marriage of Jagello, the son of Oldgerd, to Hedwig, the heiress of the Polish crown (1380). The people flocked to baptism in imitation of their prince, and an episcopal see was established at Wilna.

[1] These provinces were ceded by Sweden to Peter the Great in 1721.



"Corona Lucis:" Crown for supporting lamps, suspended over the Altar in the Apse of a Church.
From a Mosaic in St. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna.

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